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Counter-Narratives of Latino Men and Machismo in Higher Education

Hiram Ramirez
Loyola University Chicago

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

COUNTER-NARRATIVES OF LATINO MEN AND MACHISMO
IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN HIGHER EDUCATION

BY
HIRAM RAMIREZ
CHICAGO, IL
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABSTRACT	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
Terminology	3
Problem Statement	4
Research Question	6
Significance	6
Organization of Dissertation	9
CHAPTER TWO: MACHISMO AND SUCCESS LITERATURE REVIEW	10
Machismo: Latino Masculinity	10
Defining Machismo	11
History of Machismo	12
Gender Socialization of Latino men	13
Latino men and Machismo in Higher Education	23
Conclusion	27
Successful Latino Students	27
Hegemonic Notions of Success in K-12 Education	29
Hegemonic Notions of Success in Postsecondary Education	36
Challenging the Current Measures of Success	40
Conclusion	42
CHAPTER TWO: COLLEGIATE EXPERIENCES OF LATINO STUDENTS LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	44
Intersecting Social Identities of Latino College Students	44
Ethnicity	45
Socioeconomic Status	49
Immigration Status	52
Gaps in the Literature	53
Conclusion	58
College Campuses: Exclusionary Spaces	59
Campus Racial Climate	60
Gaps in the Literature	72
Conclusion	74
Limitations, Conclusions, and Implications	74
Conceptual Framework	76

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	81
Research Questions	83
LatCrit Methodology	83
Rationale for a Qualitative Approach	85
Epistemology	86
Reflexivity and Positionality	87
Research Methods	91
Study Participants	91
Data Collection	95
Data Analysis	100
Trustworthiness	100
Summary	101
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS ON LATINO MEN’S NAVIGATION OF MACHISMO AND HIGHER EDUCATION	102
Input	103
Theme One: Salience of Negative Machismo	103
Theme Two: Gender Policing	114
Environment	127
Theme Three: “The Double-Edged Sword” of being a Latino Male	127
Theme Four: Alpha Males on Campus	135
Conclusion	139
CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS ON SUPPORTING THE SUCCESS OF LATINO MEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION	141
Environment	141
Theme Five: Reconceptualizing Success	142
Theme Six: The Power of La Familia	146
Theme Seven: The Importance of Campus Racial Climate	150
Outcome	157
Theme Eight: Decolonizing Machismo	158
Conclusion	172
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION	174
Discussion	177
Input	177
Environment	181
Outcome	187
Implications	190
Implications for Research	190
Implications for Practice	192
Limitations	195
Future Research	196
Reflections and Conclusions	198

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT FLYER	201
APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT EMAIL	203
APPENDIX C: ONLINE PARTICIPANT INTEREST FORM	206
APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL	211
APPENDIX E: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH	215
REFERENCES	218
VITA	241

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Demographic Information of Latino Male Participants

94

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Themes and subthemes from the data that address the research questions of the study

176

ABSTRACT

This dissertation study addresses the gaps in research concerning the gendered experiences of successful Latino men in higher education. As Latino men in postsecondary education continue to enroll and persist in low numbers, new lenses are needed to consider their educational experiences. This study attempts to add a gendered lens, in the form of machismo, to consider ways in which successful Latino men are persisting. Machismo, a construct with both positive and negative attributes, has the potential to influence Latino men's navigation of higher education. Research documents the negative ways in which machismo has hampered Latino men in education, however few studies consider how Latino men define and negotiate machismo in higher education. Therefore, this critical qualitative study challenges this framework and has successful Latino men defining their relationship with machismo. The data reveals that participants have a complicated relationship with machismo and masculinity, which illustrates a more holistic understanding of machismo. Participants discussed the barriers and benefits associated with both machismo and masculinity. Their counter-narratives illustrate an intimate relationship between their socialization as Latino men and their achievement of success in higher education.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Currently in the United States, Latinos are the largest racial minority group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). In 2014, Latinos represented 17.3% of the total United States population or 55.3 million people (Stepler & Brown, 2016). As a result, Latinos have greater representation in the educational pipeline. However, Latino students are still lagging “behind other racial/ethnic groups in educational attainment” (Núñez, Hoover, Pickett, Stuart-Carruthers, & Vázquez, 2013, p. 1). Indeed, Santiago (2008) described Latino people as having some of the lowest educational attainment levels in the United States. In 2013, Latino students had the largest high school dropout rate compared to White, Black, and Asian American students (Musu-Gillette et al., 2016). In fact, Latino people represented 12% of high school dropouts between the ages of 16- to 24-years-old in 2013 in the United States (Musu-Gillette et al., 2016). Meanwhile, White students made up only 5%, Black students represented 9%, and Asian American students encompassed 2% of students who dropped out of high school in 2013 (Musu-Gillette et al., 2016). Furthermore, when reviewing all degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions in 2015 Latino students only earned 18.1% of associate’s degrees and 12% of bachelor’s degrees (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2016a; NCES, 2016b). Conversely, White students, across all degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions in 2015, earned 59.3% of associate’s degrees and 66.5% of bachelor’s degrees (NCES, 2016a; NCES, 2016b).

In addition to the racial educational attainment gap experienced by many students of color, there is also a gender gap in educational attainment. In fact, Sáenz, Ponjuan, and Figueroa (2016) shared that since the “early 1980s, proportionally fewer males relative to their female peers have been enrolling at each level, a consistent gap that is also evident among other students” (p. 7). As a result, men of color are enrolling and persisting at lower rates in higher education (Sáenz et al., 2016). This is especially true for Latino men who are experiencing a lag in their educational attainment compared to Latina women (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009). Latino men have some of the lowest high school graduation rates and college enrollment rates of any racial subgroup (Sáenz et al., 2016). Students of color as a whole need to be supported and researched within higher education, due to persisting educational disparities. Indeed, the silence and discrimination experienced by students of color in educational systems (Ansalone, 2001; Gordon, Piana, & Kelcher, 2000) demands research that attempts to address these issues. Nevertheless, a closer examination of gendered differences in enrollment and educational attainment are critical; especially with the current state of men of color, such as Latino men, within education.

With this in mind, this dissertation study explores the gendered experiences of Latino men in higher education by examining their experiences with masculinity. In this chapter, I present an overview of this dissertation study. First, the problem statement will be addressed to highlight the issues Latino men face and the rationale behind the study. The research questions for the study will also be outlined, as well as the significance of the study. Finally, the organization of this dissertation study will be outlined.

Terminology

This study intentionally uses the term Latino instead of Hispanic. Though both terms are used interchangeably within the higher education literature, each term has historical roots. For instance, Hispanic was a term that was created by the U.S. government in the 1970 census (US Census, 2014). Hispanic was a term that referred to “all Spanish speakers, it connotes a lineage or cultural heritage related to Spain” (Comas-Díaz, 2001, p. 116). Conversely, Latino is a term which recognizes “the diversity of this ethnic minority group...used to refer to people originating from or having a heritage related to Latin America” (Comas-Díaz, 2001, p. 116). Latino is also a term which the Latino people chose themselves, instead of being bestowed a name. The term encompasses individuals of Latin American origin or descent (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1986). As Oquendo (1995) asserted, “The Latino/a people are thus conceived of as not just acquiescing to their christening by the Anglo majority, but rather as giving themselves a name” (p. 98). Moreover, the “adoption of the term ‘Latino’ could be regarded as part of a broader process of self-definition and self-assertion” (Oquendo, 1995, p. 98). Therefore, this study will use Latino in acknowledgement of the communities’ use of this term.

In addition, the focus on the male experience of Latino men for this study warrants an exploration of the importance of sex and gender identity. For instance, sex refers to the “biological construct that encapsulates the anatomical, physiological, genetic, and hormonal variation that exists in species” (Johnson & Repta, 2012, p. 19), while gender is “sociohistorically and culturally constructed roles and attributes given to people, often based on their assigned sex” (Jourian, 2015, p. 14). Gender is then influenced and informed by the broader social norms in society, which impact the daily lives of individuals (Johnson & Repta,

2012). As Johnson and Repta (2012) asserted, “by virtue of living in a social world, individuals learn the appropriate or expected behavior for their gender” (p. 23). As a result, individuals are able to conceptualize their own gender which is referred to as an individual’s gender identity (Jourian, 2015). Individuals whose “gender is on the same side as their birth-assigned sex” are cisgender (Aultman, 2014, p. 61), which is the population this study is focused on exploring. Cisgender Latino men are the focus of this study due to their gender socialization growing up. The interactions they have with family and community members are specific to their identity as cisgender Latino men. These unique interactions and education from the community have an influence on how they conceptualize and understand machismo.

Problem Statement

The continued educational disparities experienced by Latino men in higher education has led to some studies about the topic. Indeed, this research has found that Latino men are struggling to enroll and persist in higher education compared to both their male peer groups and female counterparts (Ponjuan, Palmin, & Calise, 2015; Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Sáenz et al., 2016). As a result, Sáenz and Ponjuan (2009) have described the state of Latino men as a growing epidemic with Latino men effectively vanishing from higher education. This perspective is substantiated as Latino men continue to earn fewer degrees than Latina women at both the associate’s and baccalaureate levels. In 2014-2015, Latino men only earned 38.4% of associate’s degrees and 39.8% of bachelor’s degrees, within the Latino population (NCES, 2016a; NCES, 2016b). Conversely, Latina women earned 61.6% of associate’s degrees and 60.2% of bachelor’s degrees, within the Latino population, in 2014-2015 (NCES, 2016a; NCES, 2016b). Indeed, Sáenz et al. (2016) noted that the gender gap in completion rates between

Latino men and Latina women has persistently grown since the early 1990s. They go on to state that the gap has continued to grow until 2007 when it peaked, at which point it “plateaued over time and remained consistent” (Sáenz et al., 2016, p. 10).

As Latino men continue to struggle through higher education, scholars have attempted to capture their experiences and interpret ways of supporting them. However, few scholars have explored the implications of masculinity for Latino men’s navigation of higher education. This is problematic since the extant literature revealed the intersection of race and gender have implications for enrollment into postsecondary education (Gordon & Henery, 2014; Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Teranishi & Pazich, 2014). There is a dearth in the literature around the gendered experiences of Latino men in higher education. In fact, Sáenz and Bukoski (2014) discussed the lack of consideration in research for Latino men’s unique experiences as both gendered and racial beings. Indeed, as both racial and gendered beings, Latino men experience a specific type of masculinity that is culturally embedded with nuance from the Latino community. These cultural influences have resulted in a masculinity which has been labeled machismo.

Machismo or Latino masculinity is a construct which has historically been viewed as negative, even though empirical research has shown that machismo has both positive and negative characteristics (Anzaldúa, 2012; Arciniega et al., 2008; Falicov, 2014; Mirandé, 1997). The traits found in machismo have the potential to influence Latino men’s actions and behaviors. For example, studies have found Latino men avoid vulnerability (Ponjuan et al., 2012) and resist help-seeking behaviors (Cabrera et al., 2016; Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014), in an effort to adhere to machismo. Other research has also found machismo to be a source of pride (Ponjuan et al., 2012) and empowerment (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014), thus illustrating the various ways machismo

could manifest for Latino men. However, there are few studies that consider the various social identities of Latino men in research. This is especially true when considering Latino men and machismo. With this in mind, this dissertation study explores the ways in which Latino men define and interpret machismo in higher education.

Research Questions

1. How, if at all, are successful Latino male college students' gendered experiences with machismo influencing their success in higher education?
 - a. How is success defined and interpreted by them in higher education?
 - b. How, if at all, did their experiences in college shape their definition and interpretation of machismo (e.g. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers)?
 - c. How do their intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic class, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) influence their gendered and collegiate experiences?

Significance

Research continues to reinforce the depiction of Latino men as “vanishing from the American higher education pipeline” (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009, p. 54). As Latino men continue to be pushed out of the educational system, there will be a ripple effect in both the U.S. workforce and the Latino community (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2011). For instance, the gender gap in educational attainment of Latino men could “undercut the skilled labor force as well as decrease labor productivity” in the United States (Sáenz et al., 2016, p. 18). Indeed, Sáenz et al. (2016) asserted that the gender gap in educational attainment would limit Latino men’s “ability to fulfill

the critical economic and social roles that are key to securing upwardly mobile families and communities” (Sáenz et al., 2016, p. 18). Furthermore, as Latino men continue to fall behind academically and in the workforce, their role as community leaders and role models within the Latino community could be lost (Sáenz et al., 2016, p. 18). Therefore, the current standing of Latino men in higher education warrants further exploration.

However, Latino men’s academic situation does not negate the need for further research on Latina women. Both Latina women and Latino men have low educational attainment rates, and more research is needed to address this issue (Anaya & Cole, 2001; Núñez et al., 2013). Indeed, gendered research on all students of color is needed to explore the nuanced ways in which gender influences persistence in postsecondary education. In fact, previous research validates the tangible implications gender can have on how Latino men navigate higher education (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014; Ponjuan, Clark, & Sáenz, 2012; Cabrera, Rashwan-Soto, & Valencia, 2016). Therefore, more research that examines the unique gendered experiences of men, women, and transgender individuals are needed to unearth the explicit influence gender has on their educational journey.

By considering the experiences of Latino men as it relates to machismo and masculinity, a new lens can be applied to how Latino men navigate higher education. As previous research noted (Cabrera et al., 2016; Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014; Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009), gender has an influence on the education of Latino men. Without more research that considers the gender socialization of Latino men, the nuanced barriers and empowerment that can be derived from their gendered experiences will be missed. In addition, the intersecting identities of Latino men in relation to their relationship with machismo will be important in unearthing potential

connections that have previously not been considered in the literature. Moreover, due to the negative emphasis of machismo within the Latino community (Anzaldúa, 2012) more research is needed to consider how Latino men themselves conceptualize and understand machismo. Furthermore, Latino men's masculinity could have implications for their experiences on college campuses. As previous research has documented, hostile campus racial climates negatively influence students of color in postsecondary education. These negative influences may be amplified for Latino men due to the fears of being emasculated or seen as weak (Ponjuan et al., 2012). Thus, further research is needed to examine the interplay between masculinity and college campuses.

This dissertation study aimed to address many of these gaps in the literature by centering the voices and experiences of successful Latino men. Successful Latino men are individuals who have navigated the educational system and continue to persist; they pursue their academic goals and attempt to achieve success. Through the narratives shared by the Latino men, new understandings of success, machismo, and their intersecting identities were discovered. In addition, their lived experiences complicated and expanded the ways in which machismo is understood. Their narratives also demonstrated the tangible ways in which machismo manifested in their lives and influenced their educational experiences. Furthermore, the negative characteristics traditionally associated with machismo were challenged and new ways of viewing machismo were unearthed. Ultimately, their stories disrupt the dominant narratives that position Latino men as unsuccessful within higher education by centering successful Latino men. In closing, this dissertation uplifts the experiences of Latino men and honors how they interpret success in higher education.

Organization of Dissertation

This chapter introduced the problem statement, relevant terminology, and significance of this dissertation. Chapter two encompasses the literature review and conceptual framework. Chapter three, outlines the study's research questions and methodology. Chapters four and five presents the study's findings and narratives of the participants. Chapter six encompasses the discussion, implications, limitations of the study, and future research. Finally, this dissertation study attempted to address the dearth in the literature on successful Latino men and their relationship with machismo while considering their intersecting identities.

CHAPTER TWO

MACHISMO AND SUCCESS LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines the relevant literature of Latino men in higher education, as it relates to this study. The first section of this chapter defines and explores machismo both in the Latino community and higher education. It also interrogates hegemonic notions of success in K-12 and higher education. Then the second section explores the body of literature in higher education as it relates to the intersecting social identities of Latino men. The hostile campus climate Latino men experience while in college is also explored. Following the review of these bodies of literature a synthesis of the limitations, conclusions, and implications are discussed. The final section presents the conceptual framework for this dissertation.

Machismo: Latino Masculinity

Machismo is a construct that embodies Latino masculinity within the Latino community. It has traditionally been viewed as Latino men who are hypermasculine and violent (Anzaldúa, 2012; Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Stavans, 1995). Consequently, research on machismo has mostly focused on its negative aspects (Arciniega et al., 2008; Mirande, 1997). However, a growing body of research is challenging the notion that machismo is inherently bad. With this in mind, this section defines machismo, discusses machismo's history to contextualize the construct, explores the gender socialization process of Latino men, and interrogates relevant literature on machismo in higher education.

Defining Machismo

Machismo has historically been primarily viewed as a negative construct, although it is a complicated construct with both negative and positive characteristics (Anzaldúa, 2012; Arciniega et al., 2008; Falicov, 2014; Mirandé, 1997). Scholars have identified pride, aggression, power, control, male dominance, homophobia, and restriction of emotions as negative attributes of machismo (Anzaldúa, 2012; Arciniega et al., 2008; Asencio, 2011; Estrada, Rigali-Oiler, Arciniega, & Tracey, 2011; Falicov, 2014; Mirandé, 1997; Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014; Stavans, 1995). These attributes parallel patriarchy which privileges men and subordinate's women. However, machismo's bifurcated framework allows for a more flexible understanding of masculinity through its positive traits. Commitment, protecting family, respect, nurturing, responsibility, selflessness, chivalry, and sincerity (Arciniega et al., 2008; Falicov, 2014; Mirandé, 1997; Torres, Solberg, & Carlstorm, 2002) are some of the positive traits Latino men are socialized to perform. Unfortunately, these positive traits are subordinated in the Latino consciousness and the negative traits of machismo are positioned to the forefront (Anzaldúa, 2012). As a result, Latino men emphasize negative machismo or hypermasculinity as the norm when performing masculinity (Anzaldúa, 2012; Peña-Talamantes, 2013).

Consequently, research on machismo has mostly focused on the negative aspects (Arciniega et al., 2008; Mirandé, 1997). However, scholars like Arciniega et al. (2008), Herrera, Owens, and Mallinckrodt (2013), and Mirandé (1997) have challenged the limited definition of machismo as inherently negative. Arciniega et al. (2008) in particular, in a seminal quantitative study, attempted to “construct a measure that better represents the construct of machismo and to understand its relation with psychological functioning” (p. 20) through factor analysis. The

study conducted two analyses, the first analysis was with 154 men from the United States and Mexico who self-identified as Mexican and the second analysis included 477 U.S. men who self-identified as being of Latino origin (Arciniega et al., 2008). The instrument developed for the study was named the Machismo Measure, and it confirmed that machismo has two independent dimensions: traditional machismo and caballerismo (Arciniega et al., 2008). Traditional machismo encompassed the hypermasculinity and individual power found in the negative traits of machismo. Caballerismo, on the other hand, included emotional connectedness and social responsibility as positive traits. The data collected showed that individuals with a high score in traditional machismo were associated with higher levels of arrests and fighting (Arciniega et al., 2008). However, high scores of caballerismo were connected with “[p]roblem-solving coping, which is a more active and effective coping style” (Arciniega et al., 2008, p. 30). Ultimately, this study confirmed the negative and positive characteristics in machismo through the two dimensions, traditional machismo and caballerismo. This research has allowed contemporary scholars to disrupt the emphasis on the negative traits in machismo and expand how machismo is researched.

History of Machismo

As further research is done on machismo, scholars must remember the complicated history of masculinity within Latin America. It is a construct shared among many Latin American countries due to some common historical experiences (Stavans, 1995). For instance, all Latin American countries have been colonized by European powers in their history (Gutmann & Vigoya, 2005; Lockhart, n.d.; Stavans, 1995). Embedded in that history is the humiliation of being controlled, overrun, and raped by the colonizer (Stavans, 1995). However, the ways in

which machismo as a construct manifested in specific countries within Latin America fluctuated based on cultural nuances in the region and the unique historical events within that community.

For example, the Cuban Revolution had an influence on masculinity through Communist ideology and Soviet sexology to form a “revolutionary machismo” (Chomsky, 2011, p. 146). In addition, the various indigenous cultures found in Latin America (Lockhart, n.d.) also had implications for the cultivation of differences in machismo for each country. For instance, Mirandé (1997) noted that in Mexico prior to colonial rule the Aztec universe “was sharply divided into masculine and feminine spheres” (p. 35). In fact, the vocation of Aztec men was to subdue their enemies and wage war (Mirandé, 1997). However, these cultural nuances may not be present in all Latin American countries. An example that highlights this potential variance can be found in the Caribbean with the Taíno people who had “few documented social or economic functions that can be attributed exclusively to the domain of men or women” (Deagan, 2004, p. 601). Taíno men and women both fished, farmed, and served as leaders (Deagan, 2004), unlike the Aztecs who had clearly delineated gender roles between men and women (Mirandé, 1997). The distinction between gender roles for these indigenous communities may have resulted in slightly divergent manifestations of machismo in Mexico and the Caribbean today. Thus, historical and indigenous roots in each Latin American country may have implications for the ways in which machismo is performed. As a result, Latino men’s gender socialization through machismo is historical, cultural, generational, gendered, and racial.

Gender Socialization of Latino men

Aside from the historical connections to machismo, Latino men’s gender socialization is also influenced by the interactions they have with others in their lives. The interactions they

have with family and community members in the Latino community facilitate Latino men's understanding of machismo. They are also instructed on appropriate behaviors and mannerisms by individuals in the community. The learning is also subconscious, as they see other men in the Latino community perform machismo and learn through these observations. Moreover, Latino men also experience other forms of masculinity as they navigate the world around them, since machismo is not the only masculinity performed in the United States. To highlight the influence of these experiences on Latino men's gender socialization, this next section examines the Latino family, the Latino community, and hegemonic masculinity.

Latino families. The Latino family is an important part of Latino students' academic journey. In fact, scholars have identified familismo and educación as integral values within Latino families (Cauce & Domenech-Rodríguez, 2002; Durand & Perez, 2013). Familismo or the value placed on family, refers to the family cohesion, closeness, and interdependence that can be found in Latino families (Cauce & Domenech-Rodríguez, 2002; Durand & Perez, 2013). These families include not only the primary nuclear family, but also intergenerational and extended family members (Durand & Perez, 2013; Falicov, 2005). The importance of familismo is further compounded due to the collectivistic culture found in Latin American communities (Arevalo, So, & McNaughton-Cassil, 2016; Schwartz et al, 2010). Moreover, there is also a gendered aspect for Latino men in familismo. For instance, within their families, Latino men are expected to be the "man of the house" (Figueroa, Pérez, & Vega, 2016, p. 65). This role entails providing financial and emotional support to their families (Clark, Ponjuan, Orrock, Wilson, & Flores, 2013; Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009). Familismo also reinforces sacrificing the needs of individuals over the needs of the family (Arevalo et al., 2016; Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009). This

emphasis on self-sacrificing can also be found in the broader Latino community, a collectivistic culture (Triandis et al., 1990). Thus, Latino men are taught to be self-sacrificing both within their families and the broader Latino community through the values held within the culture.

In addition to familismo, educación is an important value in Latino communities. Educación is a conceptual term which “refers to the family’s role of inculcating in children a sense of moral, social, and personal responsibility and serves as the foundation for all other learning” (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 23). This construct also emphasizes “respect, responsibility, and sociality, it provides a benchmark against which all humans are to be judged, formally educated or not” (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 21). Furthermore, educación is instilled in children by their parents to ensure their success not only academically but in the world at large (Durand & Perez, 2013). Moreover, education and learning are deeply engrained in the childrearing process within Latino families. Therefore, parents and family members should be considered partners in the educational process instead of potential barriers.

Through both educación and familismo, families have a strong influence on the educational development of Latino men. For example, Latino parents instill a value of education in their children and these values are gendered. An expectation to support the family can be found with Latino students working jobs while in college and/or sharing financial aid money with their family (Gandara & Orfield, 2011; Ramirez, 2011). Becerra (2010) also found that some Latino students felt “a sense of responsibility to provide for their family instead of going to college” (p. 196). This could be especially true for Latino men, who are socialized through machismo to be breadwinners for the family (Ponjuan et al., 2012). Even though Latino men are taught to value education, there are still cultural expectations for them as Latino men in their

families. Furthermore, the pride found in machismo could also impede their ability to be honest with family members if they are struggling with balancing their education and family obligations. Conversely, the positive trait of protecting the family could be a powerful motivator for Latino men to work harder academically in hopes of contributing to their families' well-being in the future.

In another study, Ponjuan et al. (2012) noted that the educational mistakes made by academically unsuccessful family members were learning opportunities for Latino students. Parents, in particular, were especially important since they established the "educational norms and standards for the family" (Ponjuan et al., 2012, p. 19). Moreover, parents instilled the value of education through the qualities they modeled and by directly telling their children about the importance of attending college (Carolan-Silva & Reyes, 2013). The stories and encouragement Latino men gain from the insights shared by family members can be important motivators. As they hear these parent's stories, they can also be reminded of their responsibility as men and their role in supporting the family.

Furthermore, parents were a strong source of encouragement and support. Person and Rosenbaum (2006) noted that Latino students in their study had lower levels of social integration at the institution and relied less on college resources for college-related issues due to their social contacts (i.e. family members, friends). They were also found to be more reliant on family and friends than their non-Latino counterparts in seeking help with on campus problems (Person & Rosenbaum, 2006). Similarly, Chiang, Hunter, and Yeh (2004) found friends, parents, and significant others were "sources of coping most often noted by Latino students" (p. 802). In addition, Latino men have been found to prefer keeping problems within the family and being

more self-reliant (Ballysingh, 2016; Chiang et al., 2004). This further reinforces the gendered differences Latino men may face in their navigation of higher education.

Ultimately, the value placed on the cultural and gendered expectations of Latino men in the family can be both a barrier and an asset (Hernandez, 2013; Ojeda & Castillo, 2016; Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009). Nevertheless, the research overwhelmingly demonstrates family support is critical for Latino men at all juncture points within the educational pipeline (Person & Rosenbaum, 2006; Ponjuan et al., 2012; Sarcedo, 2014). However, more research must be done around the ways in which familismo intersects with the specific experiences of Latino men. Most of the research on familismo and educación are looking at both Latino men and Latina women. Exploring the gendered differences found within familismo and educación could lead to a better understanding of the unique drives and challenges Latino men face within their families. Moreover, the research interrogating the construct familismo is mostly explored through the lens of the Latino community as a monolithic group. Conversely, the origins of Latino men from Latin American countries, the United States, or other communities have unique histories that are not being considered which could have implications for the ways in which familismo and educación are enacted. Thus, the diverse intersecting identities within the Latino community must be considered in all research.

Latino community. The Latino community has been found to be an important socializer of gender through the cultural values in the community. For instance, Latino boys who grow up in the Latino community are taught about cultural values like machismo, respeto, and collectivism through relationships with others. Specifically, extended family members can be pivotal educators in Latino boy's gender socialization of machismo in the Latino family. For

example, extended family members can educate Latino boys on how machismo should be enacted through both their performance of gender and directly instructing them on how to behave as male members of the family. However, there are special extended family members who have their relationship cemented through *compadrazgo* or coparentage (Castellanos & Gloria, 2016). Individuals are assigned the role of *padrino* (godfather) or *madrina* (godmother) and become an additional set of parents for children (Castellanos & Gloria, 2016). These relationships are formally acknowledged at events to honor specific rites of passage like baptisms, weddings, and coming of age ceremonies (Castellanos & Gloria, 2016). At these events *padrinos* and *madrinas* are thus added to the family and share responsibility with the parents in the child's upbringing (Castellanos & Gloria, 2016). Extended family members can educate and reprimand Latino boys on how to conform to machismo.

In addition to the relationships developed through the rites of passage, these functions are also spaces of socialization for Latino men around machismo. For instance, at baptisms *padrinos* (godparents) are usually a man and a woman who are married. *Quinceañeras*, another rite of passage in the Latino community, have Latino men perform as *caballeros* (gentlemen) who are paired with women of the *Quinceañera* court. These two examples highlight the heteronormativity that manifests at these functions, teaching Latino boys that a woman is needed to be viewed as a man or to perform machismo. In these subtle ways machismo manifests in the relationships with extended family, however these relationships also instruct Latino boys about other cultural values that influence their gender socialization.

Respeto, another cultural value, is taught to Latino men in the Latino community. *Respeto* encompasses “knowing the level of courtesy and decorum required in a given situation

in relation to other people of a particular age, sex, and social status” (Harwood, Miller, & Irizarry, 1995, p. 98). This definition was developed through interviews with Puerto Rican mothers (Harwood et al., 1995), however other scholars have noted the importance of respeto in other Latino communities as well (Harwood, Leyendecker, Carlson, Asencio, & Miller, 2002; Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010; Capello, 1994). Respeto is especially important for children, who are expected to defer to and obey authority figures (Andrés-Hyman, Ortiz, Añez, Paris, & Davidson, 2006; Barker, Cook, & Borrego, 2010). Naturally, this cultural value influences young Latino men during their gender socialization process as they defer to elders and family members who teach them how to perform machismo. Furthermore, Saenz and Bukoski (2014) mentioned the importance of being perceived as strong and tough to avoid losing face as a Latino man in machismo. Thus, respeto is an important value not only in the Latino community but also machismo.

Another major cultural value in the Latino community is collectivism, which encompasses cultures that emphasize obedience, security, family integrity, and conformity (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). Groups are the basic unit of analysis and in-group values have primacy in collectivistic cultures (Triandis et al., 1990). Essentially, social relationships in collectivistic cultures “establish interdependence and reciprocal obligations” (Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000, p. 60). Therefore, group members rely on each other to fulfill social roles and responsibilities within groups, like the family unit, to promote the collective’s welfare (Raeff et al., 2000). Accordingly, Latino students like many other students of color whose cultural origins have collectivistic orientations (Coon & Kimmelmeier, 2001; Guiffrida, Kiyama, Waterman, & Museus, 2012), sometimes promote in-group goals above their own individual needs (Triandis et

al., 1990). Furthermore, collectivistic cultures teach the importance of interdependence, compliance, and nurturance of others (Watson, Sherback, & Morris, 1998). Behavior is thus determined by in-group norms and adherence to these expectations is paramount to ensure in-group harmony (Triandis et al., 1990). Collectivistic cultures also ensure the social welfare of everyone by having roles, duties, and obligations clearly delineated (Watson et al., 1998).

As a result, collectivistic cultures emphasize hierarchy. The hierarchy is usually centered on the father figure in the family and women are subordinate to men (Triandis et al., 1990). As a result, Latino men learn that as men they have power and control. Triandis et al. (1990) also shared that child-rearing practices within collectivistic cultures emphasize “obedience, duty, and sacrifice for the ingroup” (p. 1008). These values inform the gender socialization of Latino men by forcing them to conform to the ways in which they are taught machismo. If machismo was challenged or Latino men went against it, they would be disrupting the harmony within the system. However, the primacy of the in-group norms and expectations ensure that most Latino men would not challenge machismo. Indeed, collectivism has an influence on Latino men in many ways as they attempt to ensure harmony within the community.

As Latino men pursue their education, the influence of the Latino community can manifest for them in a myriad of ways. For example, the collectivistic culture embedded in Latino communities’ position educators as authority figures and experts in the educational realm (Guerra & Nelson, 2013). Therefore, the role of parents is restricted since they are “not expected to participate in educational matters at school or home unless personally invited to do so” (Guerra & Nelson, 2013, p. 429). To deviate from these preset roles can “be viewed as a sign of disrespect or distrust that educators are incapable of doing their job” (Guerra & Nelson, 2013, p.

430). These clearly demarcated roles between schools and families can lead to miscommunication and potentially missed opportunities. Teachers or other school administrators could interpret the absence and disengagement of parents in school as their disregard of the educational process, instead of a respect for them as educators and experts in their field. This is particularly important for Latino boys, who may believe that their families are being attacked through the teacher's misunderstanding. In response Latino boys may become combative and aggressive towards the teacher, in alignment with machismo. As men they must protect their family, even from educators who may be supporting them academically. However, being disruptive or disrespectful to the teacher could result in Latino boys getting written up or being reprimanded in class. These punishments in the educational environment for protecting their family could have a negative influence on how Latino boys engage with their teachers and how their teachers engage with them. Misunderstandings like this could cause tension between Latino families, Latino boys, and school systems. In these various ways, the Latino community through its involvement in the socialization of Latino men has a huge role in supporting Latino men's experiences in higher education.

Hegemonic masculinity and machismo. Nevertheless, the socialization of Latino men not only takes place within the Latino culture and community but within the wider world as well. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) found that societies had certain expectations of men which they labeled hegemonic masculinity. This concept represents "the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). Hegemonic masculinity is the normative embodiment of the "most honored way of being a man, it require[s] all other men to

position themselves in relation to it” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832), thus creating a hierarchy of masculinities where some masculinities are dominant while others are subordinated (Connell, 2005). Connell (2005) also shared that different masculinities could be produced in the same institutional or cultural setting. Therefore, masculinities can be found in not only the United States but also the Latino community.

As Latino men navigate their education, they interact with hegemonic masculinity throughout their educational journey. This masculinity is defined by White males, the dominant group in the United States (Cheng, 1999). As a result, machismo and other masculinities are subordinate to White masculinity in the hierarchy of masculinity. Racism also plays a role in elevating White masculinity as the hegemonic masculinity in the United States. Therefore, Latino men must navigate the subordination of machismo within a society where White masculinity (i.e. hegemonic masculinity) is the normative standard. This could be a challenge for Latino men; however, it could also open a space for cultivating resistance against hegemonic masculinity in the United States.

Machismo can be a counter-narrative to hegemonic masculinity and expand the dialogue for alternative masculinities. Expanding our understandings of masculinities and the various nuanced differences will increase dialogue for many other communities. Even though both machismo and hegemonic masculinity have a core ethos of subordinating women, perhaps through interrogating these masculinities and looking for gradations of difference, the notion of male domination can be disrupted. For example, machismo’s bidimensional values which inherently encompass positive aspects allow for a more flexible understanding of masculinity for Latino men. In addition, honoring the differences between Latino ethnic groups and how they

may perform machismo is critical. Considering all these distinctions could also allow for greater insights on how machismo could be a space of empowerment and positivity, without relying on the subjugation of women. Furthermore, scholars in higher education must continue to trouble how Latino men's socialization of machismo influence their educational trajectory. In fact, this line of research may be critical in finding new ways of supporting Latino men's academic success.

Latino men and Machismo in Higher Education

In the body of literature on Latino men in higher education few studies have investigated gender as a cultural factor. Like other men of color, Latino men are not being researched as gendered beings (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014). The absence of research on the intersection of their gendered and racialized experiences as men of color negates important identities of Latino men. As men of color in a patriarchal and racist society, where they are both privileged and oppressed, their gender does have educational implications (Gordon & Henery, 2014). For example, Squire et al. (2016) shared the experiences of five men of color in a Ph.D. program who experienced the “interplay of holding multiple marginalized identities (e.g. race, nationality, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic class) intersected with our places of privilege as men” (p. 13). In this way, intersectionality of identities for men of color are critical as it “refers to the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference” (Davis, 2008, p. 68). Squire et al. (2016) also recognized the complexity of intersecting identities for men of color when they noted the marginalization they experienced as men of color but also the privilege they encountered as men. Similarly, Latino men experience both privilege and oppression as men of color. However, they

also have the added layer of the Latino culture influencing their gender socialization which manifests in the form of machismo.

The limited research in higher education that has considered machismo's influence on Latino men has found both negative and positive characteristics embedded in their experiences. For instance, machismo shapes the ways in which Latino men behave and engage with others. Furthermore, Sáenz and Bukoski's (2014) study revealed that Latino men would act in certain ways when facing challenges and avoided asking for help due to the importance of being tough and silent in machismo. The study also discussed Latino men's avoidance of being perceived as weak or overly feminine, to ensure they were regarded as men and conformed to machismo (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014). In addition, Hirai, Winkel, and Popan (2014) found that there was a relationship between machismo and prejudice toward gay and lesbian individuals. The incongruence of gender roles performed by gay and lesbian individuals, defined in machismo, could be a potential reason for the prejudice towards homosexuality (Hirai et al., 2014). Thus, Latino men may avoid behaviors (i.e. displaying emotions, femininity, homosexuality) that deviate from the gender roles outlined in machismo to ensure their masculinity is not questioned. As a result, machismo hampers Latino men's actions as they attempt to avoid being emasculated in society.

Furthermore, research has found connections with actions Latino men take in the academic realm to avoid emasculation. For example, Ponjuan et al. (2012) found that the "fear of feeling vulnerable and emasculated limit[ed] the amount of help Latino males [sought], if they sought help at all" (p. 14). Sáenz and Bukoski (2014) also noted that Latino men were less likely to seek help in an effort to avoid being viewed as weak or diminish their appearance of

confidence. Pride was also a term used by participants to share why they would not seek help (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014). In addition, Cabrera et al. (2016) mentioned that even as Latino men struggled academically they “tended to avoid any type of help-seeking behavior” (p. 80). Help-seeking behaviors included utilization of advisors, meeting with professors, tutoring services, peer support services, and other resources on campus (Cabrera et al., 2016; Ponjuan et al., 2012). These services were avoided because to have used those services would have been an admission of weakness, which is avoided at all costs in machismo. Instead, students placed the onus on themselves to persist and excel academically (Cabrera et al., 2016). These various studies illustrated the ways in which negative machismo (i.e. avoiding emotions, pride, hypermasculinity, control) inhibited Latino men from seeking academic support.

In addition, as Latino men avoid emasculation they also attempt to perform in ways that will help them be viewed as men within the Latino community. For instance, early entry into the workforce has been connected to machismo (Ponjuan et al., 2012). Indeed, Sáenz, Mayo, Miller, and Rodriguez (2015) found that Latino men associated femininity to education which caused them to “distance themselves from their educational pursuits in order to reassert a traditionally masculine gender identity forged through employment, dominance, and self-reliance” (p. 172). Moreover, Sáenz and Bukoski (2014) shared that due to the emphasis of being a bread winner, Latino men were expected to get a job and earn money. It is a cultural expectation that Latino men are the financial provider for both themselves and their family (Sáenz et al., 2015). In addition to this cultural expectation, employment can be a cultural marker of manhood (Ponjuan et al., 2012). Unfortunately, as students, Latino men are unable to demonstrate their worthiness as men through a full-time job. However, Sáenz et al.’s (2015) study discovered that Latino men

would measure achievement by status gained through dominant behaviors on campus. These dominant behaviors encompassed being competitive and performing as a dominant alpha male on campus with peers while transitioning to college (Sáenz et al., 2015). Through these dominant behaviors the Latino men were also able to reconcile machismo within a feminine context (i.e. education). Furthermore, these acts allowed Latino men to see themselves as achieving an important status and success, even though they were not joining the workforce and moving towards manhood (Sáenz et al., 2015). Similarly, Figueroa et al. (2016) found students who felt that they had to “be uncompromisingly competent or seemingly invincible” (p. 68). As a result, any academic vulnerability in the form of asking for help was emasculating (Figueroa et al., 2016).

The literature in higher education largely portrays the behaviors and actions of Latino men as attempts to avoid emasculation. As a result, machismo has been shown to foster behaviors which could hinder Latino men. However, there is also research that demonstrates machismo can be “a source of strength, propelling them to achieve more and work harder for their goals” (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014, p. 100). Nevertheless, as an underresearched topic, more research needs to be done to interrogate the ways in which Latino men are empowered to use machismo as a source of positive strength instead of an impediment in their educational journey. Leveraging their identities in a positive way can also help dispel the misconceptions of Latino men’s masculinity as inherently negative, and refashion machismo as a tool of resiliency for Latino men (Figueroa et al., 2016; Ponjuan et al., 2012). The use of machismo as a tool of liberation instead of one of oppression can be transformational for Latino men, especially as they consider their other social identities in tandem with their masculinity.

Conclusion

Though the importance of machismo has been highlighted above and some studies have explored this construct in relation to Latino men, further research is still needed. The scope of research on machismo is very limited and continues to focus on the negative traits of machismo. Even though this research is pivotal in understanding how machismo and education intersect for Latino men, research needs to be more critical when investigating this population.

Acknowledging and exploring positive attributes within machismo could help inform future best practices for supporting Latino men's full potential in higher education. In addition, there must be a recognition that machismo may manifest in different ways for various ethnic groups. There is also a gap in the literature around gay, bisexual, and queer Latino men's experiences with machismo. Furthermore, this is also true for socioeconomic class, religious affiliation, and many other identities. The absence of these social identities within the literature speak to a scarcity of research on this topic that needs to be filled. Without examining the gendered experiences of Latino men and their various intersecting identities, Latino men are not being considered as whole people. Therefore, these intersecting identities are crucial when considering the success and academic achievement of Latino men at all levels of education.

Successful Latino Students

In the education literature, success for secondary and postsecondary education is defined primarily through academic achievement. The markers of academic achievement are a students' grade point average (GPA), scores on standardized tests, and completion of a diploma or degree (Castellanos & Gloria, 2007; Katz, 1999; Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek, 2006; Moreno & Gaytán, 2013; Nora & Crisp, 2012; Rodriguez, Rhodes, & Aguirre, 2015). Each of

these markers represent outcomes necessary for student success within the United States (U.S.) educational pipeline (Kuh et al., 2006). These specific markers of academic achievement denote the emphasis on individual student characteristics instead of the larger educational system (Natriello, 1995; Núñez et al., 2013).

The markers of academic achievement also highlight the individualistic cultural orientation which emphasizes independence, personal choice, and fulfilling individual needs found within the U.S. educational system (Trumbull et al., 1998). However, the focus on the individual has resulted in students of color being blamed for not succeeding instead of schools (Ansalone, 2001). This is especially important for Latino students who have historically struggled within educational spaces compared to their White counterparts (Moreno & Gaytán, 2013). Previous research has claimed that culture, language, and family are detrimental to the educational process for Latino students (Ansalone, 2001; Quijada & Alvarez, 2006; Valenzuela, 1999). The disregard for the potential cultural wealth that could be derived from the Latino community only demonstrate the limited scope and deficit-based orientation of previous research on Latino students (Yosso, 2005). Nevertheless, Latino students and other marginalized students continue to suffer under hegemonic notions of success (i.e. GPA, standardized tests, degree completion) reinforced within the educational system which position White students as the benchmark other marginalized students are compared to. With this in mind, this next section overviews hegemonic notions of success in K-12 education and higher education. Within each section, an intentional effort will be made to interrogate how Latino students both navigate and overcome the challenges they face in the educational system. There will also be a section that

troubles and challenges the current hegemonic notions of success, to help support a reconceptualization of success for Latino students.

Hegemonic Notions of Success in K-12 Education

As Latino students engage in their K-12 educational journey, they are constantly attempting to achieve the hegemonic markers of success (i.e. GPA, attainment of a high school diploma). However, as they strive for these outcomes they encounter resistance from the educational system. Their contributions are not honored and they experience discrimination while in school (Castellanos & Gloria, 2007; Gordon, Piana, & Keleher, 2000). These experiences disrupt their learning and can make them disengage from the school (Katz, 1999).

As a result, Latino students are still lagging “behind other racial/ethnic groups in educational attainment” (Núñez et al., 2013, p. 1). In 2014, Latino students had the largest high school dropout rate, compared to White and Black students (NCES, 2015). For Latino men in particular, they had some of the lowest high school graduation rates of any racial subgroup (Sáenz et al., 2016). In addition, as marginalized students persist and aspire to attend higher education, they must be wary of their high school GPA. Research has found a connection between higher GPAs and high school credits with postsecondary enrollment (McKillip & Mackey, 2013; Sanchez, 2010; Sanchez, Usinger, & Thorton, 2015). This is especially important for Latino students since research has found that they tend to have lower GPAs than their White peers (O’Connor, 2009; Zwick & Himelfarb, 2011). Previous researchers have also noted the emphasis of cultural-deficits to explain many of the educational disparities, like GPA and dropout rates, experienced by Latino students (Irizarry, 2015; Katz, 1999; Valdés, 1997). In line with acknowledging the emphasis of cultural-deficits in the literature, recent research has

started focusing on environmental factors to resist the cultural-deficit perspective in past research. Through this critical lens, the emphasis can be refocused on school systems which create environments that do not allow Latino and other marginalized students to achieve high GPAs or graduate from high school. Accordingly, school personnel, academic tracking, and oppressive educational environments are the major environmental factors explored in the next section.

School personnel. The influence of educators on Latino students has been widely documented by many researchers (Irizarry, 2015; McKillip, Godfrey, & Rawls, 2012; Ramirez, 2011). For instance, Ramirez (2011) argued that Latino students tended to “rely heavily on the expertise of counselor educators, and generally follow their advice” (p. 127). These relationships are also influential in accessing resources, information, and advanced courses (Carolan-Silva & Reyes, 2013; Yonezawa, Wells, & Serna, 2002). McKillip et al. (2012) study also found that students benefited from building supporting relationships with teachers and feeling noticed. As a result, the relationships students build with school personnel have major implications for their success (Achinstein, Curry, & Ogawa, 2015).

However, the bias held by some school personnel can limit the support Latino students receive from them. For example, Irizarry’s (2015) study discussed the pervasive belief among school personnel that Latino students are indifferent about their education. Moreover, some educators and policymakers position Latino culture as incompatible with successful academic behaviors (Irizarry, 2015). The cultural-deficit perspective held by some school personnel can manifest in tangible ways for students in the classroom. For instance, Tenenbaum and Ruck’s (2007) meta-analysis found that teachers held less positive expectations for Latino students than

White students. This study also found that Latino students were held to lower expectations compared to their White peers (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). In another study, Suizzo, Jackson, Pahlke, Marroquin, Blondeau, and Martinez (2012) found that students who experienced low expectations from teachers had lower achievement. In addition, Kuperminc, Darnell, and Alvarez-Jimenez (2008) found a positive correlation between teachers' expectations and school belonging. Indeed, Wayman's (2002) study found that Mexican American adolescents were more likely to perceive bias than White students. The study also revealed that students who had dropped out were more likely to experience high ethnic bias from teachers than students who stayed in school (Wayman, 2002). Teacher ethnic bias can contribute to student dissatisfaction and alienation from the school setting, and even lead to some students' disengagement from their learning or dropping out completely (Fuentes, 2006; Wayman, 2002).

Even though Latino students may not interface with school personnel that are intentionally using a cultural-deficit perspective, they may interact with school personnel that do not honor their cultural values. For example, respect is an important aspect of machismo and should be taken into consideration when working with Latino boys (Mirandé, 1997). Teachers could make Latino male students feel disrespected by setting low academic standards or not investing in their learning. In retaliation to the disrespect, the Latino male students may misbehave which only validates the school personnel's decision to expect less from the student or not invest in their learning. School personnel could feel justified in their treatment of Latino students who are not investing in their education, without critically interrogating the cultural nuances at play (Katz, 1999). Therefore, school personnel are important as both holders of

knowledge and disciplinarians in the classroom. The interactions school personnel have with Latino boys' can either propel them towards academic success or failure.

Academic tracking. Another environmental factor Latino student's encounter which can impede their success is academic tracking. Tracking is the placement of students into specific courses based on their perceived ability (Ansalone, 2001). School personnel, gate keepers of information, are vital to student tracking (Yonezawa et al., 2002). They are the individuals who set the standards and regulate the policies in place, which either hamper or advance certain students into particular tracks (Ansalone, 2001). For example, Yonezawa et al. (2002) shared that educators in her study rarely disclosed the petitioning process for honors courses. Students of color, especially Latino students, were denied information about honors courses (Yonezawa et al., 2002). If information was shared, students of color experienced delays in their process for transfer into higher tracks (Yonezawa et al., 2002). Carolan-Silva and Reyes (2013) even noted that Latino students could have difficulty finding adequate and consistent information about the tracking system from schools. Moreover, Oakes, Ormseth, Bell, and Camp (1990) argued that the limited access to rigorous mathematics and science courses in the lower tracks hindered students' ability to master content in these areas. Thus, hampering their ability to enter advanced mathematics and science courses in preparation for college-level coursework.

In addition, scholars posited that due to class and racial bias in educational systems, students of color are relegated to lower-tracks (Ansalone, 2001; Blanchett, Mumford, & Beachum, 2005; Orfield & Lee, 2004). Gordon et al. (2000) also discovered that students of color "have less access to advanced classes or programs for gifted students" (p. 4). Specifically, Latino students have been found to be represented the least, out of all racial groups, in the

college track (Werblow, Urick, & Duesbery, 2013). Latino students are in tracks below college and experience many of the negative effects found in lower tracks. For example, Werblow et al. (2013) discovered that drop-out rates for students increased within the lower tracks. Scholars also noted that students feel marginalized and unworthy of education in these types of settings, which cause them to withdraw (Ansalone, 2001; Irizarry, 2015). In addition, the restrictions on moving up from lower tracks were found to create frustration and resentment among students (Ansalone, 2001; Irizarry, 2015). Unfortunately, these emotions resulted in students violating rules, higher truancy, and engagement in other deviant behavior (Ansalone, 2001; Irizarry, 2015; Werblow et al., 2013).

However, the literature on academic tracking rarely interrogated the unique needs and experiences of Latino boys. In the literature above scholars have drawn connections to the tensions found in the lower tracks for students of color, like Latino boys (Ansalone, 2001; Irizarry, 2015; Werblow et al., 2013). These tensions in school systems can contribute to the low graduation rates Latino boys experience in high school (Sáenz et al., 2016). In addition, Yonezawa et al. (2002) discussed the intentional decision of some African American students to stay in lower track courses which honored their history and identities. Similar decisions might be made by Latino students due to their collectivistic culture, where the group supersedes the needs of the individual (Arevalo et al., 2016).

Furthermore, the trust and respect in collectivistic cultures for educators (Guerra & Nelson, 2013) could be connected to Latino family's acceptance of their child's track placement (e.g. honors, remedial, advanced placement), being held back a year, or any other educational decisions made by the school. For example, Guerra and Nelson (2013) noted Latino families'

aversion to interfering with their children's education because to do otherwise "would be viewed as a sign of disrespect and distrust that educators are incapable of doing their job" (p. 430). This can also be true for Latino boys, who may also accept what teachers impose on them because of collectivism. In addition, machismo may also play a role in the form of pride with Latino boys not wanting to be seen as weak or incapable of succeeding academically (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014). As a result, Latino boys may not ask for help if they are struggling academically or if they feel the material is too easy. Indeed, Latino college men have been found to be resistant to help-seeking behaviors (Cabrera et al. 2016), which could deter them from asking questions about their education. This "avoidance to help-seeking behavior...was rooted in fear of vulnerability" (Cabrera et al., 2016, p. 88), which could also be present in Latino boys since machismo encompasses an aversion to being perceived as weak (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014). All of these cultural lenses are critical for Latino men as academic tracking and other environmental factors are considered.

Oppressive educational environments. The third major environmental factor, oppressive educational environments, manifests in the discrimination found in school systems. As mentioned in previous sections, school personnel have a role in creating either inclusive or oppressive spaces for students. In a few studies school personnel have reinforced a racially discriminatory and oppressive environment for students through restricting access to information, hidden prerequisites, and restricting access to higher tracks for students of color (Ansalone, 2001; Noguera, 2003; Yonezawa et al., 2002). Teachers have also suppressed students of color, especially Black and Latino boys, through their disciplinary actions (e.g. suspension, expulsion) in their classes (Noguera, 2003; Sáenz et al., 2016; Tajalli & Garba,

2014). Another study discovered that Latino students were disproportionately punished compared to White males for misbehaving (Peguro & Shekarkhar, 2011). The overrepresentation of Black and Latino boys who receive disciplinary action illustrates the bias found in teachers and school systems at large (Gordon et al., 2000), partly due to racism and cultural-deficit perspectives held by school personnel.

In addition to the overrepresentation of punishment Latino students experience, research also documented the excessive misidentification of students of color as emotionally or behaviorally disabled (Moreno & Gaytán, 2012). In fact, Latino students in 2013 were the largest subgroup of students with disabilities from ages six through twenty-one compared to White students who received services under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, 2015). Moreno and Gaytán (2013) challenged the instruments used to assess learning disabilities. They discussed that many of the instruments were developed around “homogenous normative groups that were both native English speakers and White” (Moreno & Gaytán, 2013, p. 8). These biased instruments privilege a certain set of values and experiences which leads to misdiagnosing students of color. As Latino students continue to be placed in special education incorrectly, their education could be hampered (Guiberson, 2009).

The experiences of Latino students in school represent the ways in which the educational pipeline is pushing students out of school. Students themselves are not choosing to drop out or feel that they are not academically capable, they are constantly being told in subtle and not so subtle ways that they should not be in school. For example, Katz (1999) found that due to the discrimination and prejudice experienced by Latino students they turn to their Latino peers for

support and community. In peer groups with other Latinos, to protect themselves and survive, they rebelled against the system (Katz, 1999). However, as Latino males challenged the discrimination they faced it gave administrators an excuse to reprimand them (Katz, 1999). The conflict these exchanges created for Latino students only exacerbated the already hostile climate. For Latino boys, in particular, the continued attack on their pride can be detrimental since pride is a cornerstone of machismo (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014). If Latinos are constantly hearing disparaging comments from teachers, placed into educational spaces that do not value their intellect or challenge them, and face discrimination on a regular basis; they may leave the educational pipeline to save face.

Finally, all of these negative experiences will have an effect on their educational journey. High dropout rates and low grades are probable outcomes for Latino boys as they are combating the various perils that can be found in educational spaces. It is critical for hegemonic notions of success to be challenged. Without examining the larger environmental context Latino boys are in within the K-12 school system there will be limited progress on their academic success. In postsecondary education Latino men continue to be held to a certain standard of success which does not take into account their needs and perspectives.

Hegemonic Notions of Success in Postsecondary Education

The process for entry into higher education and persistence to degree completion is a difficult endeavor for many Latino students. Two major aspects of success in postsecondary education are completion of a degree (i.e. associate's degree, bachelor's degree) or transferring from a two-year college to a four-year institution to attain a bachelor's degree. Unfortunately, Latino students are not performing well in degree attainment at both the associate and

baccalaureate levels. For example, at the community college level Latino students represented 18.1% of associate's degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions in 2014-2015 while their White counterparts earned 59.3% (NCES, 2016a). Moreover, postsecondary institutions conferred 12% of bachelor's degrees to Latino students in 2014-2015 compared to 66.5% earned by White students (NCES, 2016b). In addition, Latino men are underperforming compared to their female counterparts at every level. For example, Latino men earned 38.4% of associate's degrees in 2014-2015 compared to their female counterparts who earned 61.6% (NCES, 2016a). Latino men in 2013-2014 also earned 39.8% of bachelor's degrees in 2014-2015 compared to 60.2% earned by Latina women (NCES, 2016b).

This data depicts the dire state of Latino students, especially Latino men, in higher education. They are not earning degrees in high numbers, which means that they are not meeting hegemonic notions of success. Nevertheless, Latino students still persevere through the educational system even though environmental factors within higher education hinder their progress. The major environmental factors that influence Latino students' ability to achieve hegemonic notions of success are standardized tests, institutional actors, and financing higher education.

Standardized tests. One of the major markers of hegemonic success are high standardized test scores. In 2006, Latino students mean SAT verbal and critical reading score was 457 compared to White students whose mean score was 527 (Kobrin, Sathy, & Shaw, 2007). Furthermore, SAT mathematics scores also showed Latino students mean score of 463 compared to White students who earned a mean score of 536 (Kobrin et al., 2007). These scores illustrate the way in which Latino students are not excelling in this marker of success. Unfortunately, this

could result in limited opportunities for Latino students as they attempt to pursue their postsecondary education. Furthermore, the emphasis on individual performance does not recognize the skewed history of standardized tests.

Scholars have noted the historical concern of test scores and the persisting racial gap (Berlak, 2009). Though differences on standardized tests can many times be small (Berlak, 2009), they still have an effect on students. For example, Berlak (2009) found that on average there is a 10% gap between White and nonwhite students resulting in a 120-point disparity in SAT scores. Though this difference in scores seems small, it could mean the difference in what types of colleges or universities students are able to access. Moreover, the historical chasm in test scores illustrates the racial and cultural bias embedded in how standardized tests are developed and administered (Berlak, 2009). As Berlak (2009) noted, standardized tests are another form of institutionalized racism cloaked under the guise of science which disadvantage students of color. As a result, Latino students have an additional barrier as they attempt to access higher education.

Institutional agents. Similar to K-12 education, students entering college rely on institutional agents to achieve success. Institutional agents can be faculty, staff, or any other individual on campus that holds some position of power and authority over educational resources (Dowd, Pak, & Bensimon, 2013). Tovar, Simon, and Lee (2009) in particular asserted that institutional actors who create supportive and welcoming environments can be instrumental in students feeling like they matter. Affirmation and validation received from institutional agents by students are integral to building up their confidence around academic success (Dowd et al.,

2013). Scholars have also noted that relationships between faculty and students are invaluable (Anaya & Cole, 2001; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004).

Indeed, research has alluded to the value of faculty-student interactions supporting enhanced GPA's for Latino students who frequently interacted with faculty (Anaya & Cole, 2001; Tovar, 2015). In addition to supporting students' grades, they are also socializers for students within the institutional culture and available resources on campus (Tovar, 2015). Furthermore, Baker's (2013) data revealed that African American and Latino faculty were of particular importance to African American and Latino college students' academic success. These faculty of color supported Latino and African American students to feel like they belonged at the institution and were able to provide information on how to navigate the new environment as students of color (Baker, 2013). Ultimately, the data highlights the pivotal role institutional agents play in Latino students' educational experiences.

Financing higher education. Another external factor many scholars like Gross (2011), Núñez, Sparks, and Hernández (2011), and Kuh et al. (2006) have noted is the importance of financing college. Kuh et al. (2006) discussed the importance financial aid could play in promoting student success. In fact, research indicated that Latino student's access to funds and perceptions of affordability have a large influence on their pursuit of college (Nuñez & Kim, 2012; Ponjuan, Palomin, & Calise, 2015; Sanchez et al., 2015). In addition, Gross (2011) mentioned that financial aid, especially the type of support received, can influence student decisions around departure from college. Cunningham and Santiago (2008) also discovered that Latino students were more averse to taking student loans compared to other racial groups.

Ultimately, Latino students take financing their higher education serious and is an important factor when considering their academic success.

As was mentioned in the previous section, Latino students rely heavily on their families' due to the cultural value of familismo. The support Latino students get from family is a reciprocal relationship, where families help Latino students and vice versa. As a result, Rodriguez et al. (2015) argued that some Latinos are expected to financially contribute to their family as teenagers. Some scholars have found that students will work while in college to support their families financially (Gandara & Orfield, 2011; Ramirez, 2011). This cultural emphasis on supporting the family is especially important for Latino men, who are viewed as the breadwinner of the family due to machismo (Ponjuan et al., 2012). Consequently, Latino men may be pulled away from their academics to work and support their family. Nevertheless, research has proven that work-study positions on campus can be a way to generate money without detracting from students' academics (Institute for Higher Education Policy [IHEP], 2001). Thus, there are ways to support the financial needs and cultural expectations placed on Latino men without suffering academically. However, institutions of higher education must be intentional if they hope to support Latino men in being successful.

Challenging the Current Measures of Success

The literature above demonstrates the need to deviate from the current hegemonic notions of success for Latino students. The educational systems they navigate were neither created for them nor with their cultural values in mind. Thus, there needs to be a reconceptualization of how we interrogate success for Latino students. Without a wider definition of success, outside of the current markers of success (i.e. grades, standardized tests, degree completion), Latino students

will always be viewed from a deficit. The research also challenges the current markers of success due to their reliance on individual performance without considering the environmental factors at play. For Latino students, especially Latino men, the educational system is an environment that is pushing them out of college (Fuentes, 2006; Secada et al., 1998). Accordingly, cultural-deficit perspectives that continue to persist in education limit access to educational opportunities and do not support Latino students' success (Irizarry, 2015; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). However, if intentional efforts to disrupt these spaces and challenge hegemonic notions of success are attempted; perhaps we can begin the process of honoring and propelling Latino students to succeed in education.

Furthermore, as success is reconceptualized outside of the individualistic and outcome-based framework, other frameworks can be considered. For instance, Castellanos and Gloria (2007) argued that success should be reconceptualized to consider intermediary steps that build towards academic success. These markers of success or microsucceeds are framed and defined by Latino students, even though the endpoint goal is still degree completion (Castellanos & Gloria, 2007). Ultimately this affords Latino students the ability to create space for what they consider to be part of success and work towards it. Moreover, it allows students to challenge the hegemony they experience in education and disrupt the dominant narrative which positions them as unable to succeed academically. In addition, this new definition of success allows Latino students to incrementally validate their success throughout the educational process (Castellanos & Gloria, 2007); instead of focusing on the end goal of graduating which can become overwhelming.

Conclusion

The abundance of research that focuses on the individual markers of success are a misrepresentation of the true experiences of Latino students during their education. Without considering the external and environmental factors that are imposed on Latino men, there will be limited progress on their success in the K-16 educational pipeline. For this reason, future research needs to deviate from the current conceptualizations of success which reify White individualistic culture upon students of color. Furthermore, some of the studies that discussed success did not clearly define success, or alluded to its definition but did not directly define it (e.g. Becerra, 2012; Carrillo, 2016; Gross, 2011; Kiyama, Museus, & Vega, 2015). This lack of clarity in the success literature is another issue which must be addressed to support greater understanding of what success looks like for college students and how scholars are interrogating the various facets of success in higher education. A radical reconceptualization of success is also imperative if Latino men are to view themselves as successful learners. Therefore, machismo must be considered when discussing Latino men and success. The dominant narrative of Latino men as unsuccessful in higher education could deter them from continuing their education for fear of being perceived as weak or incapable which is avoided in machismo (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014). In addition, Sáenz et al. (2015) study noted that education is feminized and Latino men face pressure from peers to enter the workforce to fulfill their obligations as men. With this in mind, new narratives that highlight the success of Latino men could help empower other Latino men to continue in their educational endeavors. Furthermore, there also needs to be purposeful efforts made at counteracting cultural-deficit perspectives held by school personnel and other individuals of power. Latino students have a wealth of knowledge and culture that are assets

which need to be recognized and upheld within educational spaces (Irizarry, 2015; Yosso, 2005).

In fact, the culture and social identities held by Latino students have always been sources of empowerment to persist and achieve success within the K-16 educational pipeline.

CHAPTER TWO
LATINO STUDENT EXPERIENCES LITERATURE REVIEW
AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Intersecting Social Identities of Latino College Students

The literature in higher education for Latino students encompasses many studies that explore their social identities. For example, Patrón and Garcia (2016) found social identities of Latino men to be a source of motivation. Franklin, Smith, and Hung (2014) also found Latino students experienced psychological and behavioral stress responses due to racial microaggressions. Furthermore, Yosso, Smith, Ceja, and Solórzano (2009) discussed the strength Latina women drew from their identities and resisted racial microaggressions. In another study, Ponjuan et al. (2015) explored the enrollment patterns of Latino men of various ethnic subgroups. Each of these studies recognized the necessity of exploring the intersecting identities found within the Latino community. However, there are still many social identities Latino students hold that are rarely included in the literature. Therefore, future research must consider the influence social identities of Latino students have on their academic trajectory and the value in examining these identities from an asset-based perspective. This next section explores relevant literature on Latino student's social identities, with a specific focus on Latino men. The social identities examined are ethnicity, socioeconomic status, immigration status, and gaps in the literature concerning other important social identities that should be considered in future research.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is an important social identity which influences the educational experiences of Latino students (Ojeda, Navarro, Meza, & Arbona, 2012; Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006; Wright & Littleford, 2002). For example, Ong et al. (2006) discovered that Latino students who had a high ethnic identity were better adjusted to college. Indeed, Wright and Littleford (2002) found that students with a high ethnic identity exhibited fewer symptoms of internalized tension and anxiety. However, the study also found that these same students experienced “more symptoms of hostility, suspiciousness, and mistrust of others” (Wright & Littleford, 2002, p. 15). Therefore, students could feel unwelcome and unaccepted on predominately White campuses (Wright & Littleford, 2002). Moreover, Ojeda et al. (2012) found ethnicity-related stressors for Latino students at college. Ethnicity-related stressors encompassed stereotype conformation concern, perceived discrimination, and own-group conformity pressure (Ojeda et al., 2012; Phinney, 1996). As a result, Ojeda et al.’s (2012) study revealed Latino students’ felt pressure from other Latino peers to avoid confirming any stereotypes. The distress and pressure derived from their own peers to behave in certain ways could “increase feelings of isolation, alienation, and loneliness and decrease students’ life satisfaction” (Ojeda et al., 2012, p. 22). As these studies exemplify the importance of ethnicity as an identity for Latino students, it is also critical to consider the research implications of ethnicity for different Latino ethnic subgroups when looking at data.

When considering ethnicity, paramount to this conversation is the fact that in the higher education literature most scholars do not disaggregate their data by ethnic subgroups. Latino students as a population are consolidated and researched as a large collective, much like research

on Asian populations (Teranishi & Pazich, 2014). However, within the Latino community, there are ethnic subgroups that represent the islands in the Caribbean, Mexico, Central and South America (Lockhart, n.d.). Each of these communities have some common characteristics, however they also differ in many ways. For instance, the histories of each country in Latin America (i.e. people residing on islands in the Caribbean, Mexico, Central and South America who speak Romance languages) have a common theme of colonization and oppression throughout their history, but they all have experienced distinct historical events (Lockhart, n.d.). Consequently, researching all Latino individuals as a monolithic group will not capture all of the unique needs of each ethnic subgroup. Although researchers may find common themes in the Latino population, it is critical for scholars to examine the specific needs and disparities of each ethnic subgroup.

In fact, Ponjuan et al. (2015) asserted that institutions of higher education “must create and support educational policies and programs for an ethnically diverse Latino male student population” (p. 66). This emphasis on Latino men and ethnic subgroups can be invaluable in understanding the differing experiences between ethnic subgroups. For instance, Sáenz and Ponjuan’s (2009) study revealed that although Latino men are not enrolling in 4-year institutions at high levels, different ethnic subgroups have higher gender disparities than others. They found that in 2006 Puerto Rican men were enrolling 41.6% compared to their female counterparts at 58.4% (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009). The gender disparity in this ethnic subgroup was not as large as the gender disparity found in the Mexican American/Chicano subgroup where men were enrolling at 37.1% and their female counterparts were enrolling at 62.9% (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009).

In another study, Ponjuan et al. (2015) found that there was a “significant difference in bachelor’s degree completion rates among Latino [male] ethnic subgroups” (p. 63). Overall completion rates have increased for most ethnic subgroups of Latino men, except for men of Mexican and Central American origin (Ponjuan et al., 2015). Consequently, Mexican and Central American men had “the lowest bachelor’s degree completion rates of any Latino male subgroup” (Ponjuan et al., 2015, p. 63). These trends were also mirrored in the 2-year degree completion rate for Latino men, with Mexican and Central American men with the lowest degree completion rates (Ponjuan et al., 2015). Overall, Mexican men have the lowest college enrollment and graduation rates of any Latino ethnic subgroup (Ojeda & Castillo, 2016). The low college enrollment experienced by Mexican men could be a result of added pressures or barriers they experience due to their unique experiences as Mexican men. Certainly, the aggressive political rhetoric around immigration that focuses on Mexican people may have negative implications for Mexican students (Miles, 2015; Papademetriou, 2004; Rodriguez, 2016). In addition, the socioeconomic status of Mexican students could be influencing their ability to enroll into college. For instance, Lutz’s (2007) study found that low levels of socioeconomic status were a barrier to high school completion for Latino students, especially Mexican students “who make up the largest proportion of the immigrant population” (Lutz, 2007, p. 334). As a result, these obstacles limit Mexican men’s ability to fully engagement in their education.

These various studies illustrate the divergent experiences of ethnic subgroups of Latino students and Latino men in particular. Unfortunately, there have been few studies exploring the differences between Latino ethnic subgroups in higher education. A handful of studies (e.g.

Durand & Perez, 2013; Estrada & Arciniega, 2015; Guardia & Evans, 2008; Hurtado, Carter, Spuler, Dale, & Pipkin, 1994; Lopez, 2013; Nuñez & Kim, 2012; Rivera, 2014) have documented the Latino ethnic diversity found in their sample, however they did not explore the differences among these ethnic subgroups. These studies simply stated the diversity in their sample, yet did not explicate the different experiences of each Latino ethnic subgroup. In contrast, researchers like Fry (2002), Gloria, Castellanos, Scull, and Villegas (2009), Maldonado-Torres (2011), Nuñez and Crisp (2012), Ojeda and Castillo (2016), and Schwartz, Donovan, and Guido-DiBrito (2009) all focused on the unique experiences of Latino ethnic subgroups of men in higher education. Ojeda and Castillo (2016) and Schwartz et al. (2009) in particular looked at only Mexican men. While Gloria et al. (2009) compared participants of Mexican and non-Mexican descent. By comparison, Fry (2002) investigated college completion rates among Latino ethnic subgroups to determine the graduation disparities among Latino men. Maldonado-Torres (2011) also looked at ethnic subgroups, and discovered Puerto Rican and Dominican students had differences in learning preferences. Similarly, Nuñez and Crisp (2012) compared Mexican American and Puerto Rican college students and found that Mexican American students were more likely than their Puerto Rican peers to start at a 2-year institution. Each of these studies reflect the unique insight that could be drawn from research that focuses on a specific Latino ethnic subgroup or compares data across subgroups. Furthermore, these articles highlighted the dearth in the higher education literature on the intersection of Latino ethnic subgroups and gender. The literature also highlighted the gaps in research on Central and South American men in the field. Without a better understanding of how ethnic subgroups within the

Latino community navigate higher education, better strategies cannot be developed to support their enrollment, persistence, and engagement on campus.

Socioeconomic Status

Another important social identity is the socioeconomic status of students. Research has proven that socioeconomic status has an impact on college access and persistence (Bergerson, 2009; Mamiseishvili & Deggs, 2013; Wells, Wolniak, Engberg, & Manly, 2016). Kurlaender's (2006) study used a nationally representative dataset to illustrate the effect socioeconomic status had on the type of institution enrolled by a student. The data revealed that low-income students, regardless of race, had a higher chance of attending a community college (Kurlaender, 2006). In another study, Mamiseishvili and Deggs (2013) discovered that low-income community college students who increased contact with faculty, peers, and academic advisors were more likely to succeed. The study also discussed full-time enrollment and GPA as positively influencing both persistence and transfer among low-income students (Mamiseishvili & Deggs, 2013). However, as scholars have noted, many low-income students work to support themselves through college (Bozick, 2007). The added financial pressure low-income students experience due to these jobs could hinder their academic engagement (Bozick, 2007; Long & Riley, 2007; Mamiseishvili & Deggs, 2013).

For Latino students, socioeconomic status is particularly important since research has noted that they traditionally come from lower income households (Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004; Swail, Cabrera, & Lee, 2004). Indeed, Swail et al. (2004) found that more than "half of Latino students came from families with incomes less than \$25,000 a year...Only 23% of [W]hite students came from families below the \$25,000 level" nationally (p. 4). This data was

corroborated by Kurlaender's (2006) study which also discussed Latino students as financially disadvantaged when compared to their White peers. As a result, Latino students can be particularly susceptible to the challenges experienced by low-income students.

Accordingly, the body of literature documents low-income Latino students as facing many challenges. For instance, Kim, Rennick, and Franco's (2014) shared that "low socioeconomic status was predictive of lower GPA" for Latino students (p. 259). In another study, Latino students were found "to work while enrolled in college at higher rates than college students of other racial and ethnic groups" (Becerra, 2010, p. 196). Latino students concern for funding their education has even been found to result in greater financial stress than their White counterparts (Quintana, Vogel, & Ybarra, 1991). The pressure to perform at work, college, and home can be difficult to navigate. However, for many Latino students working while attending college may not be a choice. Supporting their family financially is not only culturally expected (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009) but it is also reciprocal in nature. In Ong et al.'s (2006) study, the data revealed that parental support was an important factor in academic success for Latino students from low socioeconomic households. The data also revealed that "Latino students who reported greater levels of ethnic identity and family interdependence evidenced higher academic achievement" (Ong et al., 2006, p. 973). As a result, it is critical to interrogate the influence of Latino students' socioeconomic status on their academic trajectory. This is especially true for Latino men, who experience specific gendered expectations from their family.

Machismo in the Latino community reinforces the idea that Latino men are expected to be the breadwinners of their families (Ponjuan et al., 2012; Schwartz et al., 2009). This expectation continues through college with Latino students financially contributing to their

family by working or sharing financial aid (Gandara & Orfield, 2011; Kim et al., 2014; Ramirez, 2011). Schwartz et al.'s (2009) study specifically found that Latino men from low- and middle-class backgrounds felt pressure to work so that they could support both themselves and their families financially (Schwartz et al., 2009). However, the added pressures from working and fulfilling their academic commitments could be difficult to manage. In addition, Schwartz et al. (2009) found that Latino men struggled with their peers' disregard and lack of appreciation for their parents' financial support while in college (Schwartz et al., 2009). These tensions could create friction for students to develop relationships with affluent peers and to normalize their financial struggles in college. These feelings could result in students feeling alienated and "disadvantaged" while in college.

However, future research must examine the empowerment and counter-stories Latino students have, since we do have students who persist from low-income backgrounds. Scholars like Arellano and Padilla (1996), Cabrera and Padilla (2004), and Ong et al. (2006) have attempted to do just that by elucidating the ability of Latino students to persist and overcome the challenges they face as low-income students. Nevertheless, more research must be done to capture the cultural wealth Latino students use to succeed (Yosso, 2005). Furthermore, scholars must interrogate the ways Latino students continue to persist and find ways to institutionalize these practices. Only then can we begin to counteract some of the barriers low-income Latino students face in higher education. Equally important are the intricate complexities found in the studies above which highlight the need for further research on the intersectional identities of Latino students.

Immigration Status

The third prominent social identity in the body of literature for Latino students is their immigration status. The negative political climate towards undocumented people in the United States has left many of them frightened to pursue their education. Greenman and Hall (2013) discovered that undocumented students were less likely to attend college due to their legal status. Many students in studies expressed fear, anxiety, and shame with being an undocumented Latino student, which could impede their educational journey (Diaz-Strong & Meiners, 2007; Pérez Huber, 2010; Pérez Huber & Malagon, 2007; Pérez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortés, 2009). In fact, Pérez, Cortés, Ramos, and Coronado's (2010) study revealed that some undocumented Latino students were so fearful of being discovered and uprooted from their lives in the U.S. that they would not apply for scholarships and internships. Furthermore, students have been found to be more cautious with authority figures due to their fears (Pérez et al., 2010). There have even been students who lost interest in school when they realized access to higher education might be out of reach (Martinez, 2014). These perceptions by undocumented Latino students are not unfounded. Pérez et al. (2010) shared that the exclusion Latino students face is a harsh reality, as they are denied federally and state funded resources. Thus, limiting their access to funding that could support their educational goals.

As previous research highlighted, financial concerns are a critical consideration for entry into postsecondary education for Latino students (Greenman & Hall, 2013; Pérez et al., 2010; Woodruff, 2013). Greenman and Hall (2013) asserted that the current public policies restricting undocumented students' access to in-state tuition and financial aid are detrimental. However, Pérez (2010) also noted that a few states are providing some form of "financial aid support for a

small percentage of undocumented students to attend college at in-state tuition rates” (p. 21). Moreover, Darolia and Potochnick (2015) shared that some states have even allowed undocumented individuals access to state financial aid. Yet, Greenman and Hall (2013) contended that due to their legal status, Latino students may not be able to work and supplement the funding needed to support their education. This restriction limits Latino students’ financial stability while in college and could hamper their ability to pay for college. However, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) program is altering this for some undocumented students (Gonzales, Terriquez, & Ruszczyk, 2014; Martinez, 2014).

DACA is an executive memorandum authorized by President Obama in 2012. It is a policy that allows undocumented youths who meet certain criteria to live and work in the United States for two years (Martinez, 2014). It has also allowed many undocumented youths to attend higher education, despite their legal status (Martinez, 2014). However, due to its recent enactment there is limited research on how undocumented students are entering higher education and any additional barriers they might be experiencing. Accordingly, more research needs to explore this policy and see the ramifications it has for undocumented students. Also exploring the unique positionality of Latino men within this context will be imperative, to support this already marginalized population entry into higher education. The scarcity of research on undocumented Latino men is a gap which needs to be addressed in future research, like many other social identities of Latino students which are not being thoroughly examined.

Gaps in the Literature

Though Latino students hold a myriad of intersecting social identities, the body of literature in higher education has many gaps concerning their various social identities. A few

studies will identify certain identities held by their participants but a thorough interrogation of how these identities manifest in their findings or the implications of these identities in the study are scarce. There is an even greater shortage in the research on the intersecting identities of Latino men and the influences these identities could have on their educational experiences. Thus, this next section highlights some other social identities that are rarely discussed in the body of literature.

Religion and spirituality. There is research that verifies the importance of religion and its connection to emotional and psychological wellness for college students (Park & Millora's, 2010). Specifically, for Latino students, religion and spirituality has been found to be a source of empowerment and a method of coping with adversity (Consoli, Llamas, & Consoli, 2016; Kane & Jacobs, 2010). However, more research needs to be done in this area to better understand the role of religion and spirituality for Latino students. Furthermore, there is an absence of research that interrogates the intersection of religion and spirituality for Latino men. The empowerment that can be derived from these spaces needs to be examined further to see if this is true for queer Latino men who may struggle with their sexuality within this context.

Sexual identity. Sexual identity is an underresearched social identity in higher education and in particular for Latino students. Sexual identity is especially important for Latino students, since many times in Latino communities' individuals who are gay, lesbian, or bisexual are viewed as "challenging or violating social expectations" (Marsiglia, 1998, p. 115). Consequently, Latino students who identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual may have to choose between their ethnic identity or sexual identity (Marsiglia, 1998; Rivera-Ramos, Oswald, & Buki, 2015). This dilemma can be difficult, since much of the literature speaks to the importance

of family for Latino students (Arevalo et al., 2016; Durand & Perez, 2013; Figueroa et al., 2016) and the harmful effects of not being your whole self (Herek, 2004; Hirai et al., 2014).

In addition, research shows that there is a positive correlation between machismo and prejudice toward lesbian women and gay men (Hirai et al., 2014). In another study, Peña-Talamantes (2013) asserted that the emphasis on heterosexuality found in machismo could be “particularly detrimental to Latino men who may identify as, or be perceived as, homosexual” (p. 167). In fact, the participants shared that due to “their sexual orientation, they understood that they were unable to claim the macho label in its entirety” (Peña-Talamantes, 2013, p. 174). However, the gay Latino men attempted to embody masculine acts from machismo they thought were honorable and avoided behaviors that would be perceived as feminine (Peña-Talamantes, 2013).

These studies highlighted the difficulty Latino students may face in leading authentic lives and openly identifying with their sexual identity, for fear of being ostracized by their family. The influence of familismo and collectivism could also be reasons Latino men avoid openly identifying as gay or bisexual, since their family can many times supersede personal needs (Arevalo et al., 2016; Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009). In addition to this internal conflict, there is the reality that family members might not accept their sexual identity. This could ultimately jeopardize the support they receive from their family and limit the people they can rely on to deal with the challenges they face in college. In addition, both heterosexual and queer Latino men may also be weary of their expressions and mannerisms for fear of alienation from their family if they are perceived to be gay. Furthermore, the constraints found in machismo may hamper Latino men’s sexual identity development as they avoid being socially shunned within the Latino

community. Lastly, further research is needed to draw clearer connections to the experiences of all the social identities Latino students embody and their influence on their academic success.

Generational status. A third social identity which has implications for Latino students is generational status. Generational status is the generation of entry into the United States (Torres, 2003). For instance, first-generation refers to individuals who immigrated to the United States while second-generation refers to children born in the United States but whose parents immigrated to the United States (Becerra, 2010). Moreover, third generation refers to students who were born in the United States and whose parents were also U.S-born (Becerra, 2010). Few studies have attempted to explore the influence of generational status on Latino students' educational experiences.

One such study was Dennis, Basañez, and Farahmand (2010) which revealed that first- and second-generation Latinos experienced greater acculturation conflict than their third-generation peers. Thus, Latino students may “experience the sense that they are more American than their parents” (Dennis et al., 2010, p. 129). Furthermore, the study confirmed that conflicting orientations with family members can be harmful for the mental health of students (Dennis et al., 2010). Similarly, in another study first-generation Latino students were found to experience cognitive dissonance due to “conflicts with their parents’ cultural expectations” (Torres, 2003, p. 540). Becerra’s (2010) study also uncovered data that first-generation students were more likely than third-generation students to view college as necessary to be successful. Moreover, Aguinaga and Gloria (2015) found that “ethnic identity and Mexican orientation were stronger for first-generation than second-generation plus students” (p. 24).

However, there is lack of scholarship which considers the gendered differences between generational statuses. Indeed, Gloria et al. (2009) used a gendered lens and it yielded findings that spoke to first-generation Latino men perceiving greater barriers to staying in college than their second-generation peers. Moreover, Latino men were found to be self-reliant when solving issues instead of seeking support from social networks (Gloria et al., 2009). Understanding the difficulty of barriers first-generation Latino men face and their self-reliance in solving issues could be a critical insight that could help shape future interventions for this specific population. Further research on the intersections of identities may be imperative for expanding the ways in which we support Latino men.

Language. Finally, language is a social identity that has been underresearched in higher education for Latino college students. However, there is some research that alludes to language having an influence on the collegiate experiences of Latino students. Kim et al. (2014), for example, found language heritage positively predicted GPA and cognitive skills for Latino students who were native speakers of English. In another study, Latino college students who spoke Spanish more frequently experienced greater conflict of values and expectations with parents (Dennis et al., 2010). Moreover, Borrero (2015) found that Latino students who were bilingual interpreted for their family in various contexts (e.g. school, hospitals, bank, phone calls), which was documented to be both difficult and empowering. There may also be more stress added to Latino students who chose to go away for college and are unable to provide this resource for their families.

In addition, research has drawn some connections between language and Latino men. For example, Callahan (2009) found that Spanish used by Latino men “across social contexts

experience an academic boost” (p. 193). Callahan (2009) suggested this was a result of increased access to a larger social-support network and role models. In Pérez’s (2014) study, Latino men used Spanish to affirm their ethnic identity. Furthermore, Guardia and Evans’ (2008) study found that language was important for Latino men’s ethnic identity development. Spanish allowed Latino students to stay connected to their culture and was also a form of cultural resistance on campus (Guardia & Evans, 2008). Thus, language can be an important social identity for Latino men.

Conclusion

The social identities explored in the literature speak to the importance of intersectional research for Latino students. Indeed, the cultural socialization Latino students experience have implications on their navigation of postsecondary education. Some of the data documents the challenges Latino students face and the barriers set before them. However, there is a need for more research which honors the community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) and funds of knowledge (Kiyama, 2011; Liou, Antrop-González, & Cooper, 2009) found within Latino communities. Latino students are not devoid of assets which empower them through the educational system, so research needs to both recognize and uplift these positive experiences.

This is especially true for Latino men who are rarely researched as both racial and gendered beings (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014), with a multitude of other social identities. Consequently, research in the future needs to become more nuanced and complex. For example, would a Mexican-born man perform machismo the same way as a fourth-generation Puerto Rican man? In the current framework of investigating Latino men, these two students would be lumped together in most research; even though they have unique experiences which may result in

different findings. However, this does not negate the power and necessity of data on Latino men as a group. Research of Latino men as a whole could shed light on major overarching challenges or struggles they share within the educational system. Indeed, there is power in studies with large sample sizes as they are able to provide a broad picture of Latino men within higher education. Nevertheless, these studies do not allow for a deeper exploration of nuanced differences between Latino men. Qualitative studies could offer Latino men an opportunity to share their narratives and give scholars a more detailed accounting of how they personally navigated higher education with their multiple identities. Ultimately, with a more intricate understanding of the identities of Latino students and the assets at their disposal, research can begin to recognize their unique needs and experiences within higher education.

College Campuses: Exclusionary Spaces

When examining the experiences of Latino men, a closer examination of their experiences on college campuses must be considered. Especially since each institution has its own unique culture which Latino men, like other students of color, must navigate. Indeed, Museus and Harris (2010) noted the importance of institutional culture in fostering welcoming environments for students of color. However, Hurtado (1992) found that “one in four students perceived considerable racial conflict at four-year institutions” (p. 560) and students believed racial discrimination was an issue on college campuses. This type of environment does not cultivate a welcoming space for Latino men and other students of color as they continually face racism and discrimination on campus. Thus, this section explores the institutional factors which impact Latino men’s persistence in higher education. Recognizing the complex nature of

institutions of higher education and the multitude of institutional factors, this literature review focuses on the dimensions of campus racial climate.

Campus Racial Climate

The literature in higher education is replete with studies on campus climate for racial and ethnic student experiences. In fact, many scholars have noted that the environment influences student success (Franklin et al., 2014; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Harper & Hurtado, 2007), especially for students of color (Hurtado et al., 1994; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998; Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005; Stotzer & Hossellman, 2012). Through their exploration of campus racial climate, scholars have noted that the institutional context has specific dimensions which impact students from different racial and ethnic subgroups (Hurtado et al., 1994; Hurtado et al., 1998; Milem et al., 2005). Specifically, Hurtado et al.'s (1994) study explored what factors influenced the adjustment to college life for Latino students and their persistence. In the study, Hurtado et al. (1994) outlined four dimensions to campus racial climate.

Based on this framework, other scholars have enhanced and built upon it over time to better capture the experiences of racial and ethnic students (Hurtado et al., 1998; Milem et al., 2005). Hurtado et al. (1998) added to the framework by modifying the original four dimensions to campus racial climate into historical legacy, structural diversity, psychological climate, and behavioral climate. After this iteration, Milem et al. (2005) altered the framework further by changing structural diversity which represented the enrollment of racially diverse students at a college, to compositional diversity which included the number of racially diverse students, faculty, and staff at an institution. Another alteration to the framework was an added fifth

dimension, organizational and structural diversity (Milem et al., 2005). Organizational and structural diversity encompasses the curriculum, decision-making practices, and policies of an institution (Milem et al., 2005). Taken together the five dimensions encompass the campus racial climate, which highlights the unwelcoming and hostile environments students of color experience on college campus (Milem et al., 2005; Museus & Harris, 2010). These five dimensions will help guide the exploration of how Latino men experience and interface with college campuses.

Historical legacy. The historical legacy dimension of the campus racial climate framework refers to the history of exclusion on college campuses (Hurtado et al., 1998). Institutions are complex organizations that have deeply engrained cultures embedded within them (Bauer, 1998), influenced by the history of both the institution and society (Kuh & Whitt, 1988). Kuh and Whitt (1988) defined culture as “the collective, mutually shaping patterns of norms, values, practices, beliefs, and assumptions that guide the behavior of individuals and groups in an institute of higher education” (pp. 12-13). They further noted that traditions, organizational structures, and other institutional practices represent products of institutional culture (Kuh & Whitt, 1988). Consequently, Hurtado et al. (1998) argued that the “historical vestiges of segregated schools and colleges continue to affect the climate for racial/ethnic diversity on college campuses” (p. 283). In addition, the privileging of predominately White fraternities and sororities at predominately White institutions (PWIs) represented another historical example (Hurtado et al., 1998). Hurtado et al. (1998) discussed the fact that predominately White fraternities and sororities at PWIs may have centrally located houses on campus or around campus, and are deeply involved with campus programs. Conversely, African

American fraternities and sororities may not experience the same inclusion (Hurtado et al., 1998).

Aside from on campus events, off campus events have also been noted as influential for students of color. Specifically, for Latino students, the current political rhetoric of undocumented people has implications for their educational experience (Acosta, 2013; Pérez Huber & Cueva, 2012; Mendez & Cabrera, 2015). Though Latino students are not the only undocumented population in the United States, the discourse around this topic has centered on Latino people (especially individuals of Mexican descent). This climate of hate towards undocumented and Latino people has resulted in legislation which has negatively affected both undocumented and Latino students. For instance, in 2010 Arizona passed an anti-immigration law (Senate Bill 1070) and an anti-ethnic studies program law (House Bill 2281) (Mendez & Cabrera, 2015). Consequently, Georgia later instituted its own law which banned “undocumented students from attending five top-tier Georgia state-funded universities” (Acosta, 2013, p. 65). These various laws effectively exclude undocumented Latino students from applying for college, limit access to necessary financial assistance, and instill fear which impedes their engagement with academia (Greenman & Hall, 2013; Pérez Huber, 2010; Pérez et al., 2010). Thus, historical events can have powerful manifestations on college campuses which can influence how marginalized students experience their educational environment.

Compositional diversity. Equally important to the historical legacy and culture on college campuses is the compositional make-up of racial diversity. Compositional diversity refers to the diversity of the student body, faculty, and staff on a college campus (Milem et al., 2005). Numerous studies have documented the importance of numerical and proportional

representation of racial minorities on campus (Johnson, Wasserman, Yildirim, & Yonai, 2014; Milem et al., 2005; Stotzer & Hossellman, 2012). In fact, Abu-Ghazaleh and Hoffman (2016) suggested that institutions should enhance the diversity of educators on campus to mirror the diversity found in the student body. By doing so, students can see people like them in positions of authority and view them as role models or mentors (Milem et al., 2005). Milem et al. (2005) also noted that campus communities with increased racial and ethnic diversity create educational spaces that can “enhance students’ learning and better prepare them for participation in a democratic society” (p. 6). They also argued that with a more diverse pool of racial and ethnic subgroups on campus, students are exposed to differing viewpoints and opinions on various topics (Milem et al., 2005). This argument was confirmed by Chang, Denson, Sáenz, and Misa’s (2006) study which found evidence that cross-cultural interactions had a positive impact on critical thinking ability and problem-solving.

In addition, Stotzer and Hossellman (2012) noted that as the composition of the student body became more diverse, the chances of tokenism were lowered since diversity became more commonplace. Conversely, as the representation of Latino and Black students decreased their chances of being tokenized increased and they were at a higher risk of experiencing hate crimes (Stotzer & Hossellman, 2012). In another study, Hurtado et al. (1994) found that the structural diversity or number of Latino students enrolled at the college was important for Latino students’ academic adjustment. Hagedorn, Chi, Cepeda, and McLain (2007) further interrogated the composition of a college by exploring critical mass, which in education refers to the level of representation needed at an institution for individuals to feel comfort and familiarity on campus. In their study, they supported the importance of compositional diversity by discovering a

“critical mass is indeed an important predictor for student success in urban, Latino community college students” (Hagedorn et al., 2007, p. 88). As Latino faculty and student representation increased, Latino students tended to have higher academic success (Hagedorn et al., 2007). Medina and Posada (2012) also reported Latino faculty to be important for Latino students in their college success. Furthermore, Hagedorn et al. (2007) speculated that the increased number of Latino faculty expanded the availability of role models and supported students in fostering a sense of belonging and social integration. Complementing this research, Fischer (2010) reported that having same race professors supported higher GPAs for Latino and Black men. Highlighting the influence race and gender could have on men of color as they navigate the campus climate.

Conversely, the literature is scarce on the experiences of Latino men and campus climate. Though previous studies have explored the campus racial climate for Latino students, the specifically gendered needs of Latino men have not been examined. Considering the avoidance of vulnerability in machismo, constantly facing tokenism, and other negative experiences on college campuses could negatively affect Latino men’s persistence. In addition, the literature did not consider different ethnic subgroups in its consideration of compositional diversity. For instance, in 2013 there were three ethnic subgroups (e.g. Honduran, Guatemalan, Mexican) who had the lowest enrollment rates at 2- and 4-year colleges and universities (Musu-Gillette et al., 2016). Since few studies explore the differences between ethnic subgroups, we are unclear on how these ethnic subgroup disparities on college campuses could potentially influence Latino students. However, Bohen, Johnson, and Gorman’s (2006) study attempted to address this gap by exploring the college aspirations and expectations of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban

students. This study found Mexican and Puerto Rican students had lower college aspiration and expectations than Cuban students (Bohen et al., 2006). Bohem et al. (2006) speculated that these differences in aspirations and expectations could be due to family socioeconomic status, history of immigration into the United States, and many other factors. Thus, highlighting the need for further research, especially for Latino men due to their low educational attainment (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Sáenz et al., 2016). This is especially true for Mexican men, who have the largest educational attainment gap compared to their female counterparts (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009). Therefore, further research is needed to illuminate the potential barriers and hurdles specific ethnic subgroups may face compared to the larger Latino community. Understanding the unique needs of each Latino ethnic subgroup and the commonalities between groups can assist institutions in supporting all their Latino students. Nevertheless, most of the research on compositional diversity is in agreement with the importance of diversity on college campuses.

Behavioral climate. In addition to the importance of numerical representation, scholars have argued that institutions should move towards intentionally utilizing the diversity on campuses to maximize learning (Gurin et al., 2002; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). The next dimension of the campus racial climate, behavioral climate, encompasses the importance of intergroup relations at the institution (Hurtado et al., 1998). For instance, Harper and Hurtado (2007) found that students felt frustrated that they were expected to “magically interact across racial differences on their own” (p. 16). Students mentioned their desire for the institution to do more in structuring experiences to support students in their educational process of racial understanding (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). In another study, Gurin et al. (2002) found that diversity experiences had a positive impact on learning. They discovered that interactional

diversity between racial groups supported “higher levels of intellectual engagement and self-assessed academic skills” (Gurin et al., 2002, p. 27). The research illustrated the importance of positive interactions between students and emphasized the institution’s role in that process.

Furthermore, Milem et al. (2005) noted the importance of classrooms in supporting cross-racial interactions, especially through active learning pedagogies. In another study, Gurin et al. (2002) indicated that classroom diversity was especially important for Latino and White students. Additionally, Hurtado and Ponjuan (2005) found that students who frequently spoke Spanish at home were more likely to perceive a hostile campus racial climate around diversity than students who were English dominant speakers. In comparison, Nuñez (2011) found that Latino students felt more welcome in Chicano studies courses which recognized Spanish as a valid form of communication. However, few studies explored language as a factor in student interactions on campus. Some scholars have attempted to fill this gap by exploring the influence of language on ethnic identity development (Guardia & Evans, 2008; Pérez, 2014), social networks (Callahan, 2009), and cognitive skills (Kim et al., 2014) for Latino students. Nevertheless, this gap in the literature shows the importance of considering the values and identities of Latino men when considering cross-racial interactions. Ultimately, the ways in which institutions cultivate cross-racial interactions will either support a positive or negative experience for Latino students on their academic journey.

Psychological climate. In fact, countless studies detail the impact negative experiences around race can have on students of color (Becerra, 2010; Hurtado et al., 1998; Johnson et al., 2014). Further substantiating the importance of the next dimension, psychological climate, which refers to the attitudes and perceptions of students on campus among each other and other

groups (Hurtado et al., 1998). The stress experienced on college campuses by students of color due to the campus racial climate can undermine their persistence (Franklin et al., 2014; Johnson et al., 2014). For example, Hurtado (1992) found that racial discrimination was still an issue on college campuses for students. Franklin et al. (2014) further noted that the stress imposed through racial microaggressions manifested physiologically for Latino students in the form of muscle aches, back pains, and insomnia. Students also experienced behavioral stress responses like eating less, procrastination, and avoiding their responsibilities (Franklin et al., 2014). Depression was also found to be related to the stress Latino/a college students faced on campus (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014).

In addition, evidence indicates that students of color who experience hostile campus racial climates can feel distant from the institution (Hurtado et al., 1994; Johnson et al., 2014), have a lowered sense of belonging (Hurtado & Carter, 1997), and feel isolated (Hernandez, 2013). Furthermore, Fischer (2010) asserted that students of color can be negatively affected by stereotype threat as they become hyperaware “of their race/ethnicity when placed in a position in which their performance could be judged as confirming or disconfirming a negative stereotype” (p. 20). The study also found that the pressure from stereotype threat could “influence the students’ social experience at school and further undermine their likelihood of persisting” (Fischer, 2010, p. 31). Moreover, the pressures from the socio-political climate both on and off campus can have implications for the stress students feel during their time at the institution. For instance, Mendez and Cabrera’s (2015) data revealed that several of their participants believed the campus racial climate became more hostile after the passage of Senate Bill (SB) 1070 and House Bill (HB) 2281 in Arizona. These laws caused students to feel stress, anxiety, and worry

as they attempted to navigate the anti-Latina/o legislation (Mendez & Cabrera, 2015). Many of the participants also shared experiencing anti-immigration racial microaggressions in the form of discrimination and derogatory statements (Mendez & Cabrera, 2015). These microaggressions could have a negative effect on Latino students, especially Latino men who have been found to experience downward trends of self-efficacy when they experience microaggressions on campus (Lopez, 2014).

Nevertheless, the experiences Latino men have on campus are also influenced by Latino culture. For instance, Mendez and Cabrera (2015) discussed the demands of supporting undocumented family members' after the passage of SB 1070 which pulled Latino students away from their studies. SB 1070 was a bill which allowed state and local law enforcement to regulate immigration in the state and attempted to stop undocumented people from working (Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, 2010). The law also required individuals "to produce proof of citizenship to law enforcement officers on demand" (Campbell, 2011, p. 1). This legislation impeded the ability of Latino students to work and fund their education. It also hampered their ability to ask questions about higher education out of fear of having their immigration status discovered. In addition, if students have undocumented parents they may not risk their families' immigration status being uncovered by asking questions about the college application process. This could be especially true for Latino men, since machismo emphasizes family-centeredness and protecting others (Mirandé, 1997). Familismo could also be present, as Latinos will often place their families before themselves (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009). Furthermore, Hurtado and Ponjuan (2005) found that Latino students who lived on campus or with parents "tended to have a higher sense of belonging than students who live[d] off campus" (p. 245).

Therefore, Latino men's families can be an additional stressor while in college but they are also an integral part of their academic success.

Equally important, Thompson and Schwartz (2014) discovered that Latino and Black men had posttraumatic stress prior to entry into the educational setting, further compounding their stress level in hostile campus racial climates. Moreover, Mendez and Cabrera (2015) reported Latino students feeling fear at potentially being deported if they could not prove they were citizens, which caused them to be very cautious and have identification on their person at all times. Indeed, these studies highlighted the stress Latino men experience both on and off campus. However, machismo's restrictions on emotions could hamper their ability to express themselves and navigate the multitude of emotions they experience while at college. Gloria et al. (2009) substantiated this claim further with data which revealed that Latino men were more likely to rely on themselves to deal with problems. Thus, evading any discussions about their psychological distress which could be seen as a sign of weakness (Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014). Moreover, Ojeda et al.'s (2012) study indicated that Latino students performed in ways that their ethnic subgroup deemed as appropriate for Latinos. Therefore, Latino men may avoid their emotions in an effort to adhere to machismo within the Latino community. Nevertheless, Knight (2014) mentioned that sharing problems and discussing issues is a healthy way to deal with problems. Gloria et al. (2009) further emphasized the importance of Latino men venting and voicing their educational stressors. As a result, machismo supports avoidance-type behaviors that could restrict Latino men's ability to deal with their emotions in a healthy way individually and hamper their ability to seek support from others.

Organizational and structural diversity. Finally, the last dimension of the campus racial climate affecting Latino men is organizational and structural diversity. This dimension entails the organizational and structural ways in which some groups are privileged over others in various processes (Milem et al., 2005). For example, the budget allocation on campus demonstrates the enacted values of institutions. If an institution espouses diversity as a value, it should properly support initiatives geared to fulfil that value. However, if a multicultural affairs office is consistently understaffed and poorly funded, the institution is demonstrating to students that their enacted values are incongruent with their espoused values. This same thought process could also be extended to pre-college programs and other services for students of color.

In addition, policies on campus can illustrate an institution's investment in diversity. For example, Milem et al. (2005) noted that diversity should be in all policies to exhibit the institution's commitment to diversity. These policies also include faculty diversity policies, which acknowledge the importance of recruiting and retaining faculty of color (Milem et al., 2005). As mentioned in a previous section, these types of policies are critical since data shows students benefit from a diverse pool of faculty. Furthermore, Milem et al. (2005) mentioned that when institutions do not actively and publicly attempt to diversify their faculty, students may think the institution's commitment to diversity is insincere.

Another important aspect of organizational and structural diversity is the curriculum. As Kuh and Whitt (1988) discussed "the curriculum and the academic climate of an institution are influenced in large measure by what faculty, students, and external audiences perceive to be important to the process of teaching and learning" (p. 73). Consequently, Engberg and Hurtado (2011) found that students benefited from curricular and co-curricular diversity which helped

students increase their intergroup learning. Hurtado and Ponjuan (2005) also shared that their study found diversity courses supported a sense of belonging for Latino students and indirectly shaped their college experiences.

The research outlined above demonstrates the importance of organizational and structural diversity for all students of color, especially Latino students. Funding diversity offices and other initiatives geared towards supporting students of color, like Latino men, are critical to their persistence. Policies pertaining to the recruitment and retention of diverse faculty will also be important for Latino men since mentorship was found to be important for them (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009). In addition, a diverse curriculum can be another critical experience for Latino men to meet like-minded individuals to form peer groups (Nuñez, 2011; Quaye, Griffin, & Museus, 2015). These groups can then be spaces for Latino men to hopefully “seek help while maintaining their masculine identities” (Sáenz et al., 2015, p. 174). Sáenz et al. (2015) found that peer-to-peer academic support fostered a reciprocal relationship where Latino men could ask questions and seek support while maintaining their identity as a provider. However, further research needs to be done to examine how other institutional agents support or endorse a hostile campus racial climate for Latino men. In fact, NCES (2016c) found that Latino employees represent 6.4% of all employees at degree-granting institutions in 2013. Moreover, Ponjuan (2011) discussed the issues of the low percentage of Latino faculty members in higher education. With limited representation of Latino faculty and staff on campuses, Latino students have limited opportunities for mentorship and support within postsecondary education.

Indeed, each of the dimensions of the campus racial climate framework are critical for understanding the hostile campus climate Latino students experience while in college. The

historical legacy of an institution permeates the institutional practices, traditions, and culture on college campuses (Kuh & Whitt, 1988), which can either support or hamper the success of Latino students. In fact, the historical legacy of an institution could result in negative behavioral and psychological climate for Latino students. For instance, if a White fraternity was permitted to host a “Mexican party” where attendees were invited to dress up like Mexicans with sombreros and ponchos, it could have a negative influence on Latino students. Latino students could feel as if their community was being disrespected and stereotypes were being reinforced. Thus, creating more stress for Latino students as they navigate higher education. In addition, if the compositional diversity of the institution was low for Latino students they could feel uncomfortable or unsafe to challenge the White fraternity on campus. This could further silence and marginalize the Latino students on campus. Moreover, if the college allowed or endorsed parties that reinforced stereotypes, Latino students could feel devalued and unwelcome at the institution. Finally, the last dimension, organizational and structural diversity, can be seen through the institutional policies that allowed the White fraternity to host the party. Each of these dimensions are intertwined and inform each other.

Gaps in the Literature

Currently, the literature is scarce on the role of faculty in cultivating a more welcoming campus racial climate. The literature discusses the role of increasing the compositional diversity of faculty, however there is little conversation about the training and engagement of faculty. For example, McGlynn (2015) suggested that faculty get diversity training to enhance their cultural competency. However, what type of training and to what extent is not discussed. Institutions should also support faculty in learning how to facilitate greater exchanges cross-racially, which

has been argued to be important for combatting cultural and racial barriers for students of color (Museus, Nichols, & Lambert, 2008). Future scholars should also consider the ways in which faculty engagement in various academic programs or co-curricular initiatives influence perceptions of campus racial climate. As Milem et al. (2005) noted, faculty have positions of power which allow them to invest in the development of a more inclusive campus racial climate.

Furthermore, the institutional factors discussed in higher education do not interrogate how the campus racial climate intersects with a multitude of other identities. However, the intersection of multiple identities is critical to understanding the lived experiences of Latino students. For example, the campus racial climate can have gendered expectations embedded within its framework because of the privileging of heteronormativity in our society. Thus, Latino men are expected to behave in certain ways as men of color. In addition, there are other cultural aspects that add more layers to the campus racial climate. For instance, Museus and Harris (2010) discussed the individualistic cultural orientation on college campuses. Conversely, many students of color originate from backgrounds with cultural origins with collectivistic orientations (Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2001; Guiffrida et al., 2012). There are also other cultural factors, like familismo, ethnicity, language, and so forth which Latino students experience that warrant further research. Although some scholars have noted the importance of the cultural dissonance students experience on campus, more research is still needed. However, further research needs to explore how these gendered and cultural orientations on college campuses affect Latino men. Through an examination of these differences perhaps interventions could be created to mitigate the cultural differences or find ways to disrupt the dominant narrative and support greater understanding across cultural lines.

Conclusion

In closing, institutional factors have an influence on Latino men's persistence in higher education. If Latino men feel oppressed on campus, the negative campus racial climate can result in them feeling isolated, detached from the institution, and psychologically distressed. As Latino men are unaccustomed to being vulnerable, due to machismo, these experiences can be detrimental; leading to lower persistence rates and departure from the educational pipeline. As a result, it is imperative that when interrogating the educational experiences of Latino men multiple factors must be considered. A more holistic examination of Latino men's persistence through higher education can be expanded through considering the cultural and gendered nuances they experience.

Limitations, Conclusions, and Implications

The preceding review of the literature examined the experiences of Latino men in higher education through four specific bodies of literature. The first section reviewed the experiences of Latino men as it pertained to machismo. The body of literature on machismo illustrated the absence of research in higher education which centered the gendered experiences of Latino men. Conversely, the few studies in higher education that did consider machismo often focused on the negative characteristics of machismo. Additionally, there seemed to be a scarcity of research which positioned machismo as a source of empowerment. As the section above noted, machismo has both negative and positive aspects. However, most of the research emphasized the barriers of machismo and did not consider its potential strength.

The second section, hegemonic notions of success, explained the focus of individual markers of success. Hegemonic notions of success also position White students as the

benchmark for students of color when determining success. However, the emphasis on individual students does not acknowledge the external or environmental influences on a student's ability to succeed. Therefore, future research needs to expand on the measures of success defined by educational systems and allow students to define it themselves. If Latino men are allowed to define success on their own, new understandings of success can be formulated while counteracting cultural-deficit perspectives. Furthermore, if microsucceeds were utilized as a tool to honor the progression of Latino men in their educational journey they could begin to see themselves as successful; instead of internalizing the dominant narrative of their high dropout rates and low persistence in higher education. Ultimately, this section recognized the need in higher education to expand its conceptualization of success and the experiences of Latino men.

The third section interrogated which social identities researchers have focused on when researching Latino men in higher education. Through the review of the literature, it was apparent there were few studies that considered the intersecting social identities of Latino men. Nevertheless, there were some studies that explored ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and immigration status from the perspective of Latino students. However, there was a scarcity of studies that explicitly looked at Latino men through this intersectional lens. Considering these limitations in the literature, it will be imperative for future scholars to explicitly explore the intersecting identities of Latino men.

The fourth and last body of literature explored was campus racial climate. Each of the studies which explored the racialized experiences of students of color on campus confirmed the hostile experiences they encounter on a daily basis at PWIs. The negative experiences students of color have at PWIs need to be explored further with Latino men in mind since there are

currently no studies that consider their unique experiences. In addition, more research is needed on faculty and staff at the college as it relates to campus racial climate. Few studies explored the role or influence faculty and staff have on the campus racial climate at PWIs. Therefore, future research will be needed to explore how Latino men engage on college campuses and the role of institutional agents in supporting them.

In closing, there is a dearth in the higher education literature on Latino men as gendered and racial beings. With this in mind, intersectional lenses will be critical for future research that considers Latino men. In addition, research on Latino men must begin to shift from a cultural-deficit perspective to an asset-based perspective to honor the success that Latino men have had in higher education. Though Latino men may be struggling at many educational junctions, there are some Latino men who are succeeding. By documenting the successes of Latino men, scholars can begin to learn which strategies and interventions would be most effective at supporting other Latino men as they embark on their educational journey. Research could also explore the ways Latino men's cultural wealth have supported their success in academia and find ways to support the use of these assets.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study includes a holistic masculinity framework and Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth model. As the aforementioned literature review noted, the focus on the cultural-deficits of Latino men must be challenged. Through the recognition of their assets, research can begin to explore the ways in which Latino men leverage these assets to succeed in higher education. By honoring the lived experiences of Latino men and examining these experiences through an asset-based perspective, a more holistic approach of

the educational journey of Latino men can be documented. This section preview's the holistic masculinity framework and Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth model, while presenting a case that the two combined are best suited for answering the research questions.

The holistic masculinity framework attempts to deviate from the traditional perspective of machismo or Latino masculinity as a negative construct. As previous research noted, machismo is a complicated construct with both negative and positive characteristics (Arciniega et al., 2008; Falicov, 2014; Mirandé, 1997). Arciniega et al.'s (2008) seminal study substantiated this claim when it discovered machismo had both traditional machismo (negative characteristics) and caballerismo (positive characteristics). Highlighting the complexity of machismo and its potential as a source of empowerment. Mirandé (1997) also discovered that Mexican men perceived machismo to have both positive and negative aspects. Mirandé (1997) challenged the myopic conceptualization of machismo as inherently negative in the literature. Furthermore, Davidson's (2006) case study of a bisexual Latino male discussed the value of a more holistic or fluid masculinity in disrupting mainstream standards of masculinity.

However, there is a scarcity of research in higher education which explores the benefits or empowerment that can be derived from machismo for Latino men. With this in mind, this study will intentionally center the potential assets drawn from machismo by Latino men. Concurrently, machismo's negative attributes will also be considered since avoidance of the negative attributes may also be a motivator or an asset for Latino men. As Ojeda et al.'s (2012) study discovered, Latino students may actively work against reifying stereotypes within the Latino community. Due to the negative emphasis of machismo in the Latino consciousness (Anzaldúa, 2012), Latino men may avoid performing it or aligning with this construct in an

effort to escape reaffirming negative stereotypes. Therefore, machismo's role as an asset can be both intentional and unintentional on the part of Latino men. Moreover, there may be Latino men who do not see connections to machismo due to their male privilege in a patriarchal society. However, as men of color they also experience racism which subordinates their masculinity in relation to White masculinity. As a result, the holistic machismo framework will allow this study to challenge the traditional conceptualization of machismo as inherently negative and begin to construct a more holistic understanding of machismo. In addition, the problem of low enrollment and persistence of Latino men in higher education is so entrenched, new perspectives and ways of examining their experiences are needed. Thus, a broader conceptualization of machismo could unearth new insights on how Latino men experience higher education.

In alignment with the potential value of machismo, Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth model further reinforces the capital that can be found in communities of color. Yosso's (2005) model challenges the deficit thinking which position students of color and their families at fault for their poor academic performance. Indeed, Yosso (2005) acknowledges the value within communities of color and the skills garnered in these spaces. With this in mind, Yosso (2005) outlined six forms of capital in the Community Cultural Wealth model: aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistant.

The first capital is aspirational, which "refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). An example of this capital could be Latino men aspiring to achieve their degrees for themselves and their family. The drive they garner from wanting to achieve an education for themselves and their family can be a powerful motivator. The second is linguistic capital which encompasses the

value gained through experiencing multiple languages and communication styles (Yosso, 2005). This capital could be seen in Callahan's (2009) study, which discussed the role language had on facilitating access to larger social network and role models. The third is familial capital, which refers to the "cultural knowledges nurtured among familia (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). It also entails a commitment to the wellbeing of the community and a broader definition of kinship. Friends made in student organizations or other spaces at college can then become part of the familia for a student in college. With a broader understanding of kinship, students are able to have a "healthy connection to [the] community and its resources" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). The fourth form of capital is social, which includes the networks and resources found in communities of color (Yosso, 2005). For example, a student may rely on community resources and social contacts to learn about work on campus. Through the application and interviewing process, the student may also rely on these individuals for emotional support. Thus, this capital includes not only the tangible resources in the community but also the emotional support they can find in their social networks. The fifth, navigational capital, refers to the skills of students of color to maneuver through social institutions which have historically not been built with them in mind (Yosso, 2005). For example, if a Latino student organization realized that their members were not able to access the tutoring services at the college due to their employment off campus, they could start a tutoring program during evenings and weekends to help support each other. This type of programming illustrates an intentional effort on the part of Latino students to navigate an environment not built with their needs taken into consideration. Finally, the last form of capital is resistance capital which refers to "knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional

behavior that challenges inequality” (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). This capital can be seen through the active resistance Latino students participate in as they cultivate counterspaces on college campuses (Yosso et al., 2009). Counterspaces can be both social and academic spaces which allow them to resist the hostile campus climate they encounter at college. Each of these forms of capital will be useful in examining Latino men’s experiences, due to the dominant narrative of Latino men as “vanishing from higher education” (Sáenz & Ponjuan, 2009, p. 54). Though they may not be persisting in high numbers, there are some that are overcoming the hurdles set before them and researchers need to highlight these stories.

Centering the voices of Latino men who are successfully navigating higher education can not only support a greater understanding of how to support them but also disrupt the negative assumptions of Latino men in education. Ultimately, each of these components fill the gaps in the literature by highlighting Latino men’s assets and drawing connections to their gendered experiences. In addition, this conceptual framework espouses centering student experiences and voices, which could allow for the disruption of hegemonic notions of success. Instead of relying on the measures of success outlined by educational systems, this conceptual framework allows Latino men to name and define success on their own terms. Centered in an asset-based perspective, this conceptual framework highlights the value Latino men bring into the educational environment. In addition, a holistic masculinity framework allows for a more expansive understanding of the role machismo plays in the educational experiences of Latino men. In closing, this dissertation study centered the voices of Latino men and this emphasize is reflected in the methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

A young boy sits alone huddled into a corner crying quietly, trying to hide himself from the world. He is unable to escape as his father enters the room and sees him cowering. His father raises his voice and says, “Deja de llorar (Stop crying)! No eres una mujer (You’re not a woman)!” Then he quickly snatches the boy out of the corner and pulls him to his feet. He is shaken and attempts to stop crying as his father continues, “Sit up straight, tú eres un macho (you are a man).” The father then leaves angry and frustrated; however, the boy is left in the mist of his father’s words and actions. He continues to stand, shocked by the encounter.

A few minutes pass, with him still waiting. Then he deliberately begins to walk out the door, ready to make amends with his father. He considers what he should say, how he can prove to his father he can be a better man, and how much he wants to make him proud. However, these thoughts are silenced as he hears a strange muffled sound from downstairs. Confused by the noise he slowly sneaks towards the sound to see what is happening.

Once downstairs, he looks into the living room to find his father sitting by himself with a pillow over his mouth. As he continues to watch, mesmerized by the scene, his father continues to cry into the pillow. Unsure of how to continue, he stands there watching his father cry and yell into the pillow. A few moments pass, then his father pulls the pillow away and gets up. Upon rising, he sees his son and pauses. After a minute, his father walks away and says, “Go upstairs and don’t say anything about this.” He immediately responds and runs up the stairs.

This vignette illustrates how I was taught machismo. The major lessons I learned growing up were: sit up, don't cry, and tú eres un macho (you are a man). These were the words I heard growing up and that continue to play in my mind when I think about my masculinity. I was not allowed to act in certain ways, express emotions, or show any form of weakness. I was raised to believe that deviating from machismo in any way or embodying femininity was a crime upon itself that resulted in extreme reprimands, both verbal and physical, that continue to reverberate through me today.

However, my socialization was also paired with incongruences. I remember growing up and seeing Latino men breaking the rules by expressed themselves, crying, and being vulnerable. Although these were rare instances and many times I was told that they were anomalies, I learned that machismo could be more. Violence, aggression, and being emotionless were not the only ways of embodying machismo. I could be a whole person with vulnerabilities, and still be a Latino man.

For this reason, it is imperative to document Latino men's experiences and successes while in higher education. Through these narratives, counter-stories can be highlighted that disrupt the current state of Latino men as "vanishing" from higher education. As the literature review (Chapter 2) illustrated, more research is also needed on their gendered experiences. With a deeper understanding of their experiences in higher education, as gendered and racial beings, practical initiatives and policies can be developed to support their academic success. With this in mind, this study bridges the gap in the literature by investigating how Latino men define machismo and its influence on their collegiate experience. In this chapter, the research

questions, Latino critical race theory (LatCrit) methodology, rationale for a qualitative approach, epistemology, reflexivity and positionality, research methods, and trustworthiness are discussed.

Research Questions

1. How, if at all, are successful Latino male college students' gendered experiences with machismo influencing their success in higher education?
 - a. How is success defined and interpreted by them in higher education?
 - b. How, if at all, did their experiences in college shape their definition and interpretation of machismo (e.g. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers)?
 - c. How do their intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic class, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) influence their gendered and collegiate experiences?

LatCrit Methodology

The study was guided by Latina/Latino critical race theory (LatCrit), which has its historical roots in critical theory and critical race theory (CRT). Critical theory examines “the oppressive aspects of society in order to generate societal and individual transformation” (Fay, 1987, as cited in Tierney, 1993, p. 4). Through this interrogation, critical theorists are able to develop conditions “under which those who are oppressed might be able to liberate themselves” (Tierney, 1993, p. 4). The historical roots of CRT began in the 1960s by a group of lawyers during the civil rights movement to address racial inequality within the legal realm (Kumasi, 2011). Since its conception, education has used CRT to analyze the educational inequalities faced by students of color (Kumasi, 2011). Through the development of CRT, five tenets have

been compiled: (1) the intercentricity of race and racism; (2) the challenge to dominant ideology; (3) the commitment to social justice; (4) the centrality of experiential knowledge; and (5) the utilization of interdisciplinary approaches (Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Yosso, 2005). The first tenet, intercentricity of race and racism, acknowledges the endemic nature of race and racism in the United States (Solórzano, 1998). The second tenet which is to challenge dominant ideology refers to the role CRT plays in challenging “White privilege and refutes the claims that educational institutions make toward objectivity, meritocracy, color-blindness, race neutrality and equal opportunity” (Yosso, 2005, p. 73). The third tenet or commitment to social justice encompasses the commitment of CRT to social justice and the eradication of racism (Solórzano, 1998). The fourth tenet, the centrality of experiential knowledge, “recognizes that the experiential knowledge of women and men of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination in the field of education” (Solórzano, 1998, p. 122). Finally, the last tenet of CRT is the interdisciplinary perspective which acknowledges that CRT is not restricted by disciplinary boundaries.

Over time, CRT grew to include other branches which included LatCrit, FemCrit, AsianCrit, and WhiteCrit (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). LatCrit as a branch of CRT expanded the framework by exploring the multidimensional identities of Latina/o students (Bernal, 2002). Solórzano and Yosso (2001) specifically noted that LatCrit theory in education “examines that place where racism intersects with other forms of subordination such as sexism and classism” (p. 479). Thus, Latino men’s multiple identities were interrogated simultaneously with an emphasis on their gendered experiences. This was especially important for this study, since there is a dearth in the literature on the intersectional social identities of Latino men. In addition, Valdes

(2005) argued that LatCrit serves four functions: the production of knowledge, the advancement of transformation, the expansion and connection of struggle(s), and the cultivation of community and coalition. With these essential functions, LatCrit as a methodology attempts to center the narratives of Latino students to uplift their lived experiences and challenge the social inequality they experience in society. These narratives can be captured through counter-stories which highlight the voices of Latino students in education and challenge the dominant discourse of those in power (Delgado, 1993; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). In alignment with this methodology, a qualitative approach supported the centering of Latino men's voices.

Rationale for a Qualitative Approach

The research design for this study is a critical qualitative study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Critical qualitative research refers to studies that are “informed by critical theory, feminist theory, critical race theory, queer theory, or poststructural/postmodern/postcolonial theory” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 60). With a qualitative research study, the purpose is to “achieve an understanding of how people make sense out of their lives, delineate the process (rather than the outcome or product) of meaning-making, and describe how people interpret what they experience” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 15). The emphasis on how individuals interpret their experiences, “construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (Merriam, 2009, p. 5), aligns well with the purpose of this study.

The purpose of this study was to explore how Latino men interpreted and engaged with machismo in higher education. However, there is little research that attends to the gendered experiences of Latino men. There is also a dearth in the literature around the intersecting social identities of Latino men as it related to their gendered experiences. The fact that there is a lack

of research in higher education on machismo further justifies the use of a qualitative approach due to the inductive process of qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). Interviews, documents, and observations can be used to better understand the phenomenon and develop themes, categories, and hypothesis (Merriam, 2009). In addition, interviews can provide a venue for stories that can offer nuanced understandings of Latino students' educational experiences (Elenes & Bernal, 2010). Indeed, Solórzano and Yosso (2001) argued the importance of storytelling and counter-stories in raising the voices of Latino students. With this in mind, this study intentionally gathered Latino men's counter-stories which detailed their relationship with machismo in higher education.

Epistemology

My epistemological orientation is critical constructivism (Kincheloe, 2005; Merriam, 2009). I view the world as socially constructed, however this construction takes place within systems of power and oppression which influence the world in which people live. I believe Latino men's reality is both socially constructed and based on their intersecting power as men and oppression as men of color. As the previous chapter mentioned, there is an absence of research that documents the experiences of Latino men and machismo in higher education. In light of this, capturing the reality of Latino men's engagement with machismo through narratives was important. The ways in which Latino men discuss and disentangle their relationship with machismo elucidates the nuances in how machismo and education intersect. In addition, my epistemological orientation honors the fact that Latino men embody more than just their gendered and racial experiences. As critical theorist argue, power and oppression can be found in various categories like socioeconomic status, sexual identity, physical and mental ability in

society (Kilgore, 2001; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). Depending on the identities held by individual Latino men, the power or oppression they experience may manifest in different ways. For instance, an openly gay Latino man may not experience or interact with machismo in the same way as a heterosexual working-class Latino man; even though their socialization around the construct may have been similar. In closing, critical constructivism acknowledges the complex interplay between social identities and the social construction of machismo Latino men engage in as they navigate the world. This worldview is important in qualitative research since the researcher is the primary instrument.

Reflexivity and Positionality

As the primary instrument in qualitative research, researchers are human and can have “shortcomings and biases that can have an impact on the study” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 16). In light of this, the researcher’s biases, dispositions, and assumptions must be considered in qualitative research. Moreover, an understanding of the researcher’s position can be helpful for informing readers of how the researcher may have interpreted the data (Merriam, 2009). Reflexivity is especially important in critical research, when considering the “influence of the researcher’s own social identities and the social identities of participants on the research process” (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2014, p. 40). Reflexivity requires an interrogation of “our own selves regarding the ways in which research efforts are shaped and staged around the binaries, contradictions, and paradoxes that form our own lives” (Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 124). Therefore, this section explores my positionality.

I identify as a bisexual Latino man, who is also an educator, bilingual Spanish speaker, able-bodied, Catholic, cisgender, Puerto Rican, and a man of color. As a cisgender Latino man, I

have experienced both privilege as a cisgender male and oppression as a person of color. Through this socialization, I have also been instructed on machismo within the Latino community. Therefore, my privilege, oppression, and gender socialization as a man of color may parallel the population under study. However, my bisexual identity also positions me as a deviant within machismo. Machismo's heteronormative and anti-feminine values (Hirai et al., 2014; Peña-Talamantes, 2013; Sáenz & Bukoski, 2014), disavows my sexual identity as acceptable. This disruption in the adherence to machismo allows me an alternative lens by which to examine and interrogate machismo, since I am both an insider and outsider within the framework. Furthermore, as a Puerto Rican man my gender socialization may have been influenced by my specific upbringing as both a Puerto Rican and a child of a military member. My ethnic identity as a Puerto Rican man may have socialized me to view machismo in certain ways that other Latino men in other ethnic subgroups may not have learned. Moreover, as a child who was raised in the military I learned from the multitude of cultures and experiences I was exposed to while traveling the world. These experiences may have also influenced my gender socialization as I learned and performed machismo. Another social identity that has major implications for this study is my Catholic faith. The Catholic church was a highly gendered space for me and was instrumental in me learning about my role as a man. This was especially true when my family attended Spanish mass, and I observed other Latino men in the community performing masculinity. However, not all Latino men in this study will be Catholic or practice Christianity. The nuanced social identities of Latino men may have major implications for how they experienced and engage with machismo. My own lived experiences

illustrate the complexity intersecting social identities held by Latino men can have on their understanding of machismo.

In fact, my own experiences with machismo may differ greatly from other Latino men. Thus, I will explore my relationship with machismo to document my current understanding of how I engage with this construct. From a young age, I have been taught and reprimanded to perform masculinity in very specific ways. I was told to sit up straight, respect my elders, stand up for myself, firmly shake the hands of men, and get married. During these formative years, I observed the ways of men by listening to my father and his male friends as they competed to share stories of their feats. I would also listen to my mother and her female friends as they discussed the exploits of their husbands and attempted to affirm them by discussing their latest achievements and successes. Through observing the storytelling and conversations of the adults around me growing up, I learned that men had power and used it to stay in control. However, I also learned the power of love and compassion from my father, as he constantly instilled in me a respect for women. Nevertheless, this respect was complicated because women were also expected to do what their husbands told them. Thus, I slowly began to develop a double consciousness (Du Bois, 1989) around my masculinity. I grappled with the distaste I had with machismo for its lack of respect for women but I was also intoxicated by the power.

As I continued to grow up and entered college, my world was shaken as I began to question my sexual identity. If I was not attracted to women, then I could not be a man within the Latino community. It was unacceptable, and I hid this truth from myself for many years for fear of losing both my family and Latino community. After years of struggling through my sexuality and reconciling machismo as a bisexual man, I was able to authentically live my truth.

However, this liberation came at a cost of constantly worrying about other Latino people devaluing me or seeing me as less than because of my sexual identity. Nevertheless, the process of acknowledging my whole self allowed me to see the flaws and inherent issues within machismo more clearly. I could see how it had controlled not only me but those around me, both men and women. Through this revelation, I began to challenge myself to deviate from machismo and position myself against it. As I continued the active process of disrupting machismo and challenging it in my own life, I saw a need for more research on the topic.

Indeed, as I began my doctoral process and endeavored to learn more about machismo, I was shocked to find attributes in machismo that could be positive. My upbringing had taught me that machismo was aggressive, violent, and oppressive towards women. Moreover, machismo restricted and confined Latino men to behave in certain ways. Thus, I learned to avoid it and position myself away from it as much as possible. Never in my life had I considered machismo to be a positive or good thing, yet the research was challenging my worldview. As I continued to contend with the literature and reflect on my own experiences, I realized that machismo could have positive characteristics. I only needed to look at the love my father had for me and my brothers, his passionate and unbridled love for my mother, and his unwavering support as I came out to my family, to see machismo in a positive light. My relationship with machismo has been a process of pain, growth, and reconciliation which has ultimately lead to a broader understanding of how I comprehend machismo.

Therefore, I continued to reflect and document my experiences with machismo as they manifest throughout the study. The first step I took was to have a colleague interview me prior to interviewing participants, to capture my perspectives and experiences with machismo

(Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). In addition, I journaled throughout the study to further document my experiences and interrogate how my various social identities informed my understanding of machismo. I also kept an audit trail through memoing after each interview. The memos helped me capture my musings, reactions, feelings, and thoughts throughout the study. These three steps helped to document my potential biases and helped bracket my experiences for this study.

Research Methods

The purpose of this critical qualitative study was to explore the definition and role of machismo in Latino men's educational journey in higher education. This aim aligned with a qualitative approach, which yields richly descriptive data that "convey what the researcher has learned about a phenomenon" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 17). A critical qualitative study also allowed for vivid quotes and narratives that captured the complexity of machismo, honoring the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 2. Furthermore, interviews were used as the method in this study to support a greater understanding of the construct. The following section includes a discussion of the study participants, data collection, and data analysis.

Study Participants

For this study, purposeful sampling and snowball sampling was used. The first sampling strategy, purposeful sampling, was informed by "the assumptions that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 97). The second sampling strategy, snowball sampling, entailed asking participants who had been interviewed to invite other individuals who meet the criteria to participate in the study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). With clearly outlined criteria rich data about the subject under study was gathered (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). For this

study, the following criteria were: a) identify as Latino or Hispanic; b) must have been assigned male at birth; c) identify as a man; d) currently attending an undergraduate program at a four-year institution in the United States; e) attended college for at least one full academic year.

The first criteria, identify as Latino or Hispanic, identifies the target population for this study. Then the next two criteria, being assigned male at birth and identifying as a man, honors the specific gender socialization experienced by cisgender Latino men. As individuals who have experienced their gender socialization as Latino males since birth, cisgender Latino men may have experienced and navigated machismo differently than women or trans individuals. This nuanced experience was critical in exploring the ways in which their gender socialization influenced their educational trajectory. In addition, the criteria for attending an undergraduate program at a four-year institution was selected due to the focus on four-year colleges in the higher education literature. Furthermore, the one academic year requirement was included to honor the multiple ways in which success could be defined. This criterion was also an attempt to disrupt hegemonic notions of success, by destabilizing success as a marker that had to be achieved through GPA, test scores, or attainment of a degree. The one academic year requirement allowed Latino students who had persisted through the educational pipeline to share how they defined success instead of basing their success on hegemonic notions of success outlined by the U.S. educational system. Ultimately, the criteria for this study were selected to interrogate the unique influence the gender socialization process had on cisgender Latino men's success as they navigated four-year institutions.

I conducted eight semi-structured interviews with Latino men from across the United States. Table 1 highlights the demographic information of the participants in this study, who

represented a wide array of experiences and identities. The majority of participants attended Predominately White Institutions (PWIs) with one participant attending a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). Five of the participants also attended private, religiously affiliated institutions while the other three participants attended public institutions. Half of the participants were in their second year of college, while the other four participants were either third years or fifth years. In addition, five of the participants identified as heterosexual while one participant identified as bisexual and two others identified as gay. The ethnic identity of the sample included individuals who identified as Mexican, Guatemalan, Salvadorian, Columbian, Puerto Rican, and Cuban. The majority of participants identified as either Catholic or Christian, except for Star who did not disclose a religious or spiritual affiliation and Rey who identified as a Santero and Christian. The majority of participants identified as low to middle class when asked to share their socioeconomic status and most participants noted that they could speak Spanish. The participants generational status varied with two participants identifying as first generation, three participants identifying as second generation, and three other participants identifying as third generation. The majority of participants also identified as able-bodied.

Participants were recruited through multiple in-person and online platforms. I reached out to various Latino student organizations, multicultural centers, and Latino studies programs in the local area to set-up opportunities for me to recruit participants. Recruitment flyers (see Appendix A) were distributed to local institutions, in appropriate posting areas, to increase the recruitment of participants. In addition, online platforms like Facebook and email were used. As a student affairs professional with multiple social networks within the profession on Facebook, I used these networks to disseminate the recruitment flyer and recruitment email (see Appendix

Table 1. Demographic Information of Latino Male Participants

Name	Name of Institution	Institutional Type	Year in College	Major(s) / Minor(s)	Social Identities
Star	West Coast University	Private, religiously affiliated, Hispanic Serving Institution	3 rd	Sociology / Political Science & Gender Studies	Mexican, homosexual / Gay, upper-middle class, 3 rd generation, speaks Spanish
Patricio	Elite University	Private, religiously affiliated, Predominately White Institution	2 nd	International Politics	Columbian, Catholic, heterosexual, low-middle class, 1 st generation, speaks Spanish, able-bodied, Mestizo
Emiliano	Southeast University	Public institution, Predominately White Institution	5 th	Business Management / Translation Certificate	Mexican, Catholic, heterosexual, working class, 2 nd generation, speaks Spanish and English, able-bodied, Mexican American
Felix	Elite University	Private, religiously affiliated, Predominately White Institution	2 nd	Government / Economics	Central American (Guatemalan and Salvadorian), Christian, Bisexual, low-middle class, 2 nd generation, Spanish, able-bodied
Salvador	Elite University	Private, religiously affiliated, Predominately White Institution	2 nd	Culture and Politics	Salvadorian and Guatemalan, Christian, gay, Poor, 1 st generation, speaks English and Spanish, able-bodied
Pancho	Southeast University	Public, Predominately White Institution	2 nd	Nursing	Mexican and Guatemalan, Christian, heterosexual, lower class, 2 nd generation, speaks English and Spanish
Rey	Midwest University	Public, Predominately White Institution	5 th	Psychology / Latin American Studies & Peace and Conflict Resolution	Afro-Puerto Rican and Afro-Cuban, Santero and Christian, heterosexual, working class, 3 rd generation, speaks English, Spanish, and French, able-bodied
Carlos	Private University	Private, religiously affiliated, Predominately White Institution	3 rd	Marketing	Puerto Rican, Catholic, heterosexual, middle class, 3 rd generation, speaks English and Spanish, able-bodied

B). Some examples of the Facebook groups were: Latino Men* Pursing Doctorates, Student Affairs Professionals, Queer Ph.D. Network, LatinX in Student Affairs, NASPA Region III – Latina/o Knowledge Community, and ACPA Coalition on Men and Masculinities. Furthermore, email was used to individually contact colleagues who worked at institutions with Latino populations to support the distribution of recruitment materials at their specific institutions. Throughout the recruitment process, interested participants were asked to complete an online participant interest form (see Appendix C). This form assisted with the organization of the recruitment process and streamlined access to information about the study for all participants.

Data Collection

The data collection of this study included interviews. Interviews are useful “when we cannot observe behavior, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 108). Since machismo is both a collective and individual experience, interviews allowed individuals to both express and explore their engagement with machismo. Furthermore, due to the sensitive nature of the topic under study, one-on-one interviews between the researcher and participant allowed for more vulnerable and open conversations about the topic. This method also allowed participants to share their personal experiences and insights on the phenomenon under study.

Online participant interest form. The form was on a secured Google form, where participants were provided information about the study and ensured eligibility of interested individuals. In alignment with the intention of this study, demographic information of each potential participant was collected. The demographic information collected asked for specific identities to be documented, however participants were provided an open text box to disclose

their identities. Participants were not forced to choose from predetermined categories, in honor of the multiple ways in which individuals identify. Moreover, through this process, Latino men had the opportunity to not only disclose their social identities (i.e. ethnicity, sexual identity, religious or spiritual affiliation, socioeconomic class) but also reflect on these identities. There was also space provided in the form for participants to share other identities that had not been predetermined. Thus, participants had greater agency around self-identification and honoring their whole selves. The social identities shared on the online form were revisited during the interview process to both recognize all of their identities and support deeper reflection on how they intersected with the study.

Interviews. One-on-one, semi-structured interviews were used for this study. As Merriam and Tisdell (2015) noted, “Less-structured formats assume that individual respondents define the world in unique ways” (p. 110). In semi-structured interviews, there are a list of questions or issues the researcher wants to explore and there is no exact order or wording that must be followed (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). This style of interviewing allows the interviewer to “respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 111). Due to the uncharted nature of machismo in higher education, the flexibility of a semi-structured interview allowed me the flexibility needed to flow and probe as needed in each individual interview. The multiple identities held by each participant also warranted deeper examination in certain areas, while less in others. For example, a gay participant who had fully explored their sexual identity may be able to discuss the intersection of machismo and sexuality but someone who had never considered their sexual identity may not be able to discuss this intersection in as much depth. Thus, a semi-structured

interview allowed me to navigate the conversation but still draw the necessary information to support deeper analysis after data collection.

For this study, interviews were collected until the point of saturation when the data collected “produce[d] no new information or insights into the phenomenon” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 199). However, as Merriam and Tisdell (2015) mentioned, it is “impossible to know ahead of time when saturation might occur” (p. 101). Nevertheless, similar to Cabrera et al.’s (2016) study which had eight semi-structured interviews with Latino men to interrogate their experiences with the campus racial climate. As well as, Peña-Talamantes’ (2013) study which included seven in-depth semi-structured interviews with gay Latino men to explore their definitions of machismo. This study found saturation at eight semi-structured interviews that represented a wide breadth of social identities and experiences on the phenomenon under study.

There was an intentional effort at recruiting and interviewing students with divergent social identities to explore the overlapping similarities and differences these identities had on how machismo was conceptualized. Interviews were held both in person and online, with each interview being audio recorded. In person interviews were coordinated with participants, with preference to locations recommended by the participant. Online interviews took place either by phone or Google Hangout. To ensure privacy and confidentiality of all the participants, all recorded interviews were kept on a password protected computer. Interviews were held between February and May 2017, once IRB approval had been completed.

Protocol. The protocol for interviews (see Appendix D) were developed with the intersectional identities of Latino men as it relates to machismo within higher education. Honoring the value of intersecting identities and narratives of Latino men in the interview

protocol was in alignment with LatCrit theory. In addition, participants were invited to speak in either English, Spanish, or a blending of the two. They were also reminded of their responses on the online participant interest form and encouraged to consider how their various social identities manifested in their responses during the interview. The reminder was an intentional effort to encourage participants to interrogate the relationship between their various social identities and machismo. Then the protocol began with an introductory question which asked the participants to discuss why they wanted to participate in the study and what they thought of the recruitment materials to help build rapport between the researcher and participant (Merriam, 2009).

Recruitment materials used images which referred to either machismo or being a Latino man to help draw attention to the study and get students thinking about the topic. Once the participants shared their reasons for participating and their thoughts on the recruitment materials, they were asked to share their experiences with masculinity and machismo. Some of the questions were open-ended to help “yield descriptive data, even stories about the phenomenon” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 121). These narratives were helpful in capturing both the gender socialization process and experiences Latino men had in the past and their manifestations in the present. As a semi-structured interview, the interview protocol was organized around topics with some specific and open-ended questions (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). This structure facilitated a fluid and natural conversation with the participants and ensured all of the critical components of the study were addressed.

In an effort to avoid errors and bias, the interview protocol and demographic information in the online participate interest form were both piloted on a Latino male student. The Latino male student identified as Puerto Rican, Catholic, heterosexual, working class, U.S. citizen, third

generation, and English/Spanish speaker. The interview took 37 minutes and the interview protocol was modified based on this interview. The Latino male student also gave feedback on the demographic information collected, and it was updated based on his input. In addition, the recruitment materials were piloted with a group of undergraduate students which included a Latino male who was ineligible. Their recommendations and feedback helped to update the recruitment materials, which supported the recruitment of participants for the study.

Procedures. At the beginning of each interview an informed consent form (see Appendix E) was completed by participants in the study. Though participants would have seen the consent form on the online participant interest form, it was reviewed again and participants were asked to sign one before starting the interview. For interviews conducted either online or by phone, participants were asked to email their consent forms in prior to the interview. The consent form introduced the purpose, procedures, and the protection of their confidentiality. To ensure participants confidentiality, all participants were asked to select a pseudonym (first name only) in lieu of their actual names.

Each one-on-one, semi-structured interview lasted between 60-75 minutes. Transcriptions were completed by the researcher and a transcription service. Once the transcription was completed they were shared with participants for accuracy. All transcription was completed in the original language spoken during the interview, and translations from Spanish to English were also included. As Merriam and Tisdell (2015) noted, to ensure the translations were accurate a bilingual person was asked to verify all translations. In addition, every effort was made to ensure the participants privacy and confidentiality. Therefore, all documents were on a password protected computer or a password protected online platform (i.e.

Google) and all materials (i.e. recordings, transcripts, notes) were destroyed once the study was completed.

Data Analysis

The data analysis process took place alongside the data collection, since these two processes can inform each other (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Hunches, insights, and tentative hypotheses were constantly emerging and informed the data collection process which influenced the analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). This iterative process “allow[ed] the researcher to produce believable and trustworthy findings” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 191). In addition, the simultaneous data collection and analysis of the data helped the researcher avoid feeling overwhelmed or unfocused by the volume of data collected (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015).

After every interview, each transcript was read and coded. Open coding was employed to allow the possibility for new insights and connections in the phenomenon under study. Upon completion of the initial open coding process of the transcript, axial coding ensued. Axial coding is when open codes are grouped (Urquhart, 2007). All subsequent transcripts went through the same coding process, and ultimately themes and subthemes emerge from the data analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Throughout the data analysis process quotes were lifted from transcripts as evidence for the evolving themes and subthemes in the study.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness refers to the credibility of a study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). As Merriam and Tisdell (2015) mentioned, “All research is concerned with producing valid and reliable knowledge in an ethical manner” (p. 237). Nevertheless, due to the “assumptions about reality” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 237) in qualitative research compared to quantitative

research, different standards of rigor are needed. As a result, Guba (1981) argued that there were four criteria for trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. The first, credibility, was addressed through member checks. Member checks involved participants reviewing transcripts and preliminary findings, in order for participants to “suggest some fine-tuning to better capture their perspectives” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 246). Next rich, thick description were used to support transferability. With descriptive and detailed contextualization of the study, readers will be able to determine if the findings of this study can be transferred (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Then dependability was supported through an audit trail. As Merriam and Tisdell (2015) noted, an audit trail “describes in detail how data were collected, how categories were derived, and how decisions were made throughout the inquiry” (p. 252) in a research journal and memos. These notes encompassed all of my reflections, challenges, and ideas that arose throughout the research process. The journal and memos also documented my understanding of machismo, my relationship with it growing up, and how my various intersecting identities connected to machismo. Finally, confirmability was ensured through the clear logic chain of the study.

Summary

This chapter included the research design that aimed to address the dearth in the literature on Latino men and machismo in higher education. This chapter included the following components: research questions, methodology, epistemology, researcher reflexivity and positionality, research methods, data collection, data analysis, and trustworthiness. With each of these components in place, a rigorous critical qualitative study was developed which addressed some of the gaps in the literature on Latino men.

CHAPTER FOUR
FINDINGS ON LATINO MEN’S NAVIGATION OF
MACHISMO AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The purpose of this study was to explore the influence of successful Latino male college students’ gendered experiences with machismo on their success in higher education. The findings are organized into the three elements found in Astin’s (1993) theory of student involvement: inputs, environment, and outcomes. Inputs refers to the individual qualities a student brings to college, environment entails the students lived experiences while in the educational program, and outcomes encompasses the “level of developed talent as measured after exposure to the educational environment” (Astin & Antonio, 2012, p. 254). In this chapter, I introduce the first set of findings using the elements input and environment. The themes in inputs are salience of negative machismo and gender policing. Then the themes in environment are “the double-edged sword” of being a Latino male and alpha males on campus. Some of these themes also have sub-themes which emerged throughout the course of the study, to help elucidate the nuances within those themes. Each of the themes focused on the participants’ narratives to center their voices and experiences. A vignette was also included in each theme to create additional counter-narratives which highlight the complexity of machismo in the daily lives of Latino men in higher education. Each of these vignettes were imaginary scenarios which I created to elucidate the importance of each theme. The vignettes are not based on real life situations or experiences shared by the participants.

Input

In this section two themes are explored: salience of negative machismo and gender policing. The first theme, salience of negative machismo, focuses on the negative aspects found in machismo. This theme also encompassed three sub-themes: emotional punching bag, anti-femininity, and “pride in being an island.” Each of these negative aspects of machismo were a limitation for participants as they navigate success in higher education. The second theme explores the gender policing experienced by the participants and entails three sub-themes: strict gender roles, social sanctioning, and self-sanctioning. Each of these facets of gender policing illustrated the stress and restrictions placed on the participants as Latino men. These two themes illustrate the gendered experiences the participants had when they arrived at college.

Theme One: Salience of Negative Machismo

“You ready for this meeting Rico? You seemed kind of rusty last time you were presenting,” joked Evelyn. “Oh, really. Well I wasn’t the one that forgot that we even had a general body meeting last time, hahahaha!” Evelyn just laughed and admitted, “You got me there, hahahaha!” As Rico and Evelyn continued their light bantering to the Latino Student Association (LSA) meeting, Rico begins to think about what he will say at the meeting. As the president of LSA, he tries to make sure everyone’s voice is heard and that all meetings are engaging. So, he considers incorporating an ice breaker he learned at his job.

He walks into the meeting space, and immediately sees Jorge. Jorge was a guy he went on a date with a few weeks ago, which he never called back. He went on a date to explore what being with a man would feel like but he was not ready to be outed. He was still sifting through his emotions after the encounter and unsure how his friends would react. As he tries to compose

himself, Bernice announces, "We will begin in five minutes, please get to your seats so that Rico, our president, can start us off." Bernice looks at Rico with a smile and begins to walk over to Jorge.

Rico panics and begins to quickly walk over to Bernice before she reaches Jorge. As he rushes to her, Bernice says, "Hi Jorge, how have you been?" "I've been good. Just trying to keep up with homework in my organic chemistry course. But that's why we have our study group right!" They both laugh, and Rico walks up to them. Jorge immediately begins to smile and fidget with his pen. Then immediately says, "Hey Rico." Rico stares at Jorge and says, "Hey, do I know you? I don't think we've met." Jorge's smile dissolves, and he replies, "Oh, my mistake." "Its fine, I know as the president a lot of people think they know me but you know, we've never met. So anyways, Bernice do you have what I asked for?" Bernice looks at Rico quizzically, "Yeah, sure I do." "Okay great, let's get started then," announces Rico. As Rico walks away and begins the ice breaker, Jorge gets up and leaves the space. As soon as he walks out of the door, he begins to cry and Rico hears. Rico immediately regrets what he did, but he had to protect himself. After the meeting, he reflected on what he did.

He knew that none of his peers would respect him if they knew he was gay. He was a prominent leader in the community and he had a reputation to protect. So, what if he hurt Jorge's feelings? Why was he getting all emotional about this situation? He had to protect himself, so he needed to get over feeling guilty. Though he is gay, that did not mean that he had to be all emotional. So, with that in mind, he recommitted himself to pushing down all these emotions and resisting the need to feel so guilty, sad, and ashamed. Though he was gay, he was still a man and he should act like it.

This vignette exemplifies theme one, the salience of negative machismo. This theme engages the overarching research question, “how, if at all, are successful Latino male college students’ gendered experiences with machismo influencing their success in higher education?” Throughout the interviews, participants discussed the prevalence of negative aspects of machismo and how it limited their ability to engage with others and hence be successful. The largest limitation Latino men shared was the restrictions on their emotions. The Latino men also discussed their avoidance of femininity and behaviors that could be viewed as feminine. There were expectations placed on Latino men to be independent and self-reliant. Each of these restrictions manifested in various ways and seemed to hamper their full expression as Latino men. Restrictions on emotions also hampered the Latino men’s ability to seek help and build support systems with others, as they attempted to comply with machismo. Thus, the participants’ gendered experiences with the negative aspects of machismo limited their ability to fully access the support they needed to succeed in college.

Sub-theme: Emotional punching bag.

Every participant shared the need to restrict their expression of emotions and not cry to adhere to machismo. As men, they were not allowed to be vulnerable or show emotions except for anger and pride. Indeed, Salvador shared, “For me, like being strong, being emotionless was something that was definitely part of being a man.” Emiliano highlighted this well when he commented that Latino men are like emotional punching bags:

Like men are not supposed to cry, they’re not supposed to show feelings or emotions. They’re supposed to take everything, kind of like a punching bag. But then again, absorb everything. You got to be the strong individual in the relationship, [like] in the family household...[to] make a strong foundation to lean on for everyone else. You’re kind of like a sponge that takes everything so that other people aren’t affected as much. Pretty much,

the way I was taught was to be the model, be the person or the model everyone looks up to and be the person everybody leans to for help and all that.

Latino men are expected to take everyone else's struggles onto themselves and be strong for them, but also keep all their own emotions bottled inside.

Similarly, Salvador noted:

It's just something that I knew from like experiences with my friends' parents [and]...seeing my dad make fun of other kids who were crying. It was never directly told...“You can't cry. You have to be strong,” but it was just like something I knew from experience.

This passage proved the influence indirect messages had on Salvador in learning how he should behave. He learned from his father and his friends' parents how he should not cry and to be emotionally strong. Whereas, Carlos was directly educated about showing no emotions and not crying by his father.

At least for me, although my dad didn't like pound it in my head that, “Oh, you have to...’ Most of the things he told me were you have to be a man, don't cry when things happen, you have to be able to get through it, you have to get up and stop crying. He did tell us that, at least me in general. It wasn't in a mean way or anything, he didn't force it upon us but that is the way he raised us. No crying, no feelings. If someone dies then you can cry, that's fine. Don't hit women, you know that isn't something you should do but all these things about a man he taught me...the main aspect of no crying. That's one of the main things that still kind of stuck with me.

Furthermore, Emiliano discussed being socialized to avoid showing emotions and crying to even close friends.

For example, here in the States your always told not to cry or to show any emotions. Not to show any feels for your best friends sometimes too. You can't talk about, “Oh, I like this girl.” I mean when you talk about for example women, you like a certain woman. All you care about, all you talk about is, I like that girl a lot. You don't get so sentimental with your friends. So, when you do, it's kind of like ah, awkward.

The avoidance of expressing oneself to others was also shared by Felix:

The expectations of [being] strong in a sense, especially emotionally. That has come to be a big point recently, where I've noticed my friends are limited. Especially the ones I can reach out to emotionally are limited. I've come to think about it, that I have limited myself with what I can do with those friends or that those friends are inaccessible in a

way. That in my mind they are incapable of understanding me in that sense, whether it's in their expectations of me or how I see them not being able to.

Therefore, the emotional limitations placed on Latino men hindered relationships with others.

As Felix disclosed, he struggled with connecting with his friends. They seemed emotionally inaccessible and he limited himself in how he reached out to them. He also shared that, "I guess more on the topic of relationships and not being able to be emotionally supported or seek that support." He felt an emotional disconnection from others through his adherence to machismo.

Salvador also shared that machismo restricted him:

First of all, it restricts me and what I can do. There are certain things I can't do as a man. I am an emotional ass person and I can't be emotional in the masculinity, like I can't express myself. I can't do this stuff.

Thus, machismo restricted Latino men's ability to express their emotions and connect with others. Throughout the interviews, participants were constantly waging an internal battle with their emotions. They encountered external cues from family and friends about the appropriate emotional expression they were allowed as Latino men. The emotional limitations placed on the participants hindered their ability to build relationships and openly express their emotions. They also had no emotional outlets, for fear of stepping outside of machismo and being viewed as less manly.

Sub-theme: Anti-femininity.

The fear of emasculation and avoidance of femininity are discussed in the second sub-theme, anti-femininity. There seemed to be an understanding among the participants that embodying or performing femininity in any way was taboo. Thus, they went to great lengths to avoid femininity out of fear. For instance, Rey dropped out of a dance class because the instructor required him to dance the female part.

So, when I was doing it the teacher who was female she was kind of like that's not how you do classical steps, that's how the women do it. I said, "I don't have a skirt to like move," they have flowing skirts to do this, that, and the other. I got kind of offended because she was trying to make me do it the girls way. It was like, it just seemed to me that if she was an authentic teacher she would know that. I ended up dropping the class. I ended dropping it because I couldn't see, I couldn't divorce myself from doing it the guys way.

Star also commented that Latino men may disengage in the classroom due to the feminization of education.

I think what I've noticed is like there isn't a lot of active participation from men in class cause it might not be seen as like cool I guess participate or actively discuss in lectures or in very heated discussions or debates...I guess oftentimes that caring about school is, I guess kind of seen as feminine because a lot of men don't care or seen as not to care.

In addition, participants shared an avoidance of femininity through their sexual identity and behaviors. For instance, Star shared:

It's a cultural expectation for Latino men to act in a 'macho' way, which probably has many angles to it. Obviously, someone who is strong, unemotional, or not expressive of emotions. Someone who is heterosexual, someone that is super serious, someone that's...that could include violent in that way.

Patricio also noted:

The way I speak to people, the way I say hi to certain girls – like I hug them and give them a kiss on the cheek. I guess the way girls interact with me and say hi to me, I think that carries a certain tone and difference. I think the way I give a handshake to [guys]. I give them a handshake and no kisses to them, that's a big thing. Even now thinking about it like its funny story that I say that I'm going to kiss you on the cheek, "Yo, that's gay as hell."

This reflection highlights the effort Patricio made to avoid being viewed as gay. As Salvador commented, "A lot of it is still connected to like this homophobia, this idea that if you're gay you're not a real man." Many of the participants noted their avoidance of being viewed as gay or any attachment to homosexuality. This avoidance of homosexuality was due to the perceived femininity of gay men. This could be found in a comment made by Rey:

Even if we see lesbian woman or like more leaning towards the guy side in how they dress or act or whatever we're cool with them, your one of the guys. But if we see a guy who's more towards the girl's side we have more to say in the bad aspect of that. I don't really know why, it's kind of what happens but we're more accepting if it's a girl being gay than if it was a guy.

This rejection of femininity could also be seen in an explanation Patricio shared about the use of maricón (fagot) in Columbian culture.

I mean the obvious answer is, I would say because it carries that notion of like your gay or you're not a man. So, if you just say that to another male individual, that freaks them out a little bit, cause if you call him a maricón (fagot). That means like oh my God, you're not a man...that is so out of place in a very Latino setting. Like calling someone maricón (fagot), like even in most spaces even if you act that way, you're immediately going to be called out on it. I mean you are more free in an American, U.S. setting. I feel like if it's some military thing, like if you're like sit up. It's like the same way, if you say maricón (fagot) you're not only telling them to sit up and act a certain way, you're also legitimizing a certain type of way of living as well. It carries so much baggage to be honest.

Thus, Latino men avoid being feminized or associated with femininity so they are not viewed as less manly. Indeed, many of the participants discussed many instances where Latino men subordinated women. For Pancho the subordination of women manifested in the household. "A tendency that most men should be the man of the house basically. Be the man of the house, be very demanding about the woman, whatever the man says goes." He also shared a memory with family members which illustrated the subordination of his Aunt.

Yeah actually, one of my uncles. I feel like he's really involved in the machismo culture because he always goes to work, and when he comes home he expects the food to be done for him and be ready on the table at a certain time...The female is the one that's supposed to cook, instead of sharing those responsibilities with my Aunt.

Similarly, Rey noted that within machismo women are expected to, "listen to everything I say because I pay the bills. You have to do everything I say. I think that's where it gets out of hand or like even sometimes abusive." Emiliano's comments aligned with Rey, in that "the woman

usually stays at home, doing house domestic work and all that.” Thus, Latino men are in control by working outside of the home and controlling the finances.

In addition, Carlos recalled an interaction between peers in a classroom where a Latino man silenced a Latina woman.

I think it was in my stats class and this girl was talking to a guy and then he’s like, “Oh, am I talking to you?” He’s like, “No I’m not.” I guess she said, “Hello,” or something and kind of directed that comment at her. I don’t know if it was necessarily machismo, but...he said it in a very deep tone to kind of make her stop talking in a way. I don’t think his intention was to be a machista...but it was kind of showing some signs of that a little bit.

This interaction was between classmates and illustrated the use of male power. The Latino male who dismissed his female peer was asserting his dominance over her and illustrating his ability to control women. Rey also shared a memory of a man taking over a situation while others watched:

Yeah, there was a Trump rally on campus but not a rally, a protest. A girl was leading the rally, she hosted. She put it together and then the guy, he just took over. Like I don’t even think he was really part of her organization...Everybody knew who she was and how she did things, and for him to take over even though he wasn’t saying anything she wouldn’t [have] said. It was the fact that he took over her project, something she did, it was something that rubbed people the wrong way.

There was no uprising from individuals in the crowd or even from Rey himself to support the woman in this narrative. She was alone in trying to resist this Latino man taking over her project.

In addition to not openly opposing machismo, the participants rarely shared instances where they engaged in the subjugation of women but there were subtle ways in which they oppressed women. For instance, many of the participants referred to their female counterparts as girls. Their male peers were continually referred to as men or guys, but women were constantly

referred to as girls. Rey for example commented, “I know in my school there’s more fraternities than sororities, but there’s more girls in sororities than there are guys in the fraternities.”

Salvador also shared, “Still at the parties it's like I'm still expected to be the one to grind on someone or like on some girl.” Participants’ use of terminology minimizes women and elevates Latino men. Through the male domination and control of women, Latino men are able to both conform to the parameters of machismo and avoid being associated with femininity.

Avoidance of femininity and fear of emasculation were seen throughout the interviews. Homophobia was also closely connected to anti-femininity, and it specifically targeted gay men due to the associated femininity with that identity. The narratives of the participants illustrated the subjugation of women as a platform for Latino men to retain control and assert themselves as masculine. Participants engaged with anti-femininity to protect their masculinity and be viewed as Latino men.

Sub-theme: “Pride in being an island.”

This sub-theme exemplifies the importance of being independent and self-reliant as a Latino man. If a Latino man was unable to be independent, then he was considered weak and less of a man. Seeking help was also something to be avoided because it showed weakness.

This was clearly articulated when Rey shared:

I think...one of the major aspects of machismo is independence cause like you’re the guy and you don’t need anybody. It doesn’t matter, you don’t need her [or] him. Your self-sufficient, you can do it yourself. You don’t need love, you don’t need any handouts. [You’re] very proud. That’s one of the characteristics of machismo, [there’s]...pride in being an island.

Rey’s comment about machismo was something that resonated with many other participants.

The expectation of self-reliance was evident among all of the participants. For instance,

Emiliano recalled a memory where he struggled to be self-reliant in the face of a difficult situation at work.

You could say there was one situation where a lot of the employees didn't show up for work. So, me being me, I kind of took the[ir] spot...I did the work of three or four people. I was doing a task over here [at] a register, another task over here to actually make the product, and over here I was pretty much everywhere. And they were asking me if you need help. I would say, "No, I don't need help. I'm good. I'm good. I can do it. I can do it." It got to the point where I couldn't do it anymore, so I asked for help...I felt kind of not destroyed, but kind of angry at myself because I wasn't able to do everything. It was out of my control and I don't like having things out of my control. I like to be the person in control of stuff.

Emiliano overburdened himself and tried to do the job of three or four people. He could have easily divided up the work among his co-workers to ensure everything was done, but he felt that he had to do it all himself. Similarly, Felix reflected on a confrontation with his roommate who had been helping him find a boyfriend. However, Felix felt that he was losing some of his independence through this help and asserted his independence when he shared:

Actually, last night is the first time I kind of confronted him about it but I wasn't able to do it verbally. Whether that was because his girlfriend was [there], even though he kind of shares everything with her. But the way I approached it was like sort of upholding my masculinity in a way, "I don't need this dependency. I don't need you to look out for me in that way." And like sort of being appreciative of his intentions but, "I can do it on my own. I don't need this right now." So, I mean even in my mind I knew, even being in a relationship is so personal and just something that I wish I had, like they had. But I could have gone through with it and played along, but in a way, I felt like I just couldn't do it to uphold that. I was firm that I wasn't dependent.

Felix's reflection highlights the desire he had to be able to find his own partner and navigate dating on his own, without his roommate's interference. As a man, he wanted to be independent and self-reliant, so he pushed his roommate away to protect his masculinity. After sharing this experience, he was asked how this moment reinforced or challenged machismo. His response was that, "It definitely reinforced the idea of being independent and I guess also the idea of

pushing back against any threat to that masculinity.” He felt strongly about being independent and not relying on his friend, even though he knew his friend’s intentions were good. He seemed to be afraid of his masculinity being threatened by his friend’s dependency, so he acted. This fear was something that some Latino men alluded to and seemed to stem from their avoidance of being viewed as weak.

Carlos, for example, commented that he was taught as a Latino man to avoid being viewed as weak. “That’s another aspect too, you have to be tough for everything you can’t be weak or anything. Being weak is bad, you got to be tough for everything pretty much.” This resistance to being viewed as weak could be seen in the narratives discussing self-reliance and independence. Indeed, Emiliano’s narrative exemplifies this avoidance:

But the way I was also brought up by my grandparents, he was always saying, if you ask for help that is a sign of weakness but then again, there are some circumstances where you actually do need help...I’m usually the type of individual who doesn’t like to ask for help unless I really, really need it. And even when I really need it, I’m kind of ah! It’s kind of like, it doesn’t affect my pride, it’s just like ah I asked for help you know.

This reflection illustrates the struggle Emiliano had with seeking help and relying on others. As a man, he should be self-reliant but there are moments where you need others. However, to rely on others was to show weakness. Many Latino male participants conformed to being self-reliant and independent to avoid being viewed as weak.

Summary.

The negative aspects and characteristics of machismo were prominent in the lives of the participants. They each had a multitude of memories and stories that illustrated the harm or limitations placed on them as Latino men. Indeed, Rey said it best when he shared that, “machismo kind of takes away your free will. Whoever is dealing out the machismo takes away

the free will of the person receiving it.” Negative machismo limits the lives of Latino men in so many ways, such as restricting their emotions, avoidance of femininity, and self-reliance. Each of these facets of negative machismo experienced by the participants, hampered their ability to both foster healthy relationships with others and seek the help they needed. These limitations are also harmful since any deviance resulted in Latino men feeling emasculated or viewed as less manly by others. However, the focus on the negative machismo and the conformity of machismo were in part due to the socialization the Latino men experienced.

Theme Two: Gender Policing

Gabriel gets off the phone with his parents, feeling a familiar pang of guilt as he considers his responsibility as a man to his family. Though they have never asked him directly to leave college and have encouraged him academically, he could help by going home and working. He knows that they have been suffering financially since he started college two years ago. Continuing to reflect on his family’s predicament, he considers the continued hardship they would have to endure as he finished his bachelor’s degree. With these thoughts swirling in his mind and overcome with emotions he begins to weep, unsure of what he should do and feeling lost.

While sifting through his feelings and trying to get his bearings, the door to the room opens and his roommate walks in with a group of friends. They immediately stop, as they see Gabriel in tears. Gabriel’s roommate Manuel asks, “Hey, are you okay man?” Gabriel immediately scans the faces of those who have walked in and sees Marisol, a girl he likes and is now mortified that she has seen him crying. “Yeah, I’m fine!” Gabriel yells, “Why are you always walking in without knocking? You are so inconsiderate!” Manuel bristles at the

comment and shoots back, “Well at least I’m not always up here just crying all day. Get a grip bro, if you can’t deal maybe you shouldn’t be here.” Insulted, Gabriel gets up and runs out of the room.

This is not the first-time Manuel has told him to suck it up and not cry over the “little stuff” at college. However, he has not been transparent with Manuel. Manuel doesn’t know about his family’s financial hardship or how much he is struggling in classes. He also hasn’t told Manuel, his only close friend on campus, that he feels lonely and isolated here. Gabriel hasn’t shared that he is feeling pressure from his family and friends to start dating and get a girlfriend. His interest in Marisol seems promising and he has considered furthering that relationship, but after seeing him cry she will not want to be with him. Gabriel knows that having a girlfriend would detract from his studies and he is determined to do better academically for his family.

While thinking about Marisol, he recalls his mother’s continual reprimands growing up about crying. “Los hombres no lloran, tienen que ser fuerte (Men don’t cry, they need to be strong).” This memory cemented his feelings about Marisol. She would not want a weak man, but a strong man who was not so emotional and cried all the time. With that in mind, Gabriel decides that he will be better at masking his emotions and being a stronger man. He didn’t want to get caught being emotional again and feeling like this. Thus, he promised himself that he would not cry again and be strong, so that he could be a true Latino man.

This vignette epitomized the second theme of the study, gender policing, which was a major strain in the lives of the Latino men I interviewed. This theme attends to the research question, “how, if at all, are successful Latino male college students’ gendered experiences with

machismo influencing their success in higher education?” Due to the increased pressure experienced by Latino men due to their gendered experiences, they expressed hypervigilance in adhering to machismo. The participants explicitly shared that as Latino men, they were expected to adhere to strict gender roles. These gendered expectations were sometimes explicit in the messages they received from family and friends, while other times it was implied. Machismo was the guiding force for the strict parameters that confined Latino men, and was reinforced through sanctioning. The sanctioning Latino men experienced, social sanctioning and self-sanctioning, limited their expression of masculinity. They were restricted to behave as men within the well-defined expectations outlined in machismo or be ostracized as men, which resulted in many of the men adhering to machismo to protect themselves. However, doing what was expected of them ultimately reified the negative aspects of machismo and manifested in ways that caused the Latino men to restrict their behaviors.

Sub-theme: Strict gender roles.

The first subtheme was strict gender roles. Each of the participants discussed the ways in which they were socialized to behave and act as Latino men. There were many instances in their lives that informed them what was acceptable and expected of them as Latino men. For example, Star shared that “...from what I’ve heard from my mom and dad, is that there is this very strict mold of how Latino men are supposed to be and how they’re supposed to be the provider, the protector, and this very macho non-emotional person.” Moreover, he added:

A very large focus on like heterosexual tendencies and you know this is how you’re supposed to look like, this is how you’re supposed to act, and I guess there’s just a big assumption that’s how every Latino man in the Latino family is supposed to act that way.

Similarly, Salvador commented that he experienced some gender policing from a friend's father when he was younger.

He was talking very sexually about like, "Oh, you got a girlfriend? How many girlfriends do you got?" and I'm like, "Um, none." He was like, "Really? I had like five when I was your age. You need to step it up!" ...in my head, I'm like, "This is excessive." At the time, I was just like, "Oh, yeah," like nervously laughing. This is like my friend's dad. I'm not just going to walk away.

Explicit expectations were imposed on these two young men at an early age to engage in heterosexual relationships, and with many women in Salvador's case. In these ways, heteronormativity became a common expectation and norm in the gendered expectations for the participants.

The participants discussed the strong divide between men and women as they learned about gender roles. Felix, for example, shared that growing up, "...there was definitely that culture where it was very dichotomous and men would get together and talk about manly things, just like sports." Rey also shared that growing up, "the boys always had to stay with the boys, the girls always had to stay with the girls." He also shared that while growing up, "We never learned ironing, we had to pick that up if we moved out but if we were in the house. 'Ask your sister' or my mother would do it. But like basic house stuff, indoor stuff we didn't do." He also discussed his father's appeal to find a girlfriend or wife to take on these additional duties, which he should not be performing. "So, then my father was like hurry up and find a girlfriend or wife so you can have somebody to do this or this that and the other." Thus, reinforcing both a heteronormative relationship onto Rey and limiting what he could do as a Latino man. These expectations reinforced certain domestic expectations for men and women as well. Throughout

each of these narratives, which portray a rigid framework for performing machismo, participants experienced social sanctioning from peers, family, and community members.

Sub-theme: Social sanctioning.

The second subtheme, social sanctioning, was experienced by the participants in the form of ridicule, fear, reprimands, and violence. These social sanctions were doled out by family members, peers, and community members in the Latino community. These external influences thus reinforced the strict gender roles expected of Latino men. For instance, Rey shared a personal memory of his father's confusion of his role as a man in his home and relationship with his girlfriend.

So, I get up to fix my plate but my dad stopped, "Oye! (Hey!), what are you doing? Why are you fixing [your plate]? This is your house and you're not sitting at the head of your table. And you have [to] get your own food, and you have to get your own plate. What does she do?" It was very embarrassing.

This story highlights the father's disbelief at his son's unwillingness to be a "man" in his own household. Through this exchange, Rey's father reinforced what was expected of him as a Latino man, and also embarrassed Rey in an effort to force him back into the appropriate gender roles outlined for men. Since this exchange, Rey commented that it is a running joke with his father:

So now when they got back and I talk to him, [my dad says,] "Did you find somebody who will make your plate for you?" That's the going joke that he has now. And I'm like, "No, she's still around."

This passage reinforces the use of humor to encourage compliance to machismo. Though it is said jokingly, the intent is clear that Rey's deviance as a man who does not adhere to the strict gender roles is unacceptable.

Similarly, Star shared a moment with his grandmother where she expressed very strict expectations of him as a Latino man. “I think oftentimes, like I think there’s this one case when I was in middle school that I was crying because I was sad that my dad had left for a business trip. My grandmother told me, don’t be such a girl, don’t cry.” In this one moment, she was teaching Star that behaving in ways that would label you a girl or feminine were unacceptable, like crying.

In another conversation, Carlos shared that he had once sanctioned his brother for deviating from machismo during an argument.

So, I ended up punching him like in the stomach or something but...he was younger, so he started crying. I started telling him like, “Oh, why are you crying? You have to be tougher than that, you don’t need to cry, man up.”

In this narrative, Carlos shared that the use of violence was a tool for reinforcing appropriate behaviors for Latino men. Though he did disclose that his mother ultimately reprimanded him for hitting his brother, there seemed to be no consequence for telling his brother to not cry and be tougher. Again, illustrating the various ways in which social sanctioning is used to reinforce machismo.

Fear of the female gaze.

In addition to the social sanctioning experienced by Latino male participants by various individuals, they emphasized the role women had in influencing their behaviors in conforming to machismo. Women’s social sanctions were viewed as influential motivators for conforming to machismo. Some of the experiences shared by the Latino male participants portrayed the fear some Latino men had in being viewed as less than a man by the women in their lives. The fear men had of women’s perceptions around their masculinity was a strong motivator for Latino men

in resisting major deviance from machismo. It also had a strong influence on how they navigated their understanding and performance of masculinity. Thus, the participants altered their behaviors to comply with the strict gender roles expected of them within machismo due to the fear of the female gaze.

Star, for example, shared a powerful reflection of his grandmother's engagement with machismo and how her understanding of machismo now influenced his ability to live authentically.

I think with their experiences growing up that they never had much to build off, in terms of diversity and how they view men because my grandfather who raised my mother and all her sisters very much followed that idea of, I am the breadwinner. I go to the farms, I do my job, I take care of my family, and I have a wife. So, I think because of that my grandmother was very much [okay with] that idea or that construct really stuck with her. And I think that's kind of expected that from me a little bit, and I think in some occasions she often assumes that I'm heterosexual and that I'll eventually marry a woman and things like that. Which I haven't been able to tell her, because I feel like, for personal reasons it's not worth shattering her image of who I'm supposed to be.

Felix also shared:

Yeah, so my voice, whenever it is more delicate or soft spoken, there is that sort of sense of me presenting delicate, presenting like submissive, more reserved. And so, there's I guess that push to be...a little harder...[and] I do...see it along with my sexuality. It's interesting to see...when it's with a woman that I am speaking to or saying hi to and it happens, [but] being more attracted to men that's okay in a sense. I don't have to sort of change myself right away to be more masculine in front of women because that is not what I'm actively seeking. But whenever it is a situation where I do need to be authoritative or...feel a certain way about a woman, I have to change my voice right away. Whereas with a guy, its more passive.

His reflection on how he altered his voice to be less soft or deeper, highlights the pressure he felt to present more masculinely in front of women. He did not feel the same pressure to have a deeper, baritone voice with men. He could be more delicate and soft spoken, highlighting the

need to perform for the female gaze. Moreover, Pancho disclosed an influential moment where he realized the power of women in his life.

Yeah, because growing up, some moms even tell you...I've seen it myself, my friend used to clean his room, I think this is back when we were fifteen years old. He said that he was cleaning his room, and I asked him one day and all of a sudden, he said he stopped. He said it was because his mom told him that that's a girl's job.

Though the mother did not seem to tell the young man in this memory to stop cleaning his room, the implied feminization placed a fear in the young man to comply and stop cleaning his room. Again, the female gaze influenced the behaviors of Latino male participants by restricting their actions.

The restrictions placed on Latino men, due to the female gaze, manifested in the form of limitations on their emotions and no crying. Patricio, for example, shared that, "So, that's something women are told that's the most attractive thing that you're supposed to like, so of course you're not going to be attracted to anyone who shows emotions." Patricio's comment illustrates his belief that women are attracted to stoic men, so if he shows emotions women will not be attracted to him. Therefore, to ensure women are attracted to him, he must adhere to machismo and be more stoic to find a partner. Thus, highlighting the need to adhere to machismo, especially the restrictions on emotions due to women's perceptions of them as Latino men.

Rey also added that, "It's the way we were brought up. It was just like, 'Hey, if a girl [is] around don't cry,' you know." This behavior of no crying was further exemplified when Rey relived an experience with his father.

Yeah, I've never seen my father cry at all. So, I didn't think he was capable until his brother died. And so, when his brother died you know to see this, like I said he's short but he's a presence so he's like really big to everybody. So, to see him cry it was kind of

weird, cause it was like what are you doing. It's kind of like how we flipped it on him, how he'd been on us for so long, "What are you doing crying?" And we didn't say it in front of the ladies cause he didn't cry in front of the ladies. He only cried in front of us, and that was barely, but it was something we had never saw before.

This example shows Rey's father willing to show vulnerability in front of his son's but not the women in his life. In fact, his vulnerability was met with ridicule by his son's which highlights how ingrained the socialization of machismo was for his sons. Indeed, Emiliano shared an experience where he reinforced machismo in an effort to protect his friend from being viewed as too emotional by a woman.

Well a couple of days ago, ...one of my friends...he told me, he likes this girl and he started asking me advice...he started asking me, "How do you talk to a girl" and all that. "You just go up to her and talk to her." He said, "Like what do you say. Like what do mean by that?" He was like, "Do you say your feelings?" I was like, "Nah, you can't tell her everything you can't be like I love you and all that. You can't be too emotional, show your feelings like that to her. Especially you as a guy now, you got to...keep it more general until you start to know her a lot better."

Thus, women were a major influencer in Latino men's compliance to machismo, and the participants were socially sanctioned and participated in sanctioning others for non-compliance.

Sub-theme: Self-sanctioning.

In addition to the social sanctions Latino men experienced, there was also self-sanctioning that took place to protect themselves and conform to the strict gender roles in the Latino community. Through self-regulation of their behaviors and mannerisms, they prevented additional scrutiny about their masculinity from others and further social sanctioning.

Regulating their own behavior also facilitated the retention of the participants' status as men in the Latino community. The Latino men intentionally restricted themselves in certain ways to avoid being viewed as weak or less of a man. For instance, Emiliano shared, "Trying to be like,

showing no emotions, showing no need to be weak cause...as soon as you show emotions or any type of weakness you're considered less of a man."

Felix also noted that, "But when it's a stranger, someone like I'm trying or have the possibility of pursuing that I have to change my voice right off the bat, I can't have it be delicate. I clear my throat right at the beginning and making sure I present myself in a certain way." He also shared that he monitored his voice and tone to be deeper, more baritone in class and other settings.

So, for me it definitely works into the tone of my voice. Sometimes when I'm walking to and from class, even in class, my voice, I don't know why or how but it changes to be a little softer. And whenever that happens I feel like sometimes I have to clear my throat, even if there isn't anything really in my throat. I try to change it, especially if there is a serious point or serious topic that I want to present. If I want to express that I know what I am talking about or I am authoritative in that sense, or that I am able to talk about that. Yeah, that's within the class. Walking by friends and say hi, sometimes I hear my voice and tone, so I clear my throat again after the interaction happens. Yeah, it's really, the way I see it's within my voice.

Furthermore, Carlos shared how he altered his behaviors to be viewed as heterosexual for fear of being viewed as gay by peers.

It was a whole thing like oh, people had the perception that I was gay or something and at the time, if you were gay that was kind of a big deal. That's not okay type of thing. I was called gay a few times, which now it doesn't really matter but just being in middle school especially with what people say and having a good perception of yourself is like very important. You know you are going through that whole phase as a teenager and all that, you're going through a lot at that point. People calling you gay is like, "Oh my God, I'm not gay." I have to make sure that people don't think that I'm gay, I have to act straight, do straight things, do this, you know.

These experiences all highlight the self-sanctioning and internal regulations participants placed on themselves to avoid emasculation. There were also explicit references by participants of intentional efforts on their part to present themselves as Latino men by deepening their voices, avoiding expression of emotions, and self-regulation of behaviors to avoid emasculation.

The Latino male mask of self-preservation.

Part of the self-sanctioning process was crafting a persona or mask Latino men presented to the world, to protect themselves and be viewed as Latino men by others. Through self-filtering and presenting themselves in very specific ways, they were protecting themselves. In fact, all the participants discussed feeling as if they, at some point in their lives, had to uphold this facade of machismo in place to be viewed as a man. This continual charade left Latino men unable to authentically live their lives and engage with others as their true selves. For example, Star shared his restraint in fully expressing himself in public on campus.

I think in particular I used to be a tour guide on campus, so being that first face with incoming families that you don't know how they would react. You don't want to disclose that you are gay or you don't want to act too feminine in front of them, because that might like freak them out, that might worry them, or that might give them the wrong impression of the school. So, I think keeping that in control, how feminine you are versus how feminine you want to be. I think you have to, that's a place where you have to kind of have to filter yourself in a way. And maybe deepening your voice or controlling your mannerisms.

Emiliano, also noted how he filtered himself as a part of his performance of machismo.

So, you could say when I'm depressed or sad, I usually have a straight face. Not a straight face, but I'm always smiling. You can't tell what I'm thinking or actually feeling inside, so you could say that's one part of machismo that I have participated in.

His control over his facial expressions was to ensure others did not see his emotions and associate anything other than masculinity to his expression. Furthermore, Rey mentioned his performance of emotions as well.

We're always in protective mode... Sometimes we have to seem more aggressive than what we are really. I've noticed that... yeah, even if we're not really upset about something we kind of have to act like we are for some reason and I don't know why that is.

In addition, Felix shared a memory of a confrontation where he felt he had to act in a certain way to retain his masculinity.

Yeah, actually thinking back to the locker room example. I remember one day in gym class I sort of bad mouthed this girl as we were walking back to the locker rooms cause she kind of got on my nerves. So, I can't remember what exactly it was but when we were walking back, when she got aggressive. All I could do was stand there and be approached. I have never been in a confrontational situation but with that, I kind of froze...just because I knew that something could go really wrong. And so, at the end, I mean it was pretty much in front of everyone...where she came up to me and tried to confront me verbally she did get a little physical so when she came to touch me, or came at me in a very stern way. I guess one could describe it like in a masculine way, I had to replicate that to an even bigger extent so I stood up even taller, tried to make myself bigger, face as straight as possible, trying not to show that fear in that situation. So directly speaking yeah, that sort of did exhibit that masculinity.

These various examples highlight the ways in which participants performed in masculine ways to retain their masculinity and avoid social sanctions from others.

The Latino men also discussed that the limitations placed on them as Latino men due to the self-sanctioning they participated in to retain their masculinity was harmful. For instance, Salvador noted:

I saw the damage it was doing to a lot of my friends. I saw the way in which like if they just admitted that they were having a problem, if they just like gave in a little bit, they could be a lot happier. They could do a lot more, but they were...It was just like [a] façade that they kept putting up.

Felix also shared that the barriers erected by Latino men also hindered the development of deeper relationships.

I guess a specific example could be my roommate who is also bisexual...The trouble that I've seen him go through and the sort of reservedness that he keeps from me, cause I've been his closest friend and even being roommates, I see him every day now and it's difficult to see that even though we've known each other for [a] long [time]. We've had some discussions that have been very intimate that he even then feels the necessity to feel reserved and I guess dealing with things on his own.

His observation showed that he could recognize his roommate's reservedness, but he also disclosed that, "I sort of present a masculine front to protect myself in a sense..." Therefore, even though Felix recognizes it as an issue for his roommate he still participates in being reserved to "protect" himself.

However, the participants' participation in restricting their behaviors was a process of self-preservation for themselves and their peers. Star's reflection exemplifies the rationale for self-sanctioning:

...if you abide by it there's less social sanctions. And I think it helps you kind of go under the radar a little bit, in that people that don't really know you might be quick to judge you based on how you act and your mannerisms and your behavior. I think by following it, it really does help you from not being judged as much or not being viewed as emasculated at times.

The participants' self-sanctioning and adherence to the strict gender roles in machismo were acts of self-preservation. Compliance to machismo ensured that Latino men were not sanctioned by the community or emasculated.

Summary.

The participants experienced a lot of gender policing which reinforced machismo. Some of the gender policing was due to the strict gender role expectations placed on them as Latino men by family, friends, and the Latino community. However, they were also reinforced through social sanctioning and self-sanctioning. The continual external reinforcement of machismo through social sanctioning was a constant for Latino participants. Social sanctioning was especially relevant when it came to women and the female gaze. The role of women in social sanctioning illustrates the complicated nature of machismo in the Latino community. Furthermore, the self-sanctioning Latino men practiced to protect themselves was also a regular

process for participants. The effort of erecting their Latino male mask was something that both protected them but also places a barrier up between them and the world. Moreover, the continual regulation of the participants gendered expression was an additional stressor for the Latino men. Furthermore, the hypervigilance the participants discussed due to the gender policing they experienced hindered their ability to succeed in college. As participants avoided social sanctions and self-sanctioned themselves to adhere to machismo, they were detracted from focusing on their academics. Thus, gender policing was a complicated experience for the participants that forced them to reinforce machismo for fear of stepping outside its boundaries and being emasculated.

Environment

In this section two themes are explored: “the double-edged sword” of being a Latino male and alpha males on campus. The theme, “the double-edged sword” of being a Latino male, has two sub-themes: recognition of male privilege and conditional agency. This theme explores the awareness of male privilege the participants gained while in college but also the restrictions placed on them due to machismo. The forth theme, alpha males on campus, interrogates the male-centric nature of leadership discussed by the participants. This theme also examines the presence of machismo in the leadership experiences the participants had as they navigated college. These two themes illustrate the influence college experiences had on the participants.

Theme Three: “The Double-Edged Sword” of being a Latino Male

“I just don’t get why people can’t understand that though I have male privilege, I still experience oppression as a person of color,” lamented Julio. The men of color in the group affirmed his statement with snaps and nods. “It’s not like I want to compare my experience with

women of color or to say they have not suffered under machismo and patriarchy. I think they have, and I also think I have as well. I am confined by machismo, limited in what I can say, do, and be as a Latino man.” Julio’s statement was applauded by the men in the group, and there was a sense of solidarity in being able to honor the complexity of their experience as both men and people of color.

“I agree Julio, so how do we reconcile the privilege and oppression we experience as men of color?” asked Oscar, a staff member from the multicultural center. Julio took a second to reflect on Oscar’s question, and realized that this was the first time he had been able to openly discuss what it meant to be a Latino man. This retreat for men of color hosted by the multicultural center had allowed him the space to think about his experience as a man with other men of color. “I think this very space is allowing us to reconcile both the privilege and oppression we face as men of color. That is why I wanted to come, since we are never allowed this type of space in society,” responded Julio passionately. He had slowly learned throughout the retreat that it was okay to push against machismo in this space. Even though, throughout his life he had learned that any behaviors or actions that feel outside of machismo would result in consequences.

As a Latino man, he was given much latitude and freedom in his family but as soon as he stepped outside of the bounds of machismo he was quickly reminded of his place. He remembered when he asked his mother if he could wear nail polish at the age of five, since he saw his mother using it. Her response was to immediately shout, “You are not a girl! Boys do not wear nail polish. Go to your room, you will not be going outside today.” “But why? I didn’t do anything, I was going to meet up with Ben and play at the park,” complained Julio.

His mother said, "Stop whining and go upstairs." Julio climbed the stairs dejected and upset. As he reflected on this experience he realized that was the first time he was not allowed to go outside. By stepping outside the bounds of machismo his mother took away some of his freedom. This revelation left him confused and distraught. However, he decided to shelve his emotions and thoughts for further exploration later. He wanted to make sure he heard everyone's narratives and honored what they shared in the space with him.

This vignette portrays the third theme, "the double-edged sword" of being a Latino male. This theme addresses, "how do their intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic class, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) influence their gendered and collegiate experiences?" The participants discussed their male and Latino identities resulted in both privilege and conditional agency. The participants acknowledged that they had a complex relationship with privilege and oppression as Latino men. As men, the participants experienced male privilege but they also experienced racism as members of the Latino community. The complicated interplay of privilege and oppression experienced by the Latino male participants manifested in various ways throughout the interviews. In fact, many of the participants explicitly noted the ways in which privilege and oppression manifested for them on campus. With that said, the participants recognized the privilege they had as men and discussed the conditional agency they had as Latino men.

Sub-theme: Recognition of male privilege.

The first sub-theme was recognition of male privilege. Throughout the interviews participants acknowledged the fact that as men they have inherit privileges due to their status as

men in the Latino community. For instance, Patricio captured the complex nature of being Latino and male during his reflection of what it meant to be a Latino man on campus.

...even though I am a male that carries that privilege. Also, being a Latino in settings where I might not be the oppressor, I am also a part of the group that is oppressed. Being in classes with Black individuals, being in class with predominately White folk. I think that's when my voice is considered less, compared to like other students...Not only are you carrying your identity as a Latino or as you know a Brown man or a Black man, you're also carrying the history of where you come from. Your accent, the way you look, the way you dress, the way you act, they call it the swagger...There's a certain like connotation to that, it isn't that it's a good thing. It also carries a nuanced, very specific thing that comes with the way you act...that's what's so like specific about that identity of Latino masculinity. Sure, in certain settings especially within the Latino community you will be the most privileged individual but outside of that you are also a part of the oppressed community.

Thus, Patricio captured the complexity of his identity as a Latino man. There were also expectations to how he was supposed to carry himself and enact his masculinity as a Brown man which were oppressive. He also experienced privilege as a man in the Latino community.

Similarly, Emiliano noted:

The way, you could say, pop culture describes it or even just history itself in Latin American countries. They describe machismo as being superior to women and being in control of women. Seeing women as sexual possession[s] or thing, to be honest.

Emiliano recognized the subjugation of Latina women, and how he was positioned above them due to his male identity. Carlos also discussed the privilege men are given, while women are dismissed in the business world.

To be head of companies, it's usually a male so if you usually see a male, they are a CEO or something. They are strong, determined, they get what they want, they're tough or whatever. But if it's a woman, people could have different mindsets about that. Like oh, maybe she's not as tough as she looks or there could be doubts just because she is a woman if that makes sense.

In another example, Rey captured the power Latino men have when he reflected on a memory from his past:

For example, when I was in Puerto Rico I was in school and...it was myself and another girl. We were sitting next to each other, like you know when in high school you have the thing where you can take the baby home, that robotic baby thing that cries and stuff like that. I told her, "You know you have to keep the baby all the time because you're the mother of this baby. I'm the father, so you just ask me for what you want and you get it, but you're the mother so the baby has to stay with you." And I think that was a very machismo type of idea, and then of course it really took today, wow! Did she really have to have all of the baby time?

Through this reflection, Rey realized the privilege he had as a man to dictate what he would do as the "man" with a fellow female peer. Rey's experience was common among the participants, as they recognized the power they had over women. Their male privilege also manifested through their speech with women. For instance, Salvador noted the way in which a male peer stripped some women of their voices to assert himself and gain power.

There's one dude I'm thinking about when I'm talking about this, because he's like very big in the Latino community at my school. However, all the time it's just like women will say something and then he takes it and resays it and acts like he's the originator of it and is just like taking control of the voice of the women. But like in a less violent way, but at an equally silencing way if that makes sense...So, now it becomes like a man's conversation like men are talking about it. Then like women are just like left out of the conversation completely.

This memory also illustrated the lack of resistance from the community by both men and women to stand up against this individual. There seemed to be an understanding around the power and dominance Latino men are allowed in the Latino community. Similarly, Patricio recalled an incident where he acknowledged his privilege of having his voice heard over women.

There was one time when we were talking about gay rights issues with a group of friends, and there were a few girls and one guy...when we talked about this specific issue, I think a misinterpretation of transgender rights, there was an argument of an individual of how it should be interpreted. Our [male] voice was still relevant, and almost sometimes heard more. We tended to speak more, or we tended to know our voices were heard more. Things like that, people that really don't notice it, but then at the same time I'm a little more aware because I'm in classes and settings where my voice is rejected and now that I am able to recognize that.

Both Rey and Patricio's reflections highlight the participants' recognition of the power they held as men to be heard, sometimes at the cost of women's voices. The participants recognized their male privilege but through this reflection they also discussed the boundaries of the privilege they were conferred.

Sub-theme: Conditional agency.

This second sub-theme, conditional agency, highlights the agency and freedom Latino men have compared to Latina women. However, this freedom or agency could only be retained if they adhered to the parameters set by machismo. Those who did not abide by the expectations found in machismo could experience social sanctions or stigma for their deviance. Similar to Latina women who experience marginality and restrictions due to machismo, the Latino male participants shared the limitations placed on them as men in the Latino community. The privileges awarded to them as Latino men were interwoven with oppression.

Nevertheless, the participants still had privilege since they had the option to adhere to machismo and reap the benefits from it. For instance, Patricio noted:

Just having the privilege of not being the one told to cook, not being told to close your legs. Basically, kind of being told that it's okay to have girlfriends at a certain age and my counterparts, like my cousins or my close girl family members being told not to really engage in that kind of thing. Where I guess the types of clothes, your weight, things like that, I feel like being a woman would be judged more in that sense. And it comes with a lot of privilege, you're the man of the house.

I grew up in a single mother home. But I was still told to take care of the house which is like, that comes with its own like machismo in itself. Cause it's like well I'm only a kid but you're still trying to put me above you know, a person that I hold dear, like my mother. You know what I mean, there's always that struggle with like well you always got to assert yourself, you always got to show dominance, you always got to show certainness, you can't cry. You know things like that.

As Patricio shared, he had less restrictions placed on him compared to his female counterparts. He also shared that he was from a single mother household and “was still told to take care of the house” even though he was just a child. Moreover, Patricio was positioned above his mother by family members. Again, highlighting the freedom and power given to Latino men within the household. He experienced privilege in being viewed as the “man of the house” and being placed above his mother due to machismo. Although, with this power he also experienced pressure to behave as a “man” by not crying, showing dominance, and asserting himself. However, he was a young boy still growing into himself but now these expectations had been thrust upon him due to the elevated status of being the “man of the house” by family members.

Salvador had a similar experience when speaking to his father before he passed away.

I remember before my dad died, he was like, “You know, you're the man of the family. You're gonna have to protect them.” I thought, I was like, “I'm 13 years old. What the hell am I gonna do in this huge ass world?” I remember hearing that and thinking like, “What the hell is he talking about? Like I'm not going to protect my mom and my sister. Just I literally can't. I'm sorry.” But I was like...I entertained him like, while he was alive. I was like, “Yeah...I'll protect them or whatever,” ...There are definitely certain aspects of like being a man and machismo that I just did not make logical sense to me.

Salvador's memory of being instructed by his father to protect his mother and sister at the age of thirteen placed a large burden on a small boy. Even at the age of thirteen he understood the absurdity of having that type of responsibility placed on him. However, as the only male in his immediate family this was his responsibility.

In addition, Felix discussed feeling pressure from the expectations that were placed on him as a man.

Like everything we have talked about, expectations, holding young men especially to certain expectations that they must follow in order to fit, in order to be successful, that they have to uphold these expectations. It creates a box...and if you're unable to fit into

the box to be able to be masculine, it pushes you away from everyone else...Especially for Latino men it's even more restricted being very disadvantaged in multiple ways.

Felix's reflection speaks to the pressure he felt to conform to machismo but also the added disadvantages and oppression he experienced as a Latino man. These pressures were constantly placed on Latino men, even though they experienced freedom and power as men. Felix noted this pressure in college when discussing his grades and succeeding in college.

For me college has been a struggle with achieving higher grades and so at first, I had an excuse my freshman year. It was my first year, I was getting used to things but being in my second year it definitely comes down to a lot of, being in my head so much, emotionally in a sense. And not feeling the ability to seek out help because either I can do it on my own and if I'm able to do it on my own I'll be able to succeed even more. I'll be able to prove my masculinity, that is needed to succeed in a way. So yeah, in moments were I'm way too in my head I always come back to the idea that I need to get more focused, I need to stop being so mopey, not masculine.

Thus, the boundaries of machismo were pressuring Felix to act more masculinely to be academically successful. However, relying on his masculinity to be more successful comes at the price of not seeking help and restricting his emotions. Therefore, Felix was left with unresolved emotions he was unable to process in an effort to adhere to machismo. Nevertheless, he recognized the fact that through embodying machismo he would be more successful. His masculinity and male identity did give him access to some privileges not awarded to women, even though it may have come at a price of being successful in higher education.

Summary.

Through these various reflections and explorations of power, the participants recognized the privilege they had as men. They understood that they were bestowed this power and authority by virtue of their male identity. However, the ability to articulate their privilege as men ranged from broad recognition to nuanced examples of how Latino men had power. Some of

these nuanced examples were having their voices heard in spaces, silencing women, and having power. As a result, the participants recognized they held more power than their female counterparts on campus due to their male identity. Nevertheless, this power and privilege also came at a price for the participants. The privileges awarded to the Latino male participants could only be achieved through their compliance and adherence to machismo. The interweaving of privilege and oppression the participants experienced created a complicated web of power and restrictions they had to navigate as Latino men on a daily basis.

Theme Four: Alpha Males on Campus

“Hello! My name is Sofia, welcome to MASA. We are excited to have you all here!” announced Margarita, an excited executive member of the Mexican American Student Association (MASA). As Christian and his two friends are encouraged into the space, they nervously shuffle towards one corner of the room. Members of MASA are chatting with each other and catching up on their adventures this past summer. Christian and his two friends, Margarita and Rosa, are first-year college students. They live in the same living learning community and decided to check out MASA since they were all curious about the student organization. Christian, who had never been involved in student organizations, was hesitant to attend but his two new friends disclosed that they had extensive experience as leaders in student organizations in high school. They also shared that they were fun and could help them to network with other Latinos on campus. Thus far, he still felt uncomfortable but excited to see what would happen. At least he knew he could rely on Margarita and Rosa to help him as he went through this first meeting.

As they talked amongst themselves trying to figure out when the meeting would start, someone walked up to the group. "Hello, my name is Fernando. I am the president of MASA and we are glad that you joined us today," smiling as he spoke. "Well I am Margarita, this is Rosa, and that is Christian." Fernando nodded his head to each person as they were introduced, and then locked eyes with Christian. "So, Christian, can I speak to you for a second?" Christian awkwardly darts a glance at Margarita and Rosa who look confused at the request, then he says, "Sure." Fernando guides Christian a few feet away from his friends and asks, "So what is your major?" "I am pre-med," shared Christian nervously. "Oh really, that's great. Have you already sketched out what involvement you want to have on campus for medical school?" "No, I'm not sure what I might want to do yet," replied Christian sheepishly. "That makes sense, you just started. But hey, we will be having some openings in MASA which I think you should consider. I think you would be a great fit for the organization," asserted Fernando confidently. Christian then says, "Oh, okay thanks. I'll keep that in mind." "Alright, great. Well we need to get the meeting started but we can chat more later," said Fernando as he began walking away towards another group.

Christian is confused by the invitation to apply for a leadership position but happy that Fernando thought he might be a good fit. He hurries over to his friends and tells them what happened. They look a bit confused as well, and Margarita blurts out, "But why did he not tell us about the positions? Did you meet him before today or something? I'd like to apply for the position, I've been on executive boards before." "Yeah, me too. That's weird that he didn't tell all of us about it," commented Rosa. Christian turned red at their remarks, "Well maybe he saw something in me, I don't know. But isn't it exciting that he is considering me?" "Yeah, that's

great. I just wish he had included us too,” said Margarita. Then the meeting started, and Christian began to question why he was singled out. Was it because Fernando saw something in him, or was it because he was a Latino man. This had happened to him before in high school, where he was constantly asked to be in leadership positions just because he was a guy. He felt uncomfortable taking on a position just because he was a Latino man, so he refused many of the offers in high school. Then Christian decided to think about it later, since the executive board was asking everyone to take a seat.

This vignette represented the fourth theme, alpha males on campus. This theme attends to the following two research questions, “how do their intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic class, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) influence their gendered and collegiate experiences?” and “how, if at all, did their experiences in college shape their definition and interpretation of machismo (e.g. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers)?” The participants discussed the influence masculinity and their male identity had on campus as student leaders. They also discussed the benefits and privileges they had as Latino men while navigating leadership on campus. These reflections illustrate the ways in which leadership on campus in student organizations also informed their understanding and engagement with machismo. Furthermore, comments from the participants alluded to the presence of machismo in their leadership experiences.

As they explored their experiences as leaders on campus, they referred to the male-centric nature of leadership on campus. For instance, Patricio shared:

A really simple example is I guess like, being told to get into certain positions. I was told to apply to leadership org[anization]s for Latino students, immediately...just because.

Again, that history reflects only male heterosexual individuals and that history seems to be always repeated when it comes to leadership positions. Because we tend to only look at male, heterosexual people to lead the community.

Pancho also shared:

I would say just because in student organizations, there are certain roles for everything, there's the president, the vice president and all that, and for the most part, the president who wins is the usually the president in regards to nomination and votes and mostly males. The females, her role usually goes to the secretary. It's like a tendency, that's what I'm trying to say, where guys are mainly the president and girls are mainly the secretary.

Thus, highlighting both the subordination of women and the power given to Latino men. Indeed, some of the leadership experiences the participants discussed reinforced machismo by giving Latino men the space to act out parts of machismo. Specifically, they were able to be the alpha males and be in control. This could be seen when Emiliano shared:

Academic wise, you could say, I am visually seen by my other peers as very serious not demanding but always gets stuff done. For example, I'm part of an organization here at school called the Latino Student Association on this campus. I am the VP of Membership, so any time I say we are going to do this I tend to not order them but I say that we got to do this and we got to do that. If we get behind, the thing is that things are going to back up on us. So, I am very strict and firm. That's how my peers see me as strict and firm.

But then again...it's one thing being in school. You got to act a certain way in front of society pretty much, something they expect from you. For example...men are supposed to be academically [successful]. Especially male Hispanics, they got to be seen as hard working...you got to be separated usually, not from their families and friends but more work-oriented. More work alcoholics, if you know what I mean. You have to be doing something, always being serious and very firm on their decisions and all that. Kind of taking charge of the entire situation, no matter if they're not the, you could say, the president or vice president of certain organizations – they usually tend to take control, they want to be the alpha male you could say within the group.

Moreover, their leadership roles also gave them an opportunity to challenge their masculinity and grow. For instance, Star commented:

Like I'm involved in a lot of different things in student life, I think being in that space has really helped me challenge my notions of masculinity and being able to again step[s] into

the leader role and what that looks like. And almost being like, almost stepping up and being that extra figure being that important figure were other people look up to you. I think that also shapes that as well.

Many of the participants discussed the intersection of leadership and machismo during the interviews.

Summary.

Throughout the interviews with participants, it was clear that all the participants held some form of leadership role on campus. Some were presidents of student organizations while others were peer mentors. However, regardless of their role or position on campus they all valued their roles as student leaders. As student leaders on campus, Latino men had an opportunity to both hold some form of power and stay engaged on campus. The male-centric emphasis of leadership the participants experienced also speaks to the patriarchal culture on college campuses. In fact, the participants' reflections about their leadership roles in student organizations illustrated another form of engagement with machismo within a higher education context. Participants could either reinforce or challenge machismo as they engaged in leadership on campus.

Conclusion

The themes in this chapter highlight the strong influence machismo had on the lives of the Latino male participants in higher education. The gendered socialization of the participants was a constant presence, and was informed by their intersecting identities. Though many of them practiced and engaged in machismo, they also recognized it as a problematic aspect that needed to be challenged. For instance, the relationships Latino men developed were informed by machismo and their resistance to relying on others hampered their ability to ask for help.

Furthermore, the pressure and stress machismo imposed on Latino men as they navigate either conforming or challenging it was an additional layer they experienced as they attended college. Thus, this chapter explored the ways in which the gendered experiences of Latino men influenced the success of Latino men in higher education. In the following chapter, the remaining themes from the study will be explored.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS ON SUPPORTING THE SUCCESS OF

LATINO MEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

This chapter includes the final themes from the study, with some sub-themes to clarify the intricacy of the theme. These themes are organized into two elements from Astin's (1993) theory of student involvement: environment and outcome. The themes in environment are reconceptualizing success, the power of la familia, and the importance of campus racial climate. Then outcome will include the theme decolonizing machismo. Each theme begins with a vignette and then is followed with an exploration of participants' narratives and experiences. Through the use of vignettes and participant narratives, a counter-narrative of Latino men's experiences in higher education is built. Similar to the previous chapter, each of the vignettes are imaginary scenarios which I created to offer additional insights into the importance and complexity of each theme.

Environment

In this section three themes are explored: reconceptualizing success, the power of la familia, and the importance of campus racial climate. The theme, reconceptualizing success, explored the ways in which the participants defined and interpreted success. The sixth theme, the power of the familia, discusses the influence family members had on the participants' academic success. The seventh theme, the importance of campus racial climate, encompassed two sub-themes: visibility and representation are important and counterspaces for Latino men. In

this theme, the importance of campus racial climate was explored through visible representation and safe environments where students could find community. These themes were powerful influencers for the participants as they experienced college life and navigated their success in higher education.

Theme Five: Reconceptualizing Success

Alberto, a sophomore, turns on his computer and reads through the scholarship application. He fills in each of the fields quickly and gets down to the essay component of the application. As he reads the prompt “What does success mean to you,” he takes a second to consider how he should respond. As he reflects on his response, he recognizes that graduating is an important part of success for him but a bachelor’s degree is only one part of what success looks like for him. Success meant getting an A on his first test in college, getting accepted into an honor’s society, being able to present at a conference with a professor, and learn new things he would be able to use for the rest of his life.

Then he began to write out his response to the essay. All these small successes were part of his larger understanding of success. They fed into each other and built upon his goal of getting his bachelor’s degree. Getting that first A in his calculus class drove him to continue to excel in his other classes so that he could get good grades. Now he was in the honor’s society and was invited to present at a conference with one of the faculty advisors in the honor’s society. Each of these experiences were inspiring Alberto to be a scientist. As he wrote down his thoughts, he recognized the power behind honoring all the various aspects of success and hopefully the future pieces that would build up to his ultimate goal of graduating from college.

This vignette embodied the fifth theme, reconceptualizing success. This theme attends to the research question, “how is success defined and interpreted by the participants in higher education?” Success was a concept that had many definitions for the participants since they viewed success broadly. However, each of the participants framed success many times through the lens of hegemonic notions of success (e.g. college grades, degree completion). For instance, Felix commented:

Yeah, so I guess after getting here I didn't know what else to do and my success has been or my vision of success has been so arbitrary that I've looked at different things in order to sort of define it...But I haven't really looked into it for myself. It's mostly been based on what others have viewed success or how they are able to [en]vision it.

He struggled to define success in a clear way, but recognized getting a degree was important.

Carlos also framed success through degree attainment:

I definitely think in Hispanic culture it's a really big deal. Not everyone goes to college and not everyone graduates from college. So, if you can get your college degree it's kind of like a sign of like, oh okay I made it.

This sentiment was also shared by Star, when he was asked what success meant to him as a Latino man in college.

I think for me, success in college isn't necessarily getting a bachelor's degree and being done. I think for me, it's more of like, at least the way I see it, I think getting [a] masters or getting something a little more than a bachelor's degree is what really helps me stand out. A bachelor's degree is almost like another high school diploma, its expected, you can't do much with it. So, for me the definition of college success would be to go beyond a four-year bachelor's degree, to involve yourself in research, and dig deep into what you're really interested in academically and professionally and attain high levels of education beyond the bachelor's degree. I think for me that's what's important.

Here Star defined success as completing his degree, and many future degrees in graduate school.

However, he also pushed against it by asserting the importance of research and allowing his

passions to be a part of his degree attainment. Similarly, when Rey was asked to describe what success meant to him as a Latino man in college he shared:

Finishing (laugh)! If possible continuing forward with a master's or doctorate. I think the retention is part of the success as well, as long as you stay you'll complete something. So, finding ways to stay, I think that equals success. New ideas, new people, new experiences.

Rey's comments, mirrored Star's, in augmenting their definition of success outside of just attaining a degree. They defined success more broadly, with Rey noting the importance of "finding ways to stay" and continuing at college. College was more than an endpoint but a process or journey. He also discussed the importance of "New ideas, new people, new experiences" as valuable parts of his definition of success.

The participants' narratives illustrated that their definitions of success were in alignment with hegemonic notions of success. However, like Rey and Star many participants broadened the definition of success by sharing that success went beyond hegemonic notions of success. They would discuss hegemonic notions of success alongside alternative forms of success that were just as important. For instance, for Emiliano graduating with a degree was only one piece of success. He felt success also encompassed:

Being highly involved in the community, giving back to the community as well...Because a matter [of] fact, if people like it or not, your success to me is a good stable relationship and a good financial situation. So being stable for me is success.

For Emiliano, success could be captured in one word, stability. Being financially stable, in a stable relationship, and so forth were just as important as graduating with a degree. Salvador also shared, when asked what success meant to him as a Latino man in college:

I don't exactly have the answer...I'd say for me, success is just being able to get my family everything we need to be comfortable.

Salvador's reflection shows both the difficulty in detailing what success meant to him, as well as noting that providing for his family was an important concern.

In addition, other participants shared small achievements or microsucceeds when talking about success. For instance, when Pancho was asked to consider a memory that could help illustrate what he considered to be success he shared:

I was on a debate team, and I thought I did pretty well for never debating. I made it to the final, which is really hard to do...I made it to the top five speakers out of I think a total of thirty-six students. I was top five, so I think that's pretty successful for a first time.

This recollection demonstrates the ways in which small achievements or triumphs can leave a lasting memory. This one moment was an inspirational moment for Pancho, which he felt embodied success for him. He also shared that, "Success means to me that whatever vision I started with, whatever goal I started with, to finish it." Moreover, when Carlos was asked to share what an example of success was he noted, "I think definitely just being able to be on the honor roll here." Highlighting the importance of achievements along the path towards degree completion. Thus, the participants expanded the definition of success outside of the parameters of hegemonic notions of success by adding alternative forms of success or microsucceeds.

Summary.

The participants' relationship with success included hegemonic notions of success but also augmented what success was for them. Their expansion of success encompassed alternative forms of success and microsucceeds that honored their academic journey. The alternative forms of success involved being financially stable, providing for family, and giving back to the community. The Latino men also discussed microsucceeds which were in the form of

achievements while in college. These instances of success validated and affirmed their efforts in college, inspiring them to continue and graduate from college.

Theme Six: The Power of La Familia

Xavier is feeling down and decides to call his mother. “Hello?” responds Xavier’s mother. “Hey Mai (mom), how are you doing?” “I’m okay hijo (son), how are you? How is college?” replies Xavier’s mother excitedly. Xavier takes a deep breath and shares, “I’m okay and school is going well too. How’s everyone in the neighborhood?” “Oh, you know, they are okay. Nothing really new is happening. Xavier, are you sure you’re okay?” asks Xavier’s mother anxiously. “Yeah, I’m fine Mai (mom). I just wanted to call and say hi. I actually have to go now, I have to start studying,” Xavier lied. “Okay, well take care of yourself, I love you and we are proud of you.” “Okay, talk to you later,” Xavier said evenly and ended the call. He then stared at the phone and he felt a little better. Though he could not hug them or see them, the phone call was the closest thing. He always appreciated being able to call and hear his mother’s voice.

His family was always there for him and he knew he could rely on them. That is why when he had to write a paper for his University experience course on what drove him in college, he wrote about his family. College had been hard the past few months, but knowing his family had his back was important. He also knew that all the knowledge he gained in college would allow him the ability to pay back his parents. They worked hard and sacrificed many things so that he could go to college. So, he wanted to make sure he excelled so that they would be proud of him and he could pay them back for everything they had done.

This vignette showcased the sixth theme, the power of la familia (the family). This theme addresses the research questions, “how is success defined and interpreted by participants’ in higher education?” Success for the participants was intricately connected to la familia, each of the participants referenced the importance of family in empowering them in college. Family members inspired them and pushed them to persist in college. Family members were also able to give them unwavering emotional support and encouragement in college. For example, Carlos commented:

So, it’s just being able to have that support system that says they are there whenever you need it, not just when you want it...which is nice. Being able to go back to them for whatever I need just because I’ll go to college but I’m still figuring myself out so I’ll still have questions about something. So, it’s just being able to talk to them and then you know them helping you out to be able to succeed.

His family was still an important emotional support system, and he appreciated being able to rely on them. For Patricio, he mentioned his mother as the main individual who supported his success in college:

My mother...I think even [she] has influenced how I perceive women’s gender roles you know. She [also] kind of fundamentally taught me what it means, you know, [to] not have something and try to do something with yourself... She came here to the U.S. by herself with me...[then] had to work and be a babysitter. And very minimum wage being able to support me and help me, being in the big city.

The dedication and persistence Patricio’s mother embodied when she first came to the United States was a source of pride and inspiration.

In addition, Pancho shared the importance of family when asked what supported his success in college. He also specifically mentioned his mother as a major influence on his continuation in college. He reflected on an exchange he had with his mother which highlighted her encouragement:

My family. My mom, every time I joke around telling her “You know mom, next semester I'm going to start working and start helping out around the house.” She's like, “No you're not. You can do part time, but you're staying in school.” No matter what she's never going to tell me to stop. She tells me to keep on going, “You started, now you end it.”

She supported him but also kept him accountable, which was important for Pancho. Felix also discussed the encouragement he got from his parents even though they were not always around due to their work commitments.

That's something that I sort of mentioned, with my parents being immigrants. They really had to focus on getting work, doing what they needed to do to survive. Like gain that money and be able to pay off bills. I really had an independent relationship from my family in which I was focused on my studies, [but] they pushed me into my studies. That was our main point of connection.

He was encouraged by his parents even though they were busy working to provide for him.

Although Felix had an “independent relationship” from his parents, he also mentioned, “This is what my parents encouraged and this is how I will get further than my parents, even to maybe help them. To make everything they've gone through worth it.”

Other participants also discussed the desire to pay back their families for their investment in their success. For example, Carlos noted:

I'm doing good things you know. Just kind of showing, it's okay I didn't get caught up in anything [or] any bad stuff in my life. I've been able to get through that and it's like, “Hey mom and dad, here's what you've been looking for most of your life. It's what you paid for, so here you go.” Just being able to show regardless of what happens, you are able to go to college and be able to get that degree in a sense.

The importance of doing well and getting a degree for his parents guided his actions, and kept him from getting “caught up in anything” that would jeopardize his success. His family's commitment to his success and investment in him needed to be repaid through the completion of his degree.

Similarly, Salvador discussed the sacrifice of an older sibling to stay at home to take care of their mother so that he could go to college.

My mom was the one that raised me...Like she was the one, she was the parent. I see a lot of that still continue now because like my sister had to drop out of college to take care [of her], and she's older than me...Now the only reason I can go to college is [because] I have my sister here taking care of my mom.

His family's commitment to his education was not lost on Salvador and he shared his commitment to supporting his family financially once he graduated when he shared, "I don't want us to ever not have food in the house again. I don't want the lights to ever go out again...and it's like I don't want us to live that way again." This desire to ensure his family's financial stability was a driving force for his commitment in college and desire to succeed. Thus, families were an important part in the participants desire to succeed in college.

Summary.

Families were an important source of encouragement and inspiration for each of the participants. In fact, participants noted their families as the major contributors to their success in college. The family members most noted by participants were their parents, especially their mothers, who seemed to be instrumental in their desire to graduate. Participants may have disclosed their mothers more often due to gendered expectations. As Latino men, fathers may not be as open about their feelings of support and encouragement to their son's due to machismo. Whereas, Latina mothers can express themselves and encourage their children more freely. Moreover, participants disclosed a desire or need to pay their family's back for all their investment in their education. The participants wanted to show that their families investment in them was worthwhile and that they could support their families financially in the future.

Theme Seven: The Importance of Campus Racial Climate

“I feel isolated on campus. There are no Latinos in any of my classes and when I heard there was a Latino student organization, I got excited. But when I looked into it, I found out that it was inactive this year. I just feel like we need a space, you know,” Alex shared passionately. He had been feeling like this for a while but did not feel comfortable sharing it with anyone. Ever since he started his Latin American history course with Dr. Garcia, he was learning to speak up more. “Alex, I completely understand. I remember how isolating my experience was when I was in undergrad but I don’t want my students to feel that way. Have you tried connecting with the multicultural affairs office? They are a great resource and maybe they could help you with getting the Latino student organization back on campus,” replied Dr. Garcia. Alex had not thought of that, and appreciated having Dr. Garcia to talk through his frustrations. “Yeah, I like that idea. I’ll go talk to Christina in the multicultural affairs office about it. She has always been helpful in talking through stuff with me in the past.” “Perfect! I am also willing to be your advisor if the student organization needs one. Just let me know how I can help,” offered Dr. Garcia. “Thanks, Dr. Garcia. Well I have to leave for class but thank you for meeting with me.” “Any time Alex, have a great day!”

Alex left feeling better and with an action plan to improve how he was feeling on campus. He really did like campus overall, but it was hard not having a community he could call his own. Most of his friends in his residence hall did not understand what he was going through as a man of color, nor did they understand he missed speaking Spanish regularly. He also missed hearing music from Costa Rica and eating traditional dishes. Hopefully, the student organization on campus could be started up again and other Latinos on campus would come. He felt that if there

was a space for Latinos to meet, they could all support each other and build a small familia on campus. As Dr. Garcia always told him, it takes a village to graduate from college.

This vignette depicted the seventh theme, the importance of campus racial climate. This theme engages the research question, “how do their intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic class, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) influence their gendered and collegiate experiences?” During the interviews, the climate on campus was mentioned often by participants. There were various aspects of the campus community at each participants’ respective institution that either helped them feel welcomed or ostracized in college due to their identity as Latino men. All the participants attended a predominately White institution (PWI), except for Star who attended an institution that achieved the Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) status this past year. With this context in place, most of the participants noted the importance of visibility and representation on campus and counterspaces for Latino men.

Sub-theme: Visibility and representation are important.

For instance, a major facet of campus climate that came up often was the importance of compositional diversity for the Latino men. Representation of other Latinos on campus was mentioned often by the students. In fact, Star illustrated the importance of compositional diversity when he shared:

Okay, well I...feel really empowered when I see people of color or Latino people...that are teachers, and that are administrators. I feel like...it helps motivate me...especially for someone who wants to work in higher education and being able to see...this is attainable, this is something that I can do. I can see myself because someone of a similar background or of a similar standing has gotten there and I think that’s really helped. Especially since our departments are not, like the ratio between a professor of color to each student is super low.

Star's reflection on the need to see other individuals like him on campus was important to see himself in those roles. Having aspirational role models in a leadership role was important for Star. Many other participants, noted and discussed the important institutional agents at their campuses and they were consistently Latino. For example, Carlos shared that there were three pivotal faculty members who had supported him.

There are a lot of faculty I've met on campus, like Juan Luna in the Latin American studies department, Ken Sanders, the provost, also met Bernice Rodriguez, she's the advisor for LASO [Latin American Student Organization]...I think just talking to them and you know finding out what they are passionate about. I know Bernice she's very passionate about undocumented immigrants, not necessarily Hispanics but any undocumented immigrant in general. They are very passionate about the right issues, especially what is happening right now and they are very passionate about those things which I love.

Carlos' reflection illustrates the power in getting to know faculty but also connecting with faculty that have similar identities and passions. He was able to meet Latino faculty who invested in building a relationship with him and supported his success in college.

Moreover, Rey shared that he found four faculty members who were willing to mentor him through the Latino Studies Center. He disclosed this information when he was prompted to share an example of what he considered to be success.

I just know that my mentors are a combination. It's two ladies and two guys who are my mentors at school. They are not rich people, they're professors you know. They have average size houses, they drive average cars, but they're the most knowledgeable people that I know, about a lot of things. And so, I think that's really success, success is what you know, [sharing] information with other people. My four mentors are my idea of success.

These faculty members were not only his mentors but were also visible representations of success.

In addition, Emiliano went so far as to note the importance of Latino male representation on campus.

I would say a negative experience, not personal, but some of my friends have told me. Sometimes...there not being enough males to look up to, they feel kind of left out. They feel like there is no role model for them to follow sometimes. Just because there is a lack of them, all they see is women. There's nothing wrong with having a woman as a role model, don't get me wrong. But sometimes they wish, you could say it is representative of them who they are too.

Similarly, Star mentioned the importance of his leadership roles on campus for his peers:

So being in my positions and my experience I think it really has helped influence other people like me to assume leadership roles. Because they see me as a role model or see that, like again kind of like I saw my professors. I was able to assume that role and help other students see themselves too, as a leader.

The need for representation and visibility in leadership roles was important, at all levels. Star's reflection highlighted the need to see individuals like himself in leadership positions to aspire to those roles. With more visibility and representation, the participants not only gained aspirational role models but also advocates on campus to support their collegiate experience.

Sub-theme: Counterspace for Latino men.

The second sub-theme entails the spaces that were either built by students or put in place by various institutional agents to support Latino students' success at the institution. For the students, these spaces were important to their navigation of the institution and were valuable havens for students to both bolster their resiliency and build community. Student organizations were instrumental in supporting the development of comunidad and developing social networks for students. Furthermore, the participants also discussed the value and importance of institutional units and programs in their achievement of success. Ultimately, these various spaces supported the participants to view success as attainable.

Developing comunidad on campus through student organizations.

Most of the student organizations mentioned by participants were culturally based student organizations. These spaces were pivotal for finding other Latino students and building community. For Carlos, the Latin American Student Organization (LASO) was one of the few places he was able to meet up with other Latinos.

Most of my experiences with any Hispanic on campus has been through LASO so I haven't...really seen anyone in my classes at least for business. It's mostly White students or international students. But international students do their own thing, which is nothing wrong with that that's fine I get it. It's mostly been one thing every time, people just kind of go to class and leave, no one really tries to be friends.

Thus, Carlos was able to connect with his community at LASO but not necessarily in his courses. Similarly, Felix noted, "...this is a very White centered space, so experiences with Latinos are sort of limited to whenever we have cultural events and whatnot." Part of the value and importance of Latino student organizations and programs on campus was providing Latino students space to congregate, connect, and find support.

Patricio also noted the importance of building a social network through his fraternity and feeling like he belonged on campus.

We met through the fraternity and he turned out to be one of my closest friends cause not only did he understand the complexities of like being in a frat and how machismo plays [a role], but [he] also made me feel at home. He was the only one I could talk to in terms of like jokes, watch Vines, or watch different things.

He was able to find his closest friend through his Latino fraternity on campus which was an important part of him finding a support system. This group and friend were also important in his processes of feeling like he belonged on campus and allowed him to "feel at home" at the institution.

Furthermore, Emiliano reflected on the community building that took place in his organization as they worked towards mentoring the next generation of leaders.

[W]e kind of sometimes mentor them, the younger generation...to get into those positions. So, that when the senior[s]...leave and graduate, those that we mentored do the same process to the one's behind them. And sometimes we also influence some of the younger individuals to work with one of us...So, we kind of, it's kind of a family-oriented thing.

Through this mentoring process and building a sense of community, the participants were able to develop a support system on campus. For the participants in the study, relying on their community was important part of their success in college.

Institutional efforts that supported Latino men.

In addition, there were institutional spaces that were noted as influential in supporting the academic success of the participants. The spaces noted by the participants ranged from multicultural offices, LGBTQ centers, cultural houses, mentoring programs, educational support programs, and the classroom. For example, Rey shared:

The most influential space has been the Latino Studies Center. Because it was through them that I got a lot of the opportunities to meet certain people, it was there that I met my friends, it was there that topics like this were discussed. It was at the Center where I met my mentors.

The Center was a pivotal space for Rey, where he not only found a support network but where he also found mentors who helped guide him through college. Pancho also discussed the importance of an educational support program, College Assistant Migrant Program, in achieving success.

...[the] scholarship program I started off with, College Assistant Migrant Program...were the ones to facilitate my first year in college. The first-year scholarship, they made it really easy for me...They're the ones that gave me that small push that I needed.

This program gave Pancho both the support and assistance he needed to start college. Moreover, Patricio commented on the support he received from a center and program at his institution.

The Center of Multicultural Excellence and Equity and also Elite University Program are like, I think the best in America in terms of helping students. Because they provide tutors, they give you funding for certain books, they give you full scholarships, [and]...they want to know how you're doing. They have resources for you to go out and actually succeed. You can be competitive with kids who actually come from backgrounds that are fully privileged. So, it's not like you're not fully competitive...with being low-income and not having any support back home.

These institutional efforts gave Patricio the resources and support he needed to succeed on campus. The services rendered by these two spaces made the participants believe someone knew their needs and ensured they received support for their success.

Equally important was the support and community that was cultivated in the classroom. Salvador commented, "My classes were definitely hugely influential," when discussing who had been involved in his achievement of success. Star also recalled a memory from a class which helped to affirm who he was within an educational context:

So, in my sociology of education class...our teacher is...an indigenous professor...from Guatemala and she teaches in the graduate school of education here. And so, on the first day she talked about the importance of names and how a name really does have a significance to who you are and your identity. It helps remind people where you are and where you come from. So, we went around the room, and we each said our name and the meaning of it and who gave us our name and like how to pronounce it. I think she really emphasized the way you say it is also super important because a lot of...times teachers sometimes assume like, "Oh, this how you say it and like are you okay with that?" And most of the time you're just like, "Yeah, I guess you can call me that." But actually, being thorough and actually getting to choose how you are called. And even in saying it like the way you were raised, that's what my parents called me and that's what my grandma calls me...Being able to be recognized like that by the class and the teacher, it's just really reaffirming in your identity.

This memory highlighted the value in respecting and honoring the cultural heritage of students in the classroom. Star's reflection showed how affirmed and moved he was by the simple act of

having his name recognized in the classroom. Thus, the participants noted the importance of feeling welcomed and having community in multiple spaces on campus in their achievement of success.

Summary.

The campus racial climate of the institution had an influence on the participants' perceptions of their sense of belonging and connection to the institution. Visibility and representation on campus was a major factor for students, especially since most of the participants attended PWIs. Therefore, building community was also an important factor that surfaced during the interviews due to a desire to connect with other Latinos on campus. These spaces were both facilitated by student and institutional agents. The combined efforts of culturally affiliated student organizations and institutional units that supported Latino students, also supported the cultivation of counterspaces. These counterspaces gave the Latino men in the study the guidance, resources, and support they needed to achieve success in college.

Outcome

In this section the last theme, decolonizing machismo, is explored. This theme has four sub-themes: exploring machismo's positive side, machismo as a counterpoint, educational spaces and machismo, and acts of resistance. Through the participants' collegiate experience and exploration of machismo, they interrogated and explored machismo. Through their exploration of machismo, they learned to push against the negative aspects of machismo and challenge what it was to be a Latino man. Although, many of the Latino men still held onto many of the characteristics found in machismo, including the negative aspects of machismo. Nevertheless, their continual interrogation of machismo allowed many of the participants to begin the process

of reconceptualizing what type of machismo and masculinity they wanted to embody. Thus, engaging in a radicalization of their machismo and masculinity which could ultimately support their success in higher education as they break away from the negative aspects of machismo.

Theme Eight: Decolonizing Machismo

Miguel walks into his seminar course excited to see what the writing prompt for the day would be. At the beginning of every class there was a prompt that students were expected to work on to practice their writing and critical thinking skills. For today's prompt, students were asked to consider how they hope to change the world with the knowledge they gained in college. Today's prompt was a tough one for Miguel, since he had never considered how he would change the world. He always knew he would do something with his life, but was never sure what. With that in mind, he decides to think about what his first day in college was like and why he even wanted to go to college.

As he recalls his experience, he remembers how angry, hurt, and scared he was his first day of school. The past few years in college had been an important part of his journey to deconstruct machismo and find ways to resist the need to adhere to it. It had been a difficult journey, but he was proud of where he was now. He no longer felt deep guilt and shame in asking for help from his peers or others on campus. He did not have to hide behind this super macho facade to feel like a man.

Then he realized how he would change the world, he wanted to change machismo. He understood the hurdles he experienced in college were partly due to machismo. He would never go to the tutoring center, talk to professors, or ask peers for help. He ended up getting put on academic probation his first year and was almost kicked out of school. However, his story was

not an anomaly. He knew plenty of Latino men at the college that had similar experiences.

Perhaps he could help change that experience for first-year college students.

“Perfect, I know what to write about,” mumbled Miguel as he took out a notebook to start his response to the prompt. He began to write that he wanted to start a program for Latino males in their first-year at college. It would be an initiative that would cultivate spaces of openness and troubling machismo. Hopefully through an open space the students could challenge machismo and consider its influence in their lives. Hopefully, the Latino men would feel less inclined to adhere to it. He knew that as an individual who had navigated letting go of machismo these past few years, he had become a better man and human being. College allowed him a space to learn new ideas and interrogate machismo’s influence on his life. He knew that the main reason he challenged and resisted machismo as much as he had in his life was because of college. Perhaps what he learned could be put into a program to help expedite the learning for other Latino men so that they did not suffer like he did his first year. As he wrote down his thoughts, he realized that the program could also be helpful for high school students and added that to his response. After a few minutes, he had a well flushed out paper that captured what he hoped would give Latino men the support they needed to be successful in college.

This vignette represented the eighth theme, decolonizing machismo. This theme addresses two research questions, “how, if at all, did their experiences in college shape their definition and interpretation of machismo (e.g. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers)?” and “how, if at all, are successful Latino male college students’ gendered experiences with machismo influencing their success in higher education?” Throughout the interviews, many participants discussed the ways in which they challenged and troubled

machismo in college. They also considered how their masculinity was supporting or hindering their success. In fact, some participants discussed their struggle with viewing machismo as having positive traits but this interrogation helped to challenge the myopic view of machismo as only embodying negative traits. In addition, the participants' resistance to machismo led to some participants disclosing their intentionality in positioning themselves against machismo or creating a counterpoint to machismo. This new positioning gave participants more flexibility to step outside of machismo and resist the negative aspects of machismo which may have hampered their success in college. Furthermore, their immersion in college exposed them to new ideas and allowed participants an opportunity to interrogate their masculinity. As they interrogated their masculinity and machismo, many of the participants felt the need to push against machismo and reconceptualize how they wanted to engage with their masculinity.

Sub-theme: Exploring machismo's positive side.

Overwhelmingly most of the participants had difficulty naming and pinpointing the exact aspects and ways in which machismo could be positive, partly because of the salience of negative traits associated with the construct. Nevertheless, many of them wished that machismo could be more positive or suggested that we needed to explore new ways in which Latino masculinities could be more positive. For instance, when asked about machismo and masculinity being positive Carlos struggled. He shared, "That is definitely a hard question to answer because machismo and masculinity are seen in a negative sense. Like how do you think about it, are there any positives?" Carlos' struggle to capture the positive aspects of machismo was common among the participants. In fact, Star named the conflict of connecting positive traits to machismo when he shared:

Yeah, I think I see more negative than positive. I think it allows for [a] strict definition...I think by being more flexible and being more open to different versions or different types of masculinities on a spectrum it really can tear down those impressions that males feel compelled to follow.

Star's insight here emphasizes the need for a myriad of masculinities instead of being siloed within just one type of masculinity, like machismo. Similarly, Patricio shared:

I think the positivity is that it requires a lot of thinking, and it has produced a lot of literature in the Latino community... That's the biggest positive, is that there is a recognition of the fact that there isn't a masculinity universally. There are different types of masculinities you know what I mean. Which I think is the biggest win, that is not only going to empower men or empower like younger male generations, it's going to empower women and it's going to empower queer people, gender non-conforming individuals you know what I mean.

Thus, Patricio discussed the value of machismo disrupting hegemonic notions of masculinity and honoring a broader conceptualization of manhood that encompasses various masculinities. He also noted that further research and interrogation of masculinity and machismo were needed.

However, Rey and Emiliano discussed the positive aspects of machismo. For example,

Rey commented:

I think masculinity and machismo can be positive if used responsibly, like the chivalry aspect. I think that is a positive aspect of machismo. As a guy wanting to be a provider, as long as you don't become a dictator can be positive.

Rey's understanding of the positive aspects of machismo revolved around chivalry and being a provider. Similarly, Emiliano noted:

Masculinity and machismo or being macho in general, what is positive? You kind of have to avoid the negative parts of it and just keep the positive parts of machismo or masculinity. For example, you're not supposed to hit women and treat them with respect. You treat others as equal to yourself. Don't attack the weaker person. Kind of be the protector, be the protective individual if you are able to and if you are able to do something, go and do it. Don't give up and be the hardworking individual you can be. Yeah, keep going no matter what predicament gets in your way, whatever barrier gets in your way, keep going.

He had many positive traits in machismo like respecting women and not hitting them, treating everyone equally, being a protector, working hard, and being persistent in overcoming hurdles. Emiliano's assertion of Latino men's role as advocates was particularly noteworthy since it was prevalent among the other participants' narratives.

The advocate.

Advocating and helping others was an important part of being a Latino man for the participants. The participants discussed the role of Latino men in standing up for the right thing and advocating for vulnerable individuals. They also discussed protecting peers and friends on campus. For example, Emiliano commented:

That's kind of the machismo things, we protect what you see to be weakling, not the weakling but people who you think are...the victims. That's one thing you could say about, that's one of the positive things in participating in machismo. Sometimes you care so much about certain things that you protect that thing or that person or those individuals with your life.

Protecting others and helping in some way was therefore a positive aspect of machismo for Emiliano. He also shared how this trait of machismo manifested for him on campus.

Well in organizations pretty much when I see some of my fellow officers who have too much on their hands, they have school, work, [and they must] keep up with their student organization stuff. I kind of tend to aid them, in the organization [by] tak[ing] a lot of the burden off of them and put[ting] it onto myself. Just because I'm being that protective individual, I am being [a] protective individual [be]cause I see I can. They're about to break [and] they're too stressed out to function well academically. I know that I'm more capable of that, I can be like, "Give me this and I can do it for you so that way you don't have to be too stressed." Like being that caring individual...so that they can function in life and be more relaxed.

Thus, Emiliano felt that it was his duty to support his friends so that they could be successful.

He felt a responsibility to help his friends if he could, as their friend and advocate. Similarly,

Rey recalled a memory where he helped and encouraged a friend:

I know a couple of years ago, I had a student where she was in a relationship and he was really controlling of her. He wasn't in school but she was, and like, he would interfere with her studies, basically her whole schedule. He dictated when she could work, when she could go to school, they lived together but they were only in a relationship...for about a year. Just to see this guy have so much control over her, she was one of my students so like any chance I got I'd say, "You know you don't have to put up with that. You can stay on campus, you can do this, you can get this, this, and the other." She was kind of trapped in it a little bit.

He saw his friend in a bad situation and chose to speak up. He informed her of the resources on campus and alternative options, so she did not have to stay in an unhealthy relationship. His advocacy was connected to his role as a man to help and advocate for others. Salvador also recalled an instance where he felt the need to stand up and rectify an injustice in a student organization.

I'm in this organization called Elite University Solidarity Committee, and it does labor work. To me [it] is connected to race just because like I recognize that all the workers...organizing are Latino and Black and immigrants, but it's like primarily a labor organization. A lot of the people in that [organization] were like really radical and there were a lot of like radical feminists there. I remember just being in one of the meetings and, I don't know, the way people talk and the way people carry themselves is just completely...domineering, "I need to get my voice in. I need to get this in."...I recognized like, "Oh, we're making the women do a lot of the labor of this group. We're making like a lot of the stuff get delegated to them." It became very clear. It's a small enough space where I can actually change things. I can be like, "Guys, we need to like pick up on this. We need to do something."

Salvador's insistence in ensuring the workload of the organization was equally distributed speaks to his recognition of the unequal distribution of labor in the organization. Noticing women were being asked to carry more than their share, he honored the fact that the men also had to take on some responsibility in the organization and work. His advocacy and help were seen as part of his role as a man to speak up when he saw an injustice taking place. The various narratives shared by the participants highlights the view of being advocates and helpers of their friends as an important part of being a Latino man.

Sub-theme: Machismo as a counterpoint.

Many participants discussed the intimate relationship they had with machismo growing up, and its continued influence in their lives as Latino men. Many other participants discussed their wish to stay away from machismo and not embody it in their lives as Latino men.

Machismo was seen as a counterpoint to what their masculinity should be. The creation of this counterpoint or opposite, allowed the participants to push against the expectations of machismo and cultivate their masculinity outside of the confines of machismo, as they understood it. In this way, having machismo as a counterpoint allowed them to both challenge machismo and create their own type of masculinity. Carlos noted:

I think especially like having an interaction with women it kind of, I think putting machismo in a positive aspect is showing how you should act around a woman. There are these things in a man box how you should be acting but then it's like okay, if that's what I'm told I'm supposed to act what is the opposite of that. What's the right way to act with a woman in general, based on these negative connotations that are being given? Like okay your supposed to, you know, just get women. Well no you have to be respectful of them and their decision and things like that.

He considered what machismo told him, and he did the opposite. Thus, machismo guided Carlos' actions on what to avoid or not do. Similarly, Star commented on his behaviors as being atypical compared to other men. His engagement and continued investment in his education was an outlier in what was expected of him as a Latino man. For instance, Star shared:

But I think for Latino men too, Latino men don't really value education as much. For instance, for me I have a twin brother and I love school, I plan on getting a doctorate. I want to go into higher education, I'm really motivated in that but for him he's more career oriented. I could see more of like machismo values in him, because he's straight and I guess that's where I have been able to kind of challenge those values because of my sexual identity but I think for him, he doesn't like school, he hates it. He's attaining an education but only because he is expected to, but if he could he would just get a career right out of high school. Because he doesn't see the value of an education, he doesn't like going to lectures, he doesn't like taking notes, he doesn't like doing any of that, and I think part of that could be cultural too...[W]hereas for me, I'm comfortable with school

and like that side of school that is often seen as feminine. I enjoy it whereas him it's just not engaging enough for him, it's too engaging for him or too demanding of him.

Star took pride in being immersed in his education and not fitting into the parameters of machismo. He also saw this as a function of his intersecting identities that were different than his twin brother.

Rey also discussed positioning himself away from machismo. As a peer mentor for Latino students at his college, he shared that he liked to embody his own type of machismo.

... I am also a peer mentor for the students. When they first come in I help them get their classes [and] meet with them bi-weekly to go over how they are doing over the semester... When I see people, who come from similar backgrounds that I came from as far as their father being machismo [and] their mother is marianismo or maybe not, maybe their mother is the strong figure. Then they see me as a guy who's not so into the machismo aspect but very comfortable in my own masculinity. I think it is refreshing for people coming from backgrounds that I came from because oh, there is a difference, there's not just that. So, that's my positive.

Through his interactions with peers, he is demonstrating a different type of machismo to them. He is demonstrating a machismo that does not necessarily embody only the negative traits, it also allows him to be more authentic and "comfortable in [his] own masculinity." Rey's attempt at reconciling the negative aspects of machismo by taking personal ownership of how he performed it, illustrated another way in which machismo was a counterpoint for Rey. He knew the parameters of machismo, and he used those parameters to develop his own understanding of what he wanted his masculinity to be.

The thought process for understanding how the negative aspects of machismo manifest and show up in life can be difficult. Salvador, for example, reflected about this process for himself as he came into the realization that he could challenge the problematic aspects of his culture.

Part of it just became like admitting who you are and recognizing those aspects of your culture that are problematic. For me, I think for Latinos part of the issue is like when we say, “We need to love our culture.” Machismo becomes this thing that like, “Well, it's part of our culture, so I guess we should like it.” When it's like, “No, we shouldn't. It's not something that we should like.” When I recognized that, when I recognized that like, “Oh wait. I don't need to love everything with my culture. There are problematic parts that should be addressed,” that really revolutionized my thinking.

This revelation allowed Salvador to grow and begin to trouble what he wanted his masculinity to look like as a Latino man. He also shared:

Even just that simple admission like, “I have a problem.” For a man is like a very big thing considering we are supposed to have everything under control, and the way we suppress our emotions, suppress our emotional needs, it's like astounding. For me, that was a big accomplishment, especially considering there are...a lot of emotions that I didn't deal with relating to my dad's passing and like my mom [who] she got sick afterwards...

Salvador's journey of pushing against machismo and growing into his own masculinity allowed him to trouble the suppression of emotions in machismo. This allowed him to deal with years of trauma and strife which he had kept buried within himself. These unresolved emotions could have hampered Salvador's ability of navigating the new stressors he faced in college. Using machismo as a counterpoint allowed the participants to navigate higher education in a way that honored a more holistic form of masculinity. Thus, college was a pivotal space for the participants to name what machismo was and what their relationship with it would look like, instead of adhering to it without question.

Sub-theme: Educational spaces and machismo.

Indeed, being in college was an important influencer for the participants as they explored what machismo meant to them. College was also a space for them to realize the harm and damage machismo, specifically the negative aspects of machismo, had on their lives as Latino men. For example, Carlos noted:

I think coming to college really opened my eyes to everything...It just brings a lot of new ideas to the table and you just kind of like, oh I've known this my whole life but someone else is saying something different about this. Oh, that's interesting so how do you incorporate that into your life and digest that information. So just like, college just showed that although...[you are] a Hispanic male on campus...you don't have to be one type of man in the man box. You can be whoever you want. If you want to cry about something you know that's okay. I think it's just different growing up just because I had my parents around, and in college at least for most people...it's the first time your kind of by yourself. It's given me a chance to kind of figure out myself without my parents. Nothing against my parents, I don't hate them or anything but...college offers a new opportunity to learn about myself in different ways than I did before.

Carlos' candid reflection highlights the distance from family and the engagement of new thoughts as important influencers on his exploration of machismo. Similarly, Star expressed the value of college in deconstructing masculinity:

Yeah, I think that by being at an institution or space that helps deconstruct those images or those definitions of masculinity, really helps when I go home to feel comfortable [and] ...detach from those expectations...I don't feel as compelled to act in the way they want me to.

Deviating from family expectations and machismo becomes manageable, since college gave Star a space to think about what deconstructing masculinity and machismo meant. This exploration in college also manifested in how some participants behaved. For instance, when Rey considered the influence college had on his masculinity he shared:

When I first came to school, [it] was really hard like, "You don't mess with me, I don't mess with you. We're cool." It was really up there with the machismo aspect but now I'd say I'm more cultured. It's kind of more laid back...you don't have to be as tough. I think there is still an aspect of toughness you need just...for life purposes but you don't need to be as aggressive, as angry, as mean sometimes as your gender would dictate...I will say...experienc[ing] campus life will soften you too, from your machismo. It doesn't have to affect your masculinity, because you can still be masculine or a guy. But you don't have to boss people, you don't have to run people's life, or you know it doesn't always have to be this way or no way.

This interrogation of how Rey's performance of machismo had shifted due to his time at college illustrated the influence college had on him. He also distinguished masculinity and machismo, to

affirm that he could still be masculine and not adhere to machismo. However, the emphasis on learning to push against the negative aspects of machismo seemed to be an evolutionary process he engaged in through college.

In addition, Salvador commented:

I think college is a really great space for people to confront their machismo just because of the fact that you are forced to deal with a place. You're forced to deal with issues and people that come from completely different walks of life than you and have had different experiences than you.

Reinforcing the value of college in getting Latino men to challenge how they view and engage with machismo. Salvador's comment also illustrated the importance of dialogue and interacting with others to see "different walks of life." Knowledge and exposure were key aspects for the participants as they interrogated machismo.

In addition, other participants discussed the ways in which college made them more conscious of machismo in their lives. Patricio for example observed:

It's made me more conscious of it. I think it's made me more conscious of my masculinity. I think before I would have thought, yeah, I'm a man, cool. I've heard that it carries privilege but I'll think about it later kind of thing.

As many of the participants noted, college allowed them to be more aware and have a space to engage in machismo. Rey also shared:

I think because you know I know about machismo and things like that, it makes me more aware of how I act. So, I guess we have to work for it, I guess being Latino it does make me more aware of what it looks like, what it is, how to tell the difference between that and this. Yeah, so I think having knowledge and knowing what it is helps me curtail it a bit.

For Rey, college was not only a venue to explore machismo but also a space to learn how to push against it. Thus, college was an important space for students to explore and engage in their exploration of machismo as they attempted to challenge it.

Sub-theme: Acts of resistance.

The fourth sub-theme was acts of resistance. Throughout the participants' intentional reflection and exploration of machismo, they found ways to push against it and try to reshape how they engaged with their masculinity. Each of the participants form of resistance varied both in form and context. For example, Salvador had a powerful experience at a program on campus.

We did a privilege walk or privilege circle, one of those privilege exercises. I think one of the questions was like do you feel comfortable holding...hands walking down the street with the person you love? Most people stepped in, and I didn't. Then at the end, they're like, "Why did you step in or why didn't you step in?" and I spoke up. I was like, "The reason I didn't step in was because I know I'm gay and I know the dangers that go into walking around the street holding my boyfriend's hand. I'm not going to." I think I said the phrase like, "I'm never going to be able to do that."

Then I just left it at that...The entire program was mostly like Black and Latino students, so a lot of the guys were coming over to me and they were like, "Hey, I literally never...The thought never crossed my mind that you feel like you can never do that, and I want you to know that if anybody ever tries to mess with you, I've got your back." There's something about like hearing men of color say that to me that just made it...It made me feel like I had a connection to them, because a lot of times I, with straight men in general [I] don't feel like I have a connection.

It made me feel really loved and embraced, and it made me feel like affirmed as a man because it was just like they were trying to look out for me because like, "Oh, we've got to take care of you. You're vulnerable." It was like, "I see who you are. I see who you love, and I don't care." There's just like, "You deserve to live the way you want to live, and I want to help you in living that way." It was definitely a very affirming experience, affirming of like my masculinity and the way I want to present it.

The affirmation Salvador experienced in this memory was a powerful testament to the benefits of men being vulnerable and honest with each other about their experiences. Indeed, Salvador went on to share:

I think my earlier experience with that circle, I think that definitely challenged machismo in that a lot of the guys were able to get emotional and connect with me, but like not on our own...Yeah, [in] this space...we were able to get emotional together and we were able to feel our emotions together, and that's something that you aren't suppose[d] to do as a man. I think that space definitely challenged it in a lot of ways.

Thus, Salvador felt that the openness and emotional vulnerability of his male peers in the space disrupted machismo. It allowed them a venue to challenge and push against machismo.

Similarly, Star discussed his role as a peer advisor and how he pushed against machismo due to the needs of the position.

For instance, I was a peer advisor which means I co-taught the freshman seminar class for an incoming group of freshman students that was for the full semester. And I think being able to be more sensitive and understanding and emotional with a lot of the issues they came across, I think has really challenged my masculinity. Even though I was very comfortable with the fluidity in that identity...it really does force you to be more expressive in a lot more ways that traditional masculinity would expect from you.

For Star to be successful in his role and meet the needs of the students in the course, he had to be willing to modify how he expressed himself and be more emotional. He was able to actively work against reinforcing machismo due to the demands of his role as a peer advisor, as he supported the students in the seminar class.

Felix also commented on the importance of exploring machismo with others and finding ways to resist, through those relationships.

I guess that sort of mentality comes up a lot with machismo, just if you don't have the ability to do it on your own then your dependent on others and that's a weakness. And so yeah, I guess I've taken that into mind and just tried to push against it in a sense. I guess finding the different ways I can do that has been through talking to other men or whether that be Latino men or not, just being able to express more. And it's still difficult, it's still hard to reach out on my own, then depending on others to ask first. But no, definitely those relationships with Latino men has helped me see that I'm not alone and like whatever situation it is.

In addition to the resistance with others, participants discussed internal acts of resistance to machismo. Participants commented on their active investment in altering their perceptions and understanding of machismo through their personal examination of machismo. For example, Rey recalled an incident with a cousin:

My cousin and I are the same age. So, before he came out we hung out almost every day when we lived in the same town. He didn't come to Michigan with me, but when we were both graduating high school that's when he came out as gay. Then it was kind of like, that's when I start[ed] hanging out more with my other friends than him. I apologized to him for it now. It's been since I was here [that] I called him and invited him to come up and everything like that. Because I realized how wrong it was, sometimes it takes going to college to open up your mind to the rest of the world and that's really when I had to detox from the machismo view and like take hold of whatever it's called now.

Rey's reflection shows how he actively pushed against the homophobia found in machismo. He was able to see past it and repair the relationship with his gay cousin. Moreover, Salvador noted, "I think you can genuinely grow and deconstruct a lot of the negative stuff, but I think college alone isn't enough to deconstruct [machismo]...It has to be something within you that recognizes the problem." Thus, highlighting the internal process of deconstructing and resisting machismo.

Summary.

The participants' exploration of machismo in college was a transformative experience which allowed them to interrogate machismo. College gave the Latino men a venue to learn, grow, and discuss with others the influence machismo had on their lives. Through this exploration, they could understand machismo better and consider ways of resisting it. However, the resistance to machismo was specifically against the negative aspects of machismo. The participants could recognize the positive aspects of machismo, like being advocates and using machismo as a counterpoint. These were positive outcomes to machismo's influence on the participants' lives. Through advocating and helping others, Latino men were able to build relationships and embody a healthier form of machismo instead of relying on the negative aspects to be viewed as manly. In addition, using machismo as a counterpoint allowed Latino men to trouble machismo and see its flaws. As the participants actively worked at discussing and challenging machismo, they were critically interrogating how machismo manifested in their

lives and how they were complicit in oppressing others. Furthermore, through exploration and resistance the participants actively engaged in decolonizing machismo and reclaiming their own masculinity. They were no longer abiding to the parameters set by machismo blindly, but challenging and reframing how they engaged with machismo. Some of the participants chose to develop their own form of machismo, while others were unsure of what direction machismo or Latino masculinity should take for the Latino community. Nevertheless, most participants agreed that machismo, specifically the negative aspects, was a toxic cultural tradition within the Latino community that needed to change.

Conclusion

In closing, the findings in this chapter highlighted the ways in which the participants defined and interpreted success, the influence of their intersecting identities, and machismo's role in their navigation of higher education. The Latino men in this study disclosed their expansive understanding of success which entailed hegemonic notions of success. However, they also honored the small achievements they made along the way to their goal of degree attainment. In addition, participants discussed the importance of campus climate and having their identities honored on campus. College was a venue which gave participants a space to reflect on machismo and begin the process of decolonizing machismo. Through this process perhaps new ways of engaging with machismo which are not as toxic and harmful can be developed or explored. Indeed, with a greater understanding of machismo's influence on the lives of Latino men in college, strategies and interventions can be developed to improve the retention and persistence of Latino men in higher education. The next chapter will interrogate the findings

within the context of the literature and theoretical framework. The limitations of the study and recommendations for future practice and research will also be presented.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The first chapter provided the background, terminology, problem statement, research questions, and significance of the study. This chapter contextualized the educational landscape of Latino men and the disparities they experience in educational attainment. There is a dearth in the literature on the gendered experiences of Latino men and the influence these experiences have on their educational experiences. This chapter outlined the significance of addressing this gap in the literature and articulated the value of examining the lived experiences of Latino men in higher education.

The second chapter explored the relevant literature of Latino men in higher education. The first body of literature explored was masculinity, which interrogated the influence of machismo on Latino men. Hegemonic notions of success in K-12 and higher education were also examined. The third body of literature entailed an investigation of research that considered the intersecting identities of Latino men and the gaps in the literature on intersectionality. Lastly, campus racial climate was reviewed to explore the environmental influence on Latino men's collegiate experiences. Each of these bodies of literature helped to establish a foundation for examining Latino men's experiences in higher education.

The third chapter outlined how this study aimed to bridge the gap in the literature using counter-stories. The research questions that guided this study were:

1. How, if at all, are successful Latino male college students' gendered experiences with machismo influencing their success in higher education?
 - a. How is success defined and interpreted by them in higher education?
 - b. How, if at all, did their experiences in college shape their definition and interpretation of machismo (e.g. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers)?
 - c. How do their intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic class, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) influence their gendered and collegiate experiences?

The third chapter also discussed the study's methodology, Latino critical race theory (LatCrit) methodology which centers the voices of participants and honors their various identities through counter-stories. The rationale for using a qualitative approach in the study, data collection, and analysis were also discussed. In addition, my epistemology, reflexivity and positionality are explored since researchers are the primary instrument in qualitative research. Finally, the steps taken to ensure trustworthiness are addressed.

The fourth chapter encompassed the major themes and subthemes developed through the analysis of the counter-narratives shared by the Latino men in the study. The findings in this chapter reflects the importance of gendered experience for the participants throughout their academic journey. The data revealed that machismo and masculinity were a constant, and manifested in various ways for the participants as they attempted to succeed in higher education. Figure 1 illustrates the themes and subthemes of the study which are organized using Astin's (1993) theory of student involvement, input-environment-outcome model.

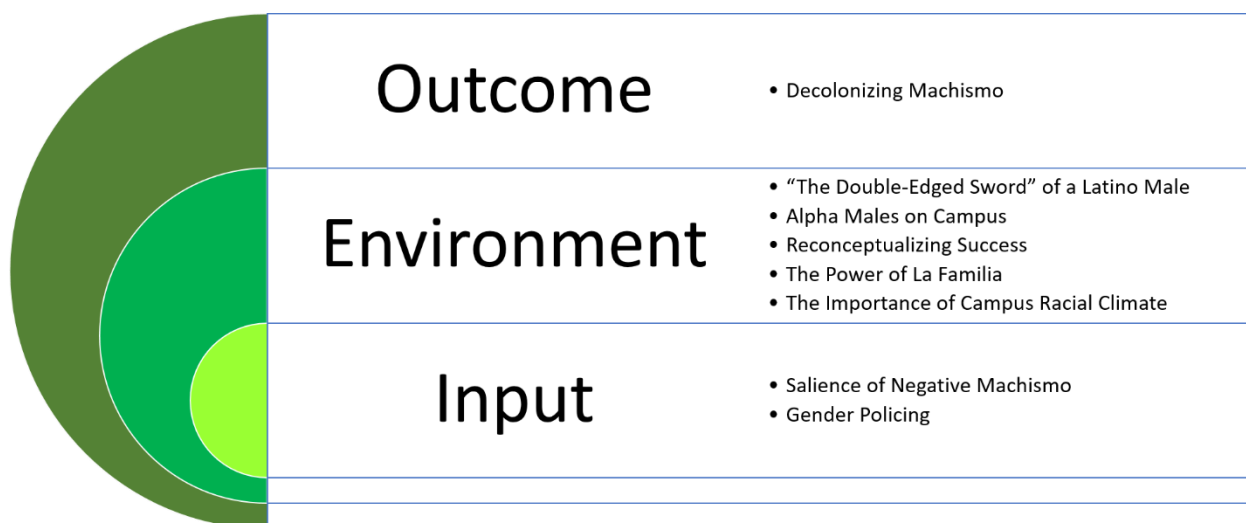


Figure 1. Themes and subthemes from the data that address the research questions of the study

Astin’s (1993) theory on student development highlights not only the influence masculinity and machismo had on the participants as they entered the institution but also as they attended the institution. The outcome aspect of the model recognizes the influence college had on the participants understanding of masculinity and machismo.

Chapter Five examines how the findings speak back to the literature and the conceptual framework. The research questions spring from an examination of the literature and this study attempted to address the gaps found in the literature. Some of the findings in the study speak to the gaps in the literature, extend what we understand, and reaffirm some of the current literature. Specifically, the findings of this study confirm the importance of gendered experiences for the Latino participants and their intersecting identities. The findings also affirmed that the collegiate

environment influenced the participants' disruption of traditional understandings of machismo. Therefore, this study both affirms and extends the current body of literature in a myriad of ways.

Discussion

This study both reinforced and disrupted the current understanding of machismo in higher education. Through many of the narratives shared by the participants, it was clear that some of the gendered experiences they had as Latino men were a barrier to their academic success. However, participants also discussed the empowerment they drew from their masculinity and how it informed their navigation of success in higher education. Participants noted their refusal in consuming machismo wholesale without challenging it and attempting to shape their own version of machismo or masculinity. With this foundation, the findings in this study help to expand the conversation around Latino men's gendered experiences in higher education.

Input

The first set of findings are salience of negative machismo and gender policing. These themes were captured under the first element of Astin's (1993) input-environment-outcome model, due to the influence these findings had on the participants as they entered higher education. In addition, these two themes address the research question how, if at all, are successful Latino male college students' gendered experiences with machismo influencing their success in higher education.

For instance, salience of negative machismo illustrates the emphasis on the negative aspects of machismo. The participants' discussed the emotional limitations placed on them as Latino men due to machismo. As Latino men, they were not allowed to express themselves except through anger and violence. The participants also discussed the importance of self-

reliance, in not seeking help when they may have needed it. Similarly, Cabrera et al. (2016), Ponjuan et al. (2012), and Sáenz and Bukoski (2014) studies' each noted the avoidance of help-seeking behavior by Latino men. The Latino men believed that they were expected to resolve any issues they encountered, to avoid being seen as weak or incapable. Sáenz and Bukoski (2014) revealed in their study that Latino men did not seek help to avoid being viewed as weak. The narratives shared by the participants reaffirmed Figueroa et al.'s (2016) study which noted the need for Latino men to feel competent and invincible. The Latino men in this study often disclosed instances when they had to be proficient, capable, and in control.

The data also revealed an emphasis in anti-femininity in how Latino men discussed machismo. Anti-femininity was also noted in the Sáenz and Bukoski (2014) study, which discussed Latino men's avoidance of being viewed as overly feminine to ensure they were in compliance with machismo. Sáenz et al. (2015) also found Latino men avoided and rejected femininity, as they attempted to fulfill their masculine roles. The anti-femininity found in machismo both restricted the Latino men's emotional expression and limited their ability to build relationships, especially with women. Anti-femininity also manifested for participants in the form of fearing emasculation which lead to behaviors that reinforced the subordination of women and homophobia. Hirai et al. (2014) also found similar findings which discovered a relationship between machismo and prejudice towards gay and lesbian individuals. This study further noted that the prejudice towards homosexuality could be due to the incongruence of gender roles performed by gay and lesbian individuals (Hirai et al., 2014). The findings illustrated the influence deviance in machismo can have in behaviors of Latino men.

The limitations and restrictions placed on the participants due to negative machismo hampered the cultivation of authentic and supportive relationships. Without the capacity to build relationships where they can be vulnerable and ask for assistance, Latino men may avoid seeking support for academic advisement, tutoring, mentorship, and friendships while in college. If they were to share their fears, apprehensions, and insecurities with another person they would be at risk of being viewed as less of a man. The limitations negative machismo places on Latino men effectively hampers their ability to seek support and build community on college campuses, which are necessary aspects for academic success. These findings reaffirm the avoidance of femininity and the emphasis of negative machismo found in the literature.

Furthermore, the narratives shared by the participants illustrated a distinction between masculinity and machismo. Though the participants themselves struggled to clearly distinguish the two, they did note that machismo was something situated within the Latino family. The cultural expectations and norms learned in the Latino family were instrumental to their performance of machismo. Family members taught participants by modeling and informing the participants how they should act as men. The cultural influence embedded in machismo is critical to understanding Latino men's identity as men and their navigation of higher education. As previous research has noted (Cabrera et al., 2016; Figueroa et al., 2016; Sáenz and Bukoski, 2014), machismo has been found to influence Latino men's navigation of higher education. Therefore, understanding machismo's influence on Latino men's collegiate experiences are needed to support their academic success.

In addition, the gender policing experienced by Latino men could be another barrier for their academic success. The participants in the study were hypervigilant in adhering to the strict

gender roles outlined by machismo. Similar to previous research like Ponjuan et al. (2012) and Sáenz et al. (2014) which found that Latino men restricted or modified their behaviors to avoid emasculation, the participants in this study also disclosed how they intentionally self-sanctioned to ensure compliance to machismo. The avoidance of social sanctioning and self-sanctioning were practiced out of fear of social sanctioning from the Latino community. Deviance from the social expectations placed on the participants as Latino men jeopardized their place in the Latino community. If they are rejected from their Latino community due to the social sanctioning they experienced, they would be bereft of family, community, and a support system. College is already a time of transition and chaos, as students acclimate to new ideas and a hostile campus racial climate. In fact, Franklin et al. (2014) study found that racial microaggressions caused psychological and behavioral stress for Latino students. Compounding that pressure with some additional layers of social sanctioning and self-sanctioning only complicate the challenges Latino men face on campus. This complexity becomes even more nuanced if the Latino men in question do not agree or want to challenge machismo, because any deviance from machismo puts them in a precarious position. Thus, Latino men experience additional pressures which could inhibit their academic success. The emotional labor they exert in controlling their actions and behaviors to avoid sanctioning can hinder their ability to be their true selves. Furthermore, deviating from machismo also puts Latino men at risk of losing their connection to their Latino community which is a large part of their success in college. These findings both affirm and extend the literature by emphasizing the influence of both social sanctioning and self-sanctioning. In the literature, scholars note the influence of external individuals on Latino men's expression of masculinity. However, this study also found that self-sanctioning was a process

Latino men engaged in to ensure they were compliant to machismo. These findings could offer new ways of interrogating how Latino men selectively modify their behaviors to avoid social sanctioning.

Environment

The second set of findings fell into the second element of Astin's (1993) student involvement theory, environment, which explores the experiences of students on campus. The first theme was "the double-edged sword" of a Latino male. This theme addressed the research question, how do successful Latino male's intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic class, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) influence their gendered and collegiate experiences. The theme addressed this research question by recognizing the influential intersection of male identity and race for the participants in college. Most of the participants recognized their male privilege, even though they experienced oppression as individuals of color. Gordon and Henry (2014) and Squire et al. (2016) also discussed the interplay of privilege and oppression for men of color. This finding was in alignment with the literature and reaffirmed the complexity of being a man of color. The participants' male identity and race were interconnected in college, and they were able to discuss the role of these identities in their academic journey. For instance, Latino men expressed that one of the major ways in which they experienced male privilege was having their voices heard above and over women's voices. However, they also experienced added responsibilities and pressure from family at a young age to be a man and protect the family. So, although Latino men experienced additional freedoms compared to women, they also had expectations imposed on them due to their gender. If Latino men deviate from machismo, they risk being viewed as

less of a man and vulnerable to social sanctions from the Latino community. Therefore, Latino men have conditional agency where they have superficial freedoms as men. The freedoms they have can be revoked at any moment if they are not in compliance with or conform to machismo.

The state of hypervigilance around being manly enough and the avoidance of rejection from the Latino community shared by many of the participants could have psychological implications. This added pressure could cause students to lose focus in school, avoid telling family members of challenges in classes, and other behaviors that could be detrimental to the academic success of Latino men. Indeed, this avoidance may also lead to students leaving college in an attempt to avoid being viewed as unsuccessful or a failure. They can claim that they chose to leave instead of admitting that they were not doing well or needed help to persist. With that said, educators can disrupt this thought process by normalizing the difficulty of college and the necessity of reaching out to succeed in higher education. In fact, checking in with students who are not doing well and normalizing conversations about the difficulties of college can help Latino men save face when they seek academic support.

The second theme in this section is alpha males on campus. This theme addressed the research questions, how, if at all, did successful Latino male's experiences in college shape their definition and interpretation of machismo (e.g. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers) and how do their intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic class, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) influence their gendered and collegiate experiences. The findings illustrate a male centric emphasis in leadership, which favored the participants as men. This male centric culture also allowed them to be seen as natural leaders, granting them direct access to positional leadership on campus.

These positional leadership roles on campus were a vehicle for Latino men to engage in machismo through the power and control these positions offered them. Similar to Sáenz et al.'s (2015) study, which discussed the ways Latino men modified their behaviors to retain their masculinity in college, a feminized environment. The data from this study demonstrated that positional leadership roles offered Latino men a way to retain their masculinity and reinforce machismo in higher education. Furthermore, the feminization of higher education has larger implications for Latino men. The hegemonic ways of being in college where Latino men are unable to “reassert traditionally masculine gender identity forged through employment, dominance, and self-reliance” (Sáenz et al., 2015, p. 172), limit their ability to be viewed as men in the Latino community. However, their leadership roles were also a space for some of the participants to push against machismo.

In addition, the participants discussed the importance of seeing Latino faculty and staff in leadership positions to inspire them and be aspirational role models for them. Similarly, Hagedorn et al. (2007) discussed the importance of Latino faculty in fostering a sense of belonging and social integration for Latino students. Moreover, the positional leadership roles the participants engaged in, were also tied to their academic success. The participants constantly discussed the ways in which their involvement on campus expanded their networks, self-awareness, and supported them in building a community. This community building supported the Latino men in the cultivation of a sense of belonging on campus. In alignment with the literature, this finding reinforces the emphasis of masculinity in leadership and the importance of engagement on campus for college students. However, the findings also extend the literature by

noting the ways in which Latino men both reinforced and challenged machismo in their leadership roles.

The next theme, importance of campus racial climate, addressed the research question how do their intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic class, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) influence their gendered and collegiate experiences. The participants narratives addressed this when they shared that visibility and representation of Latinos students, faculty, and staff on campus was important. Indeed, numerous studies have asserted the importance of representation of racial minorities on campus (Johnson et al., 2014; Milem et al., 2005; Stotzer & Hossellman, 2012). Moreover, Medina and Posada's (2012) study also discovered that as Latino faculty and student representation increased, students experienced higher academic success. In alignment with this research which documents the importance of visibility and representation in academic success for Latino students, this study affirms the importance of having Latino faculty and staff at institutions.

Furthermore, the participants discussed the significant role of student organizations, cultural centers, programs, and classrooms in cultivating counterspaces. As Yosso (2005) and Yosso et al. (2009) discussed, counterspaces are spaces where students come together in community to bolster their resiliency and navigate the institution. These were also spaces where the participants were able to have their identities honored and recognized, even if they experienced resistance at the rest of the institution in fostering inclusive practices. These counterspaces were also environments that allowed the Latino men to radicalize their understanding of machismo. They were pushed and challenged to question their relationship with machismo and masculinity in many of these spaces. Furthermore, each of the participants

recognized these spaces as pivotal to their academic success. Through active engagement in these various counterspaces with both peers and institutional agents, the participants bolstered their resiliency, expanded their social networks, and sought the academic and emotional support they needed to succeed in college. Similar to Cerozo, Lyda, Enriquez, Beristianos, and Connor (2015) noted, Latino-centered organizations were directly linked to retention and academic progress of Latino men. Therefore, the findings in my study affirm the importance of counterspaces and extends the literature by noting the utility of these spaces in radicalizing Latino men's understanding of machismo.

The fourth theme in this section, reconceptualizing success, addressed the research question, how is success defined and interpreted by successful Latino men in higher education. The findings confirm that students adhered to hegemonic notions of success but they also discussed alternative forms of success, microsucceeds. Castellanos and Gloria's (2007) study discussed microsucceeds as opportunities for students to honor the small successes in their lives which would bolster their resiliency and retention at the institution. This concept of microsucceeds were mentioned often by the participants. They discussed the encouragement and benefits of having those microsucceeds honored and recognized as they progressed throughout their academic career. Microsucceeds could be a key tool for faculty and staff to engage students in conversations which can encourage them to continue their academic journey and feel successful as they achieve their ultimate goal of degree attainment.

This finding also affirms and aligns with Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth model in the conceptual framework. Shifting away from cultural-deficit perspectives to asset-based perspectives is an important shift, which microsucceeds honor. By shifting away from

hegemonic notions of success which reify dominant perspectives of success, microsucceeds allows for a holistic understand of success which honors the experiences and values of communities of color. Microsucceeds are adaptable to all students, however it has added value and power for students of color who traditionally have their successes devalued or unrecognized. Microsucceeds center milestones and successes from the perspective of the student not the institution, troubling not only how success is defined but also who has the power to define it. Reconceptualizing success, as a theme, both aligns and extends the literature by reinforcing the need to offer students of color the agency to honor their assets and define success on their own terms.

The last theme in this section, the power of *la familia*, addressed the research question how is success defined and interpreted by successful Latino men in higher education. In alignment with the current body of literature (Carolan-Silva & Reyes, 2013; Person & Rosenbaum, 2006; Ponjuan et al., 2012; Sarcedo, 2014), the Latino family was an especially important force in the participants' success in higher education. The participants noted that the emotional support and encouragement they received from their families was crucial in their navigation of higher education. The narratives shared by the participants also encompassed a passionate determination to pay their families back for all they had contributed to ensure their academic success. It was a driving force for them to stay focused and graduate from college. This finding reinforces the importance of family for Latino students and reaffirms Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth model which highlights the value and capital families contribute to their students' academic success in higher education. The participants also articulated aspirational capital (Yosso, 2005), as they experienced barriers in college they still

persevered to ensure they could give back to their families. The data also revealed that participants disclosed their mothers as key influencers. Similar to Ponjuan et al. (2012) study, mothers were instrumental in Latino male success. Participants noted the desire to succeed in college to make their mothers proud and their mothers' encouragement to attend college (Ponjuan et al., 2012). Furthermore, this information may highlight the latitude Latina mothers have in expressing themselves, while Latino fathers may be restricted in their vocal encouragement and affirmation for students' due to machismo. Therefore, fathers may have also been supportive but were unable to be as vocal due to machismo. Nevertheless, Latino families played a pivotal role in supporting the participants in their academic success. Thus, this finding reaffirmed the importance of the family and familismo found in the literature.

Outcome

The final finding, decolonizing machismo, fell into the third element of Astin's (1993) student involvement theory outcome. This theme addresses two research questions how, if at all, are successful Latino male college students' gendered experiences with machismo influencing their success in higher education and how, if at all, did their experiences in college shape their definition and interpretation of machismo (e.g. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers). This theme supports the elevation of research that interrogates the holistic nature of machismo and Latino masculinity. As Anzaldúa (2012), Arciniega et al. (2008), Falicov (2014), and Mirandé (1997) asserted in their studies, machismo has both positive and negative aspects which inform how Latino men navigate the world. Indeed, this study illustrated that participants had multiple perspectives on machismo, that mostly centered on it being a negative influence in their lives. The participants seemed to understand machismo as being a

predominantly negative force due to the historical violence and misogyny attached to machismo. In fact, most of the participants struggled with finding any positivity in machismo except for a few participants who disclosed some examples. Overall, the participants struggled with associating positive attributes to machismo, even though most of the participants agreed that machismo had the potential of being positive. The participants narratives demonstrated a distinct tension or cognitive dissonance for most of the participants in linking positive aspects to machismo. As a result, most of the participants disclosed their general aversion of machismo and avoidance of reinforcing it.

Through the narratives shared by the participants, there were many instances in which they pushed against machismo in very explicit and subversive ways to avoid a relationship with machismo. However, even as they attempted to resist machismo they also embodied many of its characteristics. Some of the ways in which machismo manifested in the participants' lives ranged from overbearing to subtle. Most of the examples of overt and aggressive forms of machismo seemed to have been actions or behaviors exhibited by others, while they themselves participated in subtler and more nuanced forms of machismo. This trend helps to illuminate the struggle some Latino men may have with identifying with machismo and seeing it manifest in their own actions due to the negativity attached to the construct.

In addition, the participants' narratives illustrated their alignment with many definitions of machismo in the literature (Anzaldúa, 2012; Arciniega et al., 2008; Falicov, 2014; Mirandé, 1997). However, they also added vibrancy in how these definitions live and breathe in the daily lives of Latino men in higher education today. The participants narratives complicated the embodiment of machismo by highlighting Latino men's ability to resist machismo and fight

against it, yet still perform machismo in subtle and overt ways without knowing. Therefore, this study helps to expand the literature by depicting a broader definition of machismo as more than positive and negative aspects. As the conceptual framework asserted, expanding the scope of understanding machismo in a holistic manner can engender deeper analysis of the experiences of Latino men in higher education. Moreover, the participants' narratives also expressed the reality of being socialized within a culture which both values and demonizes machismo. This counterintuitive understanding of machismo leaves Latino men in a double bind, where they must reconcile embodying and resisting machismo simultaneously. Thus, the narratives the Latino men shared illustrated the complicated double bind they are left to navigate while also attempted to succeed academically in higher education.

Finally, the narratives of the participants highlighted the expanded understanding of machismo they had while in college. The classroom, student organizations, and cultural centers were empowering spaces where the participants engaged in dialogue about their privilege and oppression as Latino men. These spaces also allowed them to explore new ideas and thoughts which challenged their understanding of machismo. The education and resistance garnered in these spaces by the participants could be a powerful model for supporting the growth of other Latino men on their journey of understanding machismo and their masculinity. As the participants discussed unpacking their relationship and understanding of machismo, they learned ways to resist and challenge machismo. This resistance manifested in the form of educating themselves about machismo, building healthier relationships, and exploring ways to be more emotionally vulnerable with themselves. These forms of resistance and behaviors could be instrumental in disrupting the negative aspects of machismo. Indeed, if other Latino men in

higher education could liberate themselves from the restrictions imposed on them by machismo: they could seek out a tutor, build supportive relationships with campus community members, and challenge themselves to try new things that would not be considered acceptable within the parameters of machismo. Through these small acts of resistance Latino men could continue to push against the negative aspects of machismo and hopefully begin to develop a healthier form of Latino masculinity which supports their academic journey. Thus, this finding extends the literature by emphasizing the need for Latino men to have dedicated spaces that engage in discourse about machismo and their relationship with it.

Implications

The findings from this research has implications for higher education research and practice. The interpretation of the data illustrates the value of exploring the gendered experiences of Latino men when considering their academic success. This study also portrays important measures that institutions can implement to bolster Latino male success in higher education.

Implications for Research

This study had several implications for research. First, this study's contribution was the utilization of holistic masculinity as a part of the conceptual framework. Holistic masculinity allowed the interrogation of masculinity and machismo in the lives of Latino men to flow from their lived experiences instead of imposing either positive or negative aspects to their gendered experiences. It also allowed for there to be some ambiguity and dissonance in how machismo and masculinity were examined during the analysis. In addition, another theoretical contribution from this study was the use of LatCrit methodology. Though scholars have discussed using

LatCrit methodology (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), there are no studies that have used this approach in examining the gendered experiences of Latino men in higher education. The use of this methodology allowed for a fluid interrogation of counter-narratives shared by participants with an intentional exploration of intersectionality while still centering the participant's Latino identity. LatCrit methodology honored the intersecting identities of the participants while also ensuring their voices and experiences were centered in the study.

Furthermore, this study holds implications for any research that interrogates the gendered experiences of Latino men in higher education. First, based on the findings of this study more research is needed to explore the influence of leadership roles on campus, machismo, and success. Secondly, further research can be done to discover other ways in which Latino men and other students, especially students of color, could use microsucceeds to retain them in college and support their aspirations for degree attainment. Moreover, this study highlighted that women are not only passive observers in machismo but active participants. They engage in the socialization process of Latino men by encouraging conformity to machismo through social sanctioning. In fact, some of the findings like the fear of the female gaze and the presence of mothers in conversations around success allude to the importance of women in both machismo and success for Latino men. With this said, further research needs examine ways in which this relationship can be leveraged to support Latinx students' success in higher education. In addition, this study's intentional examination of intersectionality and machismo resulted in data that showcased the importance of intersecting identities when it comes to machismo. Indeed, most of the data revealed that their Latino, male, and sexual identities intersected the most when discussing machismo. There were instances in the narratives that alluded to other important

social identities that could have informed the relationship Latino men had with machismo. However, there was not enough data to substantiate relationships between any other social identities. Therefore, further research on the intersecting identities of Latino men and machismo is needed to elucidate potential relationships and how they influence their academic success. Finally, this study illustrates the need for more research to disaggregate data by gender and honor the complexity of gender when examining academic success in higher education.

Implications for Practice

This study also offers relevant implications for practice in higher education. At the institutional level, there are a myriad of initiatives and policies that can be implemented to support Latino male success. For instance, institutions should make it a best practice to create a committee that specifically looks at supporting Latino men. This committee could review the retention and persistence rates of Latino men, disaggregated by ethnicity, at the institution. With nuanced data, committee members would be able to craft a strategy and implement targeted programming to support the most at-risk Latino men at the institution. These efforts should also keep in mind the importance of family and the campus racial climate, since these were found to be important factors for Latino men's academic success in the study. This committee should also be funded or additional funding should be given to the intercultural or multicultural affairs office at the institution to develop initiatives which support Latino men.

Some initiatives or programs that could be beneficial for Latino men are mentoring programs, men's groups, retreats, and other immersive experiences. Based on the findings of this study, Latino men need more spaces to discuss their understanding and relationship with machismo since they shared it is difficult for Latino men to deviate from machismo. Creating

spaces for Latino men to disrupt and challenge machismo collectively can be a powerful experience which allows them to see that they are not alone in pushing against machismo. This is especially important since the findings in the study revealed that the participants complied to machismo due to gender policing. If Latino men are not allowed to interrogate the gender policing they experience or engage in, they will be unable to step outside the confines of machismo. Therefore, intentional spaces that explore machismo can allow Latino men to examine their gendered experience and push against machismo. Engagement by Latino faculty and staff in these efforts are key, since the data showed that Latino men do see aspirational role models as important to their academic success. It would also be helpful to have Latino male faculty and staff engaged in the programs, so they can model how they have navigated machismo and succeeded academically. Through these individual's vulnerability, Latino male students can begin to see how they can grow and succeed at the institution.

The cultivation of counterspaces through student and institutional efforts are critical for supporting Latino men's academic success. Multicultural student organizations and fraternities could be powerful spaces for Latino men to find community and challenge their understanding of machismo. This is especially true for Latino student organizations, since the data reinforced the empowerment and knowledge they gained from them. However, intentional conversations need to be had in student run organizations to ensure that they are critically engaging machismo and not inadvertently reinforcing it. Intercultural or multicultural affairs offices could also play a pivotal role by creating counterspaces and fostering spaces for open dialogue which allow Latino men to learn and grow during their time at the institution. This growth can also take place in the classroom, specifically in ethnic studies and gender studies programs, which can be radical

spaces for students. As the findings revealed, both student affairs and academic units which invite Latino men to dialogue about their identities are important counterspaces which foster academic success and challenge the negative aspects of machismo.

In addition, the data showed an important relationship between the participants intersecting identities and machismo. In particular, the participants intersecting identities as Latino, male, and their respective sexual identities were prominent in the data. Based on this data, intercultural and multicultural affairs offices must intentionally partner with gender and sexuality centers and ethnic studies programs on campus to ensure intersectional conversations are taking place which engage Latino men. Through curricular and co-curricular conversations about machismo, Latino men will be able to expand their understanding of machismo. These intentional efforts also support the cultivation of counterspaces which offer Latino men a space to freely express themselves, bolster their resiliency, and build community while in college. These various efforts help to foster a greater sense of belonging at the institution which is a critical component for degree attainment for college students.

Finally, the restrictions and limitations placed on Latino men through the negative aspects of machismo found in the study may also have mental health implications for Latino men. Due to the restrictions of emotions and self-reliance Latino men are required to adhere to, they are less likely to seek emotional support when they are struggling in college. Faculty and staff can actively work on checking in on students and ensuring they know that college is difficult. Normalizing the process of seeking support as part of collegiate experience, could be helpful for Latino men to not feel self-conscious if they reach out. Moreover, the findings illustrate the need for institutions of higher education, and other educational spaces, to consider

the dominate values in education which reinforce feminine ways of being in order to be successful. These values reinforce the feminization of education which is incongruent with machismo for Latino men. As the data showed, anti-femininity found in machismo forces Latino men to avoid and resist anything that is feminine. This incongruence can push Latino men out of education and does not support their success if they continue their academic journey. Intentional efforts must be made to honor various gendered values within education to ensure the gender diversity in our society is honored and uplifted within educational spaces. In alignment with this shift, all efforts and initiatives geared towards supporting retention and persistence must move away from hegemonic notions of success as the golden standard. As the data illustrated, microsucceeds were influential motivators for the participants. Infusing microsucceeds as part of academic advising, mentorship, and any student interaction could bolster students sense of academic success and support their goal of degree attainment. In closing, all of these interventions and practices affirm and extend Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth model. By honoring the assets students bring to college instead of viewing them through a cultural-deficit perspective, we are able to further their academic success.

Limitations

This study had a few limitations. First, the sample size limited the scope of analysis for intersectional identities. With a larger sample size, a greater number of identities and narratives could have been captured during the interviews. Perhaps greater diversity of identities from bisexual or gay men, Afro-Latino students, students with disabilities, or other identities could have allowed for richer data to draw stronger connections to machismo. There were a few instances in the data where some of these identities could have influenced their understanding of

machismo. However, without enough data it was difficult to determine if it was an anomaly or a trend.

Additional data to help triangulate the findings would have been helpful. Though the individual interviews with the participants were data rich, a follow-up interview could have been useful in developing a more nuanced understanding of the lived experiences shared by the participants. Follow-up interviews would have also allowed the research and participant to build greater rapport. This increased rapport may have allowed the participant to be more vulnerable and share additional narratives to elucidate their relationship with machismo. Moreover, a focus group could have also yielded additional insights on the ways in which Latino men discussed machismo as a group. This method could have allowed for deeper analysis on the acceptable and taboo topics surrounding machismo, as Latino men openly discussed machismo amongst themselves.

Future Research

Latino men and machismo in higher education are understudied areas. This study interrogated the influence of gendered experiences on successful Latino male's navigation of higher education. The narratives shared by the participants revealed that machismo and masculinity were a barrier and an asset during their navigation of higher education. There were explicit privileges afforded to them as men, but machismo also restricted and limited them. Through the narratives and counter-stories shared by the Latino male participants' new areas of research were unintentionally discovered in this study.

First, there is little research that explores the influence of women in the sanctioning and enforcement of machismo in the Latino community. Anzaldúa (2012) and Stavans (1995)

discussed the violence, subjugation, and oppression of women due to machismo. However, there is little research that explores the potential influence women have within machismo. As the participants in the study disclosed, women socialized Latino men to comply to machismo and sanctioned them when they deviated from it. Therefore, further research is needed to explore women's experiences with machismo and how they may be able to leverage their influence in machismo for radical change. Moreover, their understanding and engagement with machismo can help elaborate how this misogynistic and oppressive system continues to be perpetrated in the Latino community. As Harding (2004) asserted, "women's lives...can provide the starting point for asking new, critical questions about not only those women's lives but also about men's lives and, most importantly, the causal relations between them" (p. 43). Thus, women's perspectives and insights could be invaluable in understanding machismo and resisting the negative aspects of machismo.

In addition, further research is needed on queer Latino men. This is especially true for transgender or trans Latino men who are absent in the literature interrogating the gendered experiences of Latino men in higher education. As transgressors of machismo, queer and trans Latino men could have great insight on machismo and the ways in which they disrupt the systems through their lived experiences. Further research is also needed to examine the influence anti-femininity and homophobia have on queer and trans Latino men's successful navigation of higher education.

Although this study did not explicitly look at mental health, many of the narratives and counter-stories shared by the Latino men alluded to additional stress and pressure due to machismo. As Latino men navigate higher education and experience cognitive dissonance

around machismo, they may struggle and have no outlet to express themselves. Moreover, the expectations placed on Latino men to conform to machismo but also deviate from it can be confusing. Latino men are also expected to be self-reliant and emotionally unexpressive, which can be difficult as they have new and challenging experiences while in college. Therefore, further research is needed to explore the implications of machismo on the mental health of Latino men and the influence this has on their academic success.

Reflections and Conclusions

I began this journey with the hopes of interrogating a construct which has vexed and challenged me throughout my life. Prior to this study, I had a multitude of challenging and controversial conversations with Latino men and women about machismo. For some, machismo was the epitome of the worst parts of the Latino community while others saw it as a constant in their lives. Regardless of where individuals stood when discussing machismo, almost everyone could agree that the hypermasculinity in machismo was oppressive and violent for both men and women. Thus, this study began in an effort to learn more about machismo and find a way for Latino men to liberate themselves.

As my research unfolded, my eyes were opened to new understandings of machismo. I realized that machismo was something that was imposed on Latino men without engaging them in conversations about what it meant to them and their relationship with it. I know personally I have struggled to see the value of machismo, and have slowly come to understand that the emphasis in negative machismo stems from European colonization. Even though, it has been sustained and fueled to this day by Latino men's obsession with patriarchal rule. Nevertheless, it gives me hope that prior to colonization there could have been a healthier form of masculinity.

With that said, I aspire to decolonize machismo and reimagine what Latino masculinity can be. In so doing, I want to make sure that the tortured past of machismo is acknowledged to ensure we do not replicate the oppression and subjection we have experienced thus far. As we move forward in creating a more holistic and vibrant Latino masculinity, it will allow Latino men to live more authentically. I also hope that as machismo is refashioned we can allow more room for a multitude of Latino masculinities, so we do not limit what it means to be a Latino man. There is great beauty in honoring the multiplicity of masculinities in the Latino community, where masculinity can be expressed in a myriad of ways that are honored and celebrated.

Though these aspirations may seem grandiose, this journey has taught me that radical action must be taken to alter the current framework and understanding of machismo. I have seen firsthand that Latino men desperately need spaces to engage with other Latino men in these conversations. Indeed, in this study the participants shared a sense of loss and disconnect from their masculinity. I hope that through this dissertation, it is clear that Latino men need to be engaged in conversations around what machismo and Latino masculinity means to them. Without spaces for all Latino individuals to engage in conversations about their complicity or resistance of the negative traits of machismo, Latino men will continue to oppress themselves and others. Furthermore, women and Queer Latinx folks must be included in this dialogue. The oppression, erasure, and violence Latinx folks experience at the hands of machismo must be eradicated. It will be imperative for the whole Latinx community to be engaged in these conversations, since we all have a stake in the reconceptualization of Latino masculinity. Nevertheless, the narratives shared by the participants gave me hope. Their acts of resistance and personal insights speak to a desire of Latino men to radicalize and challenge machismo.

Perhaps in time, all Latinx individuals can come together and support the cultivation of Latino masculinities which are more inclusive.

APPENDIX A
PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT FLYERS

APPENDIX B
PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT EMAIL

Subject: Seeking Undergraduate Latino Men for Masculinity Study

Dear Colleague,

I hope this email finds you well.

I am reaching out to see if you would be willing to disseminate the study information below to your students.

If you have any further questions or concerns, please feel free to reach out to me at hramirez4@luc.edu or 407-780-7063.

Thank you,
Hiram Ramirez

Dear student,

I hope this email finds you well. My name is Hiram Ramirez and I am a Ph.D. candidate at Loyola University Chicago. For my dissertation study, I am recruiting current undergraduate Latino men at four-year institutions who have been in college for at least one academic year.

The purpose of this study is to investigate Latino men's relationship with masculinity and machismo in college. Participants will also be asked to explore the connection between their masculinity and success. As well as, considering the ways their intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic status, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) may influence their masculinity and success in college. The stories and experiences shared in the study will help to illustrate the ways in which Latino men continue to strive for success in higher education.

Participants would participate in an interview (60-75 minutes) either online (e.g. Skype, Google Hangout) or in person, if in the Chicagoland area. Your involvement in this study would help in the development of initiatives to support Latino men succeed in college. This study will also allow you to consider how your masculinity and various identities have informed your success in college. This reflection can be a powerful experience, as you consider your successes thus far and what it means to be a Latino man.

If you are interested in participating, please click on the link below for more information and to sign up to participate:

<http://bit.ly/LatinoMaleStudy>

You are also welcome to reach out to me at hramirez4@luc.edu if you have any further questions or concerns.

Sincerely,
Hiram Ramirez

APPENDIX C

ONLINE PARTICIPANT INTEREST FORM

[Page 1]

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Project Title: Counter-Narratives of Latino men and Machismo in Higher Education

Researcher(s): Hiram Ramirez, PhD. Candidate, Loyola University Chicago

Faculty Sponsor: Bridget Turner Kelly, Ph.D., Loyola University Chicago

Introduction:

You are being asked to take part in a research study being conducted by Hiram Ramirez for part of his dissertation study at Loyola University Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Bridget Turner Kelly in the School of Education's Higher Education program at Loyola University Chicago.

You are being asked to participate because you meet all of the following criteria:

- a) Identify as Latino or Hispanic
- b) Must have been assigned male at birth
- c) Identify as a man
- d) currently attending an undergraduate program at a four-year institution in the United States
- e) attended college for at least one full academic year

Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before deciding whether to participate in the study.

Purpose:

The purpose of this study is to investigate Latino men's relationship with masculinity and machismo in college. The research has a specific interest in the ways intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic status, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) may have influenced their masculinity and success. As well as, the ways their upbringing and experiences in college have informed their understanding of masculinity and success.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to complete an online demographic survey before the interview and participate in an interview lasting approximately 60-75 minutes. The interview will be audio-taped and transcribed.

Risks/Benefits:

There are minimal risks involved in participating in this research and there are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life. For example, you may experience some discomfort responding to some of the questions.

There are no guaranteed benefits to participants who participate in this study. However, the stories shared in this study will support a greater understanding of Latino men and masculinity in the higher education literature. This study also offers an opportunity for Latino men to explore a taboo topic in many Latino communities, machismo. Moreover, participants will be able to reflect on their personal relationship with machismo and masculinity in this study. As well as, sharing their accomplishments and success thus far in college.

Confidentiality:

- Participants will be asked to select a pseudonym when they complete the online participant interest form. This pseudonym will be used in all recordings and reporting information to ensure your confidentiality.
- After the interview, participants will be emailed the transcript (completed by the PI, Hiram Ramirez) to ensure validity and accuracy of your statements.
- All information shared with the researcher will be kept confidential and protected on a password protected computer.
- At the completion of the study, including writing and reporting findings, all data (i.e. notes, recordings, transcripts) will be destroyed.
- Do you agree to be audio recorded:
 - ___ I agree to be audio recorded.
 - ___ I do not agree to be audio recorded, so I will be unable to participate in the study.

Voluntary Participation:

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, you do not have to participate. Even if you decide to participate, you are free not to answer any question or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have questions about this research study, please feel free to contact:

- Hiram Ramirez at hramirez4@luc.edu
- Or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Bridget Turner Kelly at bkelly4@luc.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

Statement of Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above, have had an opportunity to ask questions, and agree to participate in this research study. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

1. By checking the box below, you agree to participate in the study.

- I agree

[Page 2]

2. Do you identify as Latino or Hispanic?

- Yes
 No

3. Were you assigned male at birth?

- Yes
 No

4. Do you identify as a man?

- Yes
 No

5. Are you a current undergraduate student at a four-year institution in the United States?

- Yes
 No

6. Have you been in college for at least one full academic year?

- Yes
 No

7. Full Name: _____

8. Name of Current College/University: _____

9. Major(s)/Minor(s): _____

10. Year in School (i.e. First year, second year, third year, fourth year, fifth year):

11. Please enter your email address: _____

12. What days/times work best for an interview: _____

13. Select a pseudonym (another name that will be used instead of your real name for the protection of your confidentiality): _____

14. Can you please share some of your identities below:

- Ethnicity (i.e. Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Costa Rican, Mexican):

- Religion/Spirituality (i.e. Atheist, Buddhist, Catholic, Christian, Muslim, Santero):

- Sexual Identity (i.e. Heterosexual, Gay, Bisexual, Pansexual, Questioning):

- Socioeconomic status/class (i.e. working class, upper class, middle class):

- Generational Status (first-generation – you are the first to immigrate to the United States; second-generation – you were born in the U.S. with parents who immigrated to the U.S.; third-generation – you and your parents were both born in the U.S.):

- Language (share any languages you spoke growing up):

- Ability/Disability - Do you identify as having a disability (i.e. bipolar, depression, cerebral palsy, blindness)? If no, you can put able-bodied as your identity:

- Please share any other identities not included above:

15. You are also invited to watch Tony Porter’s TED Talk prior to the interview, to support your reflection about how masculinity may influence your life. His discussion on the man box is an informative video that shares the influence of masculinity in our lives as men.

APPENDIX D
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Thank you again for taking the time to meet with me today, I really appreciate it. My name is Hiram Ramirez and I will be conducting the interview today for my dissertation study. This study aims to investigate Latino men's relationship with masculinity and machismo in college. As well as, how your various identities may show up for you as we discuss masculinity and machismo. It is also attempting to explore the relationship between masculinity and success. I am interested in any stories and experiences you are willing to share that will help me better understand these topics.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and should take about 60-75 minutes. I also welcome you in speaking either English, Spanish, or a blending of the two if you wish; so that you are comfortable as you share your lived experiences with me. With your permission, I will also audio record our conversation so I get your words accurately. If at any time during our conversation you do not feel comfortable or do not wish to answer, please feel free to say "next question" and I will skip to the next question. All of your responses will be kept confidential and the pseudonym you selected will be used to protect your confidentiality. Do you agree to participate, and to allow me to start the audio recording of our conversation?

To begin the interview, I would like to ask you what interested you in the study? What did you think about the image/video from the flyer?

Socialization Process

1. What does it mean to be a Latino man to you? Is there a story you can share that gives me a picture of what being a Latino male is like for you?
2. How, if at all, has masculinity and machismo shown up for you as a Latino man growing up? Is there a story that you can share that helps depict the ways in which masculinity and machismo have shown up for you?
 - a. Where did this take place?
 - b. Who was involved?
 - c. Were there any rules or expectations?
3. Have you observed or participated in machismo since you learned about it? Is there a story that you can share that illustrates a time you observed or participated in machismo?
 - a. Who was involved?
 - b. Where was it?

Intersecting Identities

4. What stories can give me a picture of how your identities (e.g. ethnicity, religion/spirituality, sexual identity, socioeconomic status, immigration status, generational status, language, ability/disability) that come up on a regular basis for you connect to your masculinity in college?
 - a. Are there any other memories of identities (e.g. ethnicity, religion/spirituality, sexual identity, socioeconomic status, immigration status, generational status, language, ability/disability) that come up on a regular basis for you that connect to

your masculinity in college? If so what story can you share that can illustrate that?

- b. Any other memories that come to mind when you think about your intersecting identities?

College and Machismo

5. What, if at all, negative experiences have you had with Latino individuals (i.e. friends, partners, mentors) in college? How about positive experiences? Can you share a story to illustrate?
 - a. Who was involved?
 - b. How, if at all, was masculinity or machismo present during this experience?
 - c. How, if at all, did this experience reinforce or challenge machismo?
6. Have you ever observed anyone acting out machismo on campus through their speech, actions, or behaviors? Is there a story you can share to give me a picture of how machismo was performed?
 - a. If yes, who was involved? Where did it happen (i.e. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers, student union, other spaces)?
 - b. If no, why do you think that is the case?
7. Describe how, if at all, college has influenced your masculinity? Is there a story or memory that you could share that illustrates how your college experience influenced your masculinity?
 - a. If yes, which spaces have been most influential (i.e. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers, student union, other spaces)?
 - b. If no, why do you think that is the case?
8. Describe how, if at all, your masculinity may show up in different environments (i.e. classrooms, student organizations, multicultural or Latino centers, student union, other spaces). Is there a story that you can share that depicts how your masculinity may be different in each setting?
 - a. How, if at all, do your identities influence how you act out your masculinity in these different settings?

Latino Men and Success

9. Can you describe what success means to you as a Latino man in college? Can you share an example or story of what you consider to be success?
 - a. How, if at all, are your identities (i.e. religion/spirituality, generational status, ethnicity, sexual identity, immigration status) connected to how you understand success?
10. What has supported your success in college? Who was involved?
 - a. What, if at all, programs, policies, departments, or student organizations have been involved in your achievement of success?
11. What, if at all, connections are there between success and your masculinity? Is there a story or experience that you can share that demonstrates how success and masculinity are connected?

- a. What, if at all, programs, policies, departments, or student organizations helped?
 - b. Who was involved?
12. How, if at all, is machismo and/or masculinity positive? Any negative aspects?

Now I have asked all of my questions, but I wanted to leave some time for you to share any other experiences or insights you might want to share with me. You are also welcome to ask me any questions, if you have any.

APPENDIX E
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Project Title: Counter-Narratives of Latino men and Machismo in Higher Education

Researcher(s): Hiram Ramirez, PhD. Candidate, Loyola University Chicago

Faculty Sponsor: Bridget Turner Kelly, Ph.D., Loyola University Chicago

Introduction:

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- g) Must have been assigned male at birth
- h) Identify as a man
- i) currently attending an undergraduate program at a four-year institution in the United States
- j) attended college for at least one full academic year

Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before deciding whether to participate in the study.

Purpose:

The purpose of this study is to investigate Latino men's relationship with masculinity and machismo in college. The research has a specific interest in the ways intersecting identities (e.g. ethnicity, socioeconomic status, immigration status, language, generational status, religion/spirituality, sexual identity) may have influenced their masculinity and success. As well as, the ways their upbringing and experiences in college have informed their understanding of masculinity and success.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to complete an online demographic survey before the interview and participate in an interview lasting approximately 60-75 minutes. The interview will be audio-taped and transcribed.

Risks/Benefits:

There are minimal risks involved in participating in this research and there are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life. For example, you may experience some discomfort responding to some of the questions.

There are no guaranteed benefits to participants who participate in this study. However, the stories shared in this study will support a greater understanding of Latino men and masculinity in

the higher education literature. This study also offers an opportunity for Latino men to explore a taboo topic in many Latino communities, machismo. Moreover, participants will be able to reflect on their personal relationship with machismo and masculinity in this study. As well as, sharing their accomplishments and success thus far in college.

Confidentiality:

- Participants will be asked to select a pseudonym when they complete the online participant interest form. This pseudonym will be used in all recordings and reporting information to ensure your confidentiality.
- After the interview, participants will be emailed the transcript (completed by the PI, Hiram Ramirez) to ensure validity and accuracy of your statements.
- All information shared with the researcher will be kept confidential and protected on a password protected computer.
- At the completion of the study, including writing and reporting findings, all data (i.e. notes, recordings, transcripts) will be destroyed.
- Do you agree to be audio recorded:
 - ___ I agree to be audio recorded.
 - ___ I do not agree to be audio recorded, so I will be unable to participate in the study.

Voluntary Participation:

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Contacts and Questions:

If you have questions about this research study, please feel free to contact:

- Hiram Ramirez at hramirez4@luc.edu
- Or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Bridget Turner Kelly at bkelly4@luc.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

Statement of Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above, have had an opportunity to ask questions, and agree to participate in this research study. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

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VITA

Hiram Ramirez was born in Fort Riley, Kansas and raised in the army, as a military brat. Ramirez received his A.A. in education from Valencia Community College and B.A. in international studies and philosophy from the University of South Florida, where he also graduated with a M.Ed. in curriculum and instruction, college student affairs

While at the University of South Florida he served as the Multicultural Community Advisor for two years. Then he worked at Agnes Scott College as the Assistant Director of Campus Life and Intercultural Engagement for two years and the Interim Director of Campus Life and Student Engagement for one year. While completing coursework at Loyola, Ramirez served on the editorial board of the Journal of Critical Scholarship on Higher Education and Student Affairs for three years. He currently serves as Director of Inclusive Student Services and the Multicultural Dream Center at California State University Channel Islands.

Ramirez's research focusses on issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion in higher education. He particularly focuses on Latinx populations, with an emphasis on the influence gendered experiences have on success for students in higher education.