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The Essence of a Gentleman: a Phenomenological Study of Honor and Masculinity in Wabash College's Gentleman's Rule

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- "Building Bridges: Faculty Engagement Outside the Classroom for Institutional Success." Co-Presenter (with W. Barratt, J. Gerda, & S. Schoper). ACPA - College Student Educators International 2012 Annual Convention, Louisville, KY (03/12)

THE ESSENCE OF A GENTLEMAN: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF HONOR AND

MASCULINITY IN WABASH COLLEGE'S GENTLEMAN'S RULE

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A Dissertation

Presented to

The College of Graduate and Professional Studies

Department of Education Leadership

Indiana State University

Terre Haute, Indiana

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In Fulfillment

of the requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

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by

Jacob Isaacs

December 2014

Keywords: honor code, gentlemen, masculinity, college men, conduct

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examined how college men at Wabash College understand good behavior and masculinity while living under a subjective honor code: the Gentleman's Rule. This included how students learned about and talk about the honor code and particular behaviors that students would identify as exemplifying the Gentleman's Rule in action. To unearth this information, 12 current Wabash students were each individually interviewed for roughly an hour. Contributions from respondents were subjected to a phenomenological analysis to determine the essence of students' experiences related to the Gentleman's Rule.

The study found that students typically learned about the Gentleman's Rule as prospective students still in high school, and had formative conversations only up to the end of freshman orientation. Students also understood masculinity to be complex and not something to be narrowly defined. Most understandings of masculinity were entwined with their understandings of good character or gentlemanliness, with little agreement of any characteristics of masculinity that fell outside of gentlemanliness related to the Gentleman's Rule. Meta-themes that emerged as connected to gentlemanly behavior included personal responsibility, respect for others, reasoned discussion, and self-awareness. This conflicted with negative stereotypes of hegemonic masculinity that college men are subjected to by society at large.

These results inform higher education institutions about the ideals that college men associate with masculinity and good behavior/gentlemanliness and how those factor into the effectiveness of a subjective honor code. New modes of addressing and working with college

men are called for to benefit college men and improve engagement and retention rates among

men. Ideas for implementation of a subjective honor code are also given as well as opportunities

for further study.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are so many people who have made a difference in this educational journey. While I may have inadvertently left some people out, my gratitude goes out to everyone who has been a part of this study and my doctoral journey. I certainly could not have accomplished this alone, and the parts that each of you has played, no matter how big or small, made a difference in my life and success.

I first have to take a moment to give thanks to Almighty God. He has been there for me through my entire journey and been the Great Comforter when I have needed it. It is only by His grace that I have been gifted with the determination to finish this project.

My appreciation goes to the faculty and staff of Wabash College for their assistance in the research, data collection, and writing of this study. I particularly want to thank John Lamborn, Director of the Lilly Library, for his support and guidance with the Institutional Research Board process at Wabash. Thanks also go to Head Archivist Beth Swift for her direction in poring through archival material about student conduct and the history of the Gentleman's Rule at Wabash. A tremendous amount of appreciation goes to Michael Raters, Will Oprisko, and Warren Rosenberg for both their moral support and for their help in kick-starting my data collection process. They have made me feel welcome as more than just another returning alumnus, and their continued interest in my study has helped me stay the course.

Next, I would like to acknowledge and thank my supervisors at Ivy Tech Community College who have actively supported me and helped me balance my work along with my

schooling. The efforts of my colleagues and Program Chairs, Roger Priest and Michael Cuffman, have been critically important, especially when they made a point to stand up for my best interests. David Berry , Dean of Liberal Arts and Sciences, was one of my most vocal professional supporters and helped me keep my own ambitions in check while giving me the freedom to accomplish this work. Thanks also to Dr. Todd Roswarski and Dr. David Bathe for always being interested in how I was doing and assuring me that success was within reach.

Third, I want to thank the faculty of "Belgium Community College": Colin William, Wendy Hammer, and Joshua Brewer. Each of them has been a rock that I have leaned on during the time that I pursued doctoral study. Without colleagues such as these, I could not have easily found my way through the hurdles that arose along the way.

A huge amount of gratitude goes to my dissertation committee. They listened to my uncertainties and self-deprecation with kindness and patience. They offered support and reinforcement to boost my morale when I needed it. Thank you to Denise Collins for taking interest in my success and taking the time to help me complete this stage of my journey. Thank you particularly to Will Barratt for helping me stay focused on the goal and always making it seem like it could be done. Ever forward!

My family has been a constant source of reinforcement throughout my doctoral study. A thank you goes to my mother, Judy Mattingly, and to my father-in-law, Larry Butcher, for their support and care. Thank you to my grandmother, Donna Isaacs, for always having a bite to eat and a couch for me to sleep on. My gratitude also goes to my grandfather, Bill Isaacs, and my great-uncle, Jerry Isaacs, for giving me examples to follow and for making me proud of my family name and where I came from. Finally, to my father, Albert Isaacs: I hope that I make you proud.

I want to specifically take a moment to acknowledge the support of two of the best critical friends that I could have: Dr. Paul Porter and Professor Jeff Mendenhall. They each read my work to provide a critical eye and provided laughs when I desperately needed one. Although on the far ends of the country now, I could not have better friends.

Finally, my biggest indebtedness goes to my loving wife, Marianne. You are my rock and my refuge, my encourager and my taskmaster. You were always by my side, even to the point where we had to hang a stuffed monkey on my office door as a code for you to know when I was overwhelmed with homework and just needed a snack. You never stopped believing in me and thought that I was crazy when I had doubts. I do not doubt it any longer. Thank you for never giving up.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Every spring, Wabash College hosts its Honor Scholar Weekend where prospective

students from across the country come to the Wabash campus to compete for academic

scholarships that would completely pay for tuition to the selective private liberal arts institution

for men. For many potential students, this is their first real opportunity to spend a few days as

part of the campus without being under the watchful eyes of their parents.

During that same weekend, the college's nine fraternities host their first activities to

attract prospective students into joining their houses upon matriculation. These rush activities

are intended to be dry, meaning that no alcohol is to be consumed in the house when prospective

students are on campus for the weekend. Failure to comply with this policy by the houses results

in harsh sanctions by the Interfraternal Council (IFC) and by the college administration.

However, Reed Hepburn asked a unique question in an editorial piece in the March 25,

2011, issue of Wabash College's student newspaper, *The Bachelor*. Hepburn asserts that alcohol

consumption is an integral part of Wabash's culture. Because of the central nature of alcohol to

the campus, Hepburn questioned whether it was honest of Wabash students to give the

impression that they did not drink heavily when, in fact, the opposite was more likely to be the

case. Dishonesty about how much Wabash students drank was considered *ungentlemanly* by

Hepburn, who claimed that the college should be open and honest about whether Wabash students engaged in alcohol consumption, even by students not of legal age (Hepburn, 2011).

The word ungentlemanly is of particular importance because of the allusion to The Gentleman's Rule. The Gentleman's Rule directs students to behave "at all times, both on and off campus, as a gentleman and responsible citizen" (Wabash College, 2010). This rule is trumpeted as only rule governing student behavior at Wabash.

The Gentleman's Rule

Since World War I this philosophy has been expressed in administrative practices which operate with only a single rule for student behavior. The student is expected to conduct himself at all times, both on and off campus, as a gentleman and a responsible citizen. (Wabash College, 1956)

This quotation, by Wabash President Byron Trippet, summarizes the rules of conduct at Wabash. This single rule for student behavior was implemented in practice in the 1920s and 1930s. The rule was formally instituted by Trippet after World War II and was eventually called The Gentleman's Rule. In its structure, the Gentleman's Rule was modeled more after European university policy than those of American institutions (Trippet, 1982). The Gentleman's Rule is intended to operate under the assumption that:

If students are treated as responsible young men knowing what is right and wrong and capable of mature judgment, they will make a better response than they will if they are treated as children who need close and constant supervision. (Wabash College, 1956)

In the college records, the concept of a gentleman has been used repeatedly to refer to students. As far back as 1839, six years after the founding of the college, the college catalogue

describes the intended purpose of the institution as being for the "studious, gentlemanly, and virtuous" young man (Wabash College, 1839).

Since its formal institution by Trippet, the Gentleman's Rule has been regarded as an absolute in the lives of the students. There is only one rule, and that rule is to be a gentleman. Unfortunately, there is no clear agreement in the definition of what a gentleman is, of what being gentlemanly allows, and what it prohibits. Students are left without guidance on many matters of everyday importance to college students, such as underage drinking, sexual harassment, academic integrity, behavior at campus social functions, fraternity recruitment and pledgeship, and e-mail etiquette. Academic dishonesty is the only major aspect of the Gentleman's Rule that is clarified further by administrators in a written supplement.

As if there were not enough questions in the minds of students about being a gentleman, there is also no common understanding of how infractions of The Gentleman's Rule are to be adjudicated. Wabash students know that egregious infractions of the rule can lead to suspension or expulsion from the college (Harvey, 1982), but students do not have a common understanding of how more minor cases should be judged. Accordingly, each year there are new discussions and debates about various aspects of The Gentleman's Rule and perceived infractions by students or groups of students against others. These discussions may range from minor disagreements about politeness to serious accusations of inappropriate behavior. While the discussions may be developmental experiences for the Wabash student in articulating a personal moral code of behavior, the ambiguousness of the honor code remains unchanged by the discussion.

Therefore, there is a problem inherent in the use of a subjective rule such as the Gentleman's Rule. Without an understanding of common meanings and interpretations of the

Rule, there can be only limited uniformity in how the Gentleman's Rule is communicated to new students, how it is exemplified for current students, how it is continued and passed on by upperclassmen and alumni, and how it is enforced. Without some acknowledged common understandings, students may not know and may not be able to communicate exactly what it is that they have chosen to live by.

<div align="center">**Honor Codes, Character Education, and Masculine Gender Roles**</div>

Honor Codes

The Gentleman's Rule can be classified most easily as a type of honor code. An honor code is a method of regulating behavior that is rooted in community responsibility (McCabe & Trevino, 2002). Honor codes tend to come in two forms: traditional and modified. Traditional honor codes tend to mandate unproctored examinations, give students majority or complete control over judicial proceedings, and include a signed, written pledge from students affirming that they did not cheat on assignments or exams (McCabe & Trevino, 2002). Traditional honor codes are in use by institutions such as the United States Military Academy at West Point, the University of Virginia, and the Hampden-Sydney College (another all-male institution). Modified honor codes make use of some or all of these conventions, but leave out or alter parts that the institution finds to be difficult for students to accept. The University of Maryland at College Park, North Carolina State University, and the University of Georgia make use of modified honor codes for their campuses.

Honor codes tend to place more rights and responsibility into the hands of students rather than giving complete authority to faculty or administrators. This allows faculty to have options such as unproctored tests and exams and the ability to rely on a promise of fairness from each student for the price of self-reporting and self-policing abuses of these luxuries by ill-disciplined

students (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2002). Studies of honor codes conducted by McCabe

and others (McCabe & Trevino, 1993, 1996, 1997; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 1996) imply

that institutions with an honor code are successful because they show a tendency to either not

have as many students report or self-report academic dishonesty or the institutions attract more

students who are prone to be honest and have good character (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005).

Additionally, there are signs that the presence of an honor code ties in with the moral

development of a student discussed in Kohlberg's (1969) stage theory of student development.

Honor Codes and Character Education

While many colleges and universities focus their honor codes on academic integrity,

some institutions like Wabash College or Brigham Young University use an honor code in an

attempt to go beyond academic integrity and engage in character education. This honor code

method is intended to encourage student integrity and "the character necessary to resist

misconduct and the fortitude to choose actions that align with institutional roles even at a

detriment to self-interests" (Gallant, 2008, p. 6). Derek Bok (1990) asserted that university

administrators should "take the lead in tackling social ills by first building the character of their

students" (Healea, 2005, p. 65). Healea further described character education as an intentional

initiative that directly attempts to foster a caring environment where persons are taken seriously

as responsible individuals and where persons are challenged to explore and encouraged to apply

essential ethical principles to their own lives and to their relationships with others.

The idea that honor codes are connected with character education aligns with the

intended effects of an honor code at a higher education institution and makes honor codes worth

studying. The use of an honor code is a proactive step to build the character of the students by

intentionally encouraging responsibility. In doing so, an honor code builds a practical

foundation of ethical behavior in terms of their individual behavior and their interactions with others. The trust that everyone in a culture is acting ethically and honorably and that they would have to answer to their peers makes it easier to resist misconduct even when it is detrimental to the students themselves.

Masculine Gender Roles

Added to the variables of honor codes are questions about the gender roles that a young college man is supposed to fulfill, particularly in relation to rules, laws, and enforced character norms. Social norms imply that college is a time of rebellion for a young man and is to be the best time of a man's life (Kimmel, 2008). A young man is supposed to prove his masculinity through the expression of power, competition, control, and sexuality (O'Neil, 1981). According to the ideal masculine role proscribed in mass media and upheld by masculine social culture, it is acceptable and expected for a college man to drink, smoke, have frequent sex with multiple partners, and generally disregard rules and laws (Kimmel, 2008). Failure to engage in these masculine gender norms could make a student appear to be less of a man in the eyes of his peers. This situation can result in internal conflict for young men who want to act ethically and ascribe to the rules of the institution but do not want to be considered unmanly for doing so.

From the moment that a student attends his first event on the Wabash College campus without his parents, he is exposed to a confusing culture. On one hand, authority figures and college administrators attempt to mold him into becoming a moral, academically honest gentleman setting the tone through discussions about the Gentleman's Rule during student orientation. However, those same actors give him no further direct guidance on the issue of being a gentleman after orientation other than what societal norms fellow students display as being appropriate behavior for a college man and a deficiency model of disciplinary action when

a student behaves in an ungentlemanly manner. A new student may not want to accept drinking

alcohol as necessary to being accepted socially but may be pressured and have his masculinity

questioned by fellow students if he does not drink to excess with them on a Friday night or as

part of activities surrounding initiation into a fraternity. He may have the expectation that

Wabash gentlemen do not engage in theft, but later hear students laughing about a group who

admitted to cutting down a local family's fir tree without permission so their fraternity could

have a real tree for Christmas.

This leaves a Wabash College student to determine for himself what he is supposed to

develop into by becoming a gentleman, which can easily put him into the position of saying that

it is gentlemanly, masculine, and acceptable for a college man to be overly intoxicated because it

is societally expected of him, but it is morally wrong to lie about whether he drank. After the

initial discussions about the Gentleman's Rule during orientation, he is left with no compass to

follow but his own and the perceived expectations of his peers. There is no guidance to

determine if he is wrong or how incorrect he might be. Also, if there is not a corresponding

forum where students can discuss and process moral decisions like these, the effectiveness of the

honor code on student moral development can be lessened.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was four-fold. The first purpose of this study was to find

commonly understood meanings behind the various, seemingly contradictory, understandings

that Wabash College students have of the Gentleman's Rule. The second purpose of this study

was to learn about the methods that were used most effectively to pass along the meaning of the

Gentleman's Rule to new students as they matriculate to the college. The third purpose of this

study was to learn how students understand gentlemanly behavior in principle as well as in fact

and deed. Finally, the fourth purpose of the study was to compare and contrast students'

meanings of gentlemanly behavior and their regular behavior as young adults with their

understandings of masculinity and gender roles for college men.

This study has a broad significance in higher education because it attempts to begin

determining what college men understand ethical and unethical behavior to be when they do not

have a constant external influence having an effect on them. Wabash is a college for men,

focusing on traditional-aged college men between the ages of 18- and 22-years old. Wabash

students live under a subjective honor code that tells them to be gentlemanly and responsible but

leaves the interpretations of those words open for students to work out as adults individually and

socially. Also, the use of the word "gentleman" gives the connotation of a code of conduct that

is tied closely with each student's understanding of masculinity and gender. These conditions

make Wabash a good experimental ground to study gender issues related to college men.

This is despite the larger population of college men attending coeducational institutions

where female students may impact men's understandings of good and bad behavior. College

men nationwide are, nevertheless, often in the same position as Wabash students, trying to

understand what it means to be ethical and responsible as well as developing their personal

definitions of masculinity. In most cases, these definitions are not only influenced by a student's

male and female peers. Frequently, definitions of ethical and responsible behavior are imposed

on college men externally through conduct codes, student handbooks, and college professionals.

Definitions of masculinity are also imposed through social interaction and through idealizations

depicted in mass media, sometimes clashing with definitions of ethical and responsible behavior.

This project provides a baseline of interpretations of ethical and responsible behavior

through which currently existing student conduct systems can be evaluated whether they are

honor codes or more specifically codified rule systems. College men can begin to learn about ethical and responsible behavior without relying on a deficiency model that only teaches college men what not to do. Further, because the Gentleman's Rule binds ethical behavior with masculinity, this study reveals the connections and conflicts between character and gender identity for college men, allowing student affairs professionals to better understand and work specifically with men as a part of a college community.

Research Questions

Research Question 1: What shared meanings exist in Wabash College students' understanding of the Gentleman's Rule?

Research Question 2: How are interpretations of the Gentleman's Rule learned by Wabash students?

Research Question 3: What observed behaviors and actions of other students do Wabash students interpret as being associated with the Gentleman's Rule?

Research Question 4: How are interpretations of the Gentleman's Rule related to interpretations of masculine gender roles on the part of students?

Organization of the Study

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature pertaining to the subjects surrounding the questions of the study. This chapter begins by examining honor codes and their use by higher education institutions. It then segues into a look at academic dishonesty, which is addressed by most honor codes throughout the United States, before moving on to a discussion of civility and character education in higher education. Next, the chapter examines the issues related to college men and gender-role conflict. Finally, it concludes with a review of phenomenology, its origins, and its usefulness in addressing the questions of this study.

Chapter 3 describes the methods that will be used to examine the experiences of Wabash students living under the Gentleman's Rule. This chapter goes into more depth about the specific phenomenological methodology, including respondent selection, data collection, and data analysis procedures. It also discusses my biases as a researcher of this subject and the ways that I will endeavor to show the trustworthiness of the data analysis.

Chapter 4 begins by addressing the identities of the respondents to this study and the factors limiting the description of each respondent. Next, the themes that arose from the contributions of each respondent will be revealed. This includes the interpretations that respondents give to masculinity, to the Gentleman's Rule, and to how college administrators put the Gentleman's Rule into effect for the student body.

Finally, Chapter 5 interprets the results of the study, as well as describes the implications and utility of the findings throughout higher education. This chapter will also review the potential limitations that arose as a result of completing the study. Finally, it will review the opportunities for future research stemming from the results of this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this study was to begin to understand the essence of the meaning of a

gentleman for men attending Wabash College, a college for men that uses a form of an honor

code, the Gentleman's Rule, as its only guide for student conduct. To begin the process of

reviewing the literature grounding this study, it is necessary to examine the use and effectiveness

of honor codes in higher education. Next, the phenomena of academic dishonesty in a college

environment along with aspects of civility and character education in higher education

institutions will be highlighted. This will be followed by a discussion of the current state of

research about college men, which guides the rationale for further study, particularly in the area

of gender role conflict related to masculinity. Finally, to understand the foundation of the

research methods that will guide the study, there will be a review of phenomenology and how it

is used to understand the essence of lived experience.

Honor Codes

The changing landscape of higher education has left many institutions of higher

education wondering what practice should be used to define the boundaries of appropriate

conduct for students without requiring the paternalistic controls of the in loco parentis tradition

(Bickel & Lake, 1999). Some institutions give students rulebooks regulating every aspect of

student life. Other institutions use a more developmental model that helps students discover

good ethics and behavior as they grow intellectually. McCabe et al. (1996) and Byrne (1988)

highlight some of the options that colleges and universities employ, including reward systems for

good behavior and providing ethics education to students and campus employees.

Another method of reducing unethical behavior is the implementation of an honor code.

Increasingly, institutions are beginning to experiment with versions of honor codes as a specific

type of conduct code for students and as a clear statement that they value and encourage

individually driven academic integrity (Melendez, 1985). Honor codes are intended to maintain

the integrity of the academic environment by placing responsibility for good behavior into the

hands of the students (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2001). Students are empowered in

theory to maintain the honor culture internally so as to not invoke external corrective measures

from faculty or administration.

Honor codes are not a new approach for student conduct. In his 1906 book, *The College

Man and the College Woman*, Hyde (1906) noted:

> That our college youth, in entire unconsciousness of what they are doing, and without the
>
> remotest intention of drawing up a moral code, come to a tacit acceptance of principles so
>
> profound, so searching, and so comprehensive, is a magnificent witness to the soundness
>
> of young men's ethical insight. (p. 46)

Characteristics of Honor Codes

Honor codes are not uniform in appearance or implementation. Each college or

university creates its respective honor code to suit its needs and institutional culture (Whitley &

Keith-Spiegel, 2002). There are, however, four common distinguishing factors that most

institutions use to create an honor code for students: (a) unproctored evaluations, (b) an honor

pledge, (c) student policing, and (d) a peer judiciary (Cole & Kiss, 2000; Melendez, 1985; Whitley & Keith-Spiegel, 2002).

On campuses with certain types of honor codes, students take unproctored examinations with the expectation that academic honesty is maintained voluntarily by students. Academic integrity is confirmed by students signing or taking a pledge affirming their integrity in completing their work. Sometimes this pledge takes the form of a signed statement as part of each assignment or exam. Students on campuses with honor codes are expected to not tolerate infractions of the honor code and to hold each other accountable for violations of the code. This may mean self-policing for academic dishonesty and reporting instances of cheating or other dishonorable behavior (McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2002; Whitley & Keith-Spiegel, 2002). Finally, many institutions make use of a peer judiciary that has a significant degree level of control in the disciplinary process and whose primary purpose is to address honor code violations by students and decide on appropriate disciplinary action (Roig & Marks, 2006; Whitley & Keith-Spiegel, 2002).
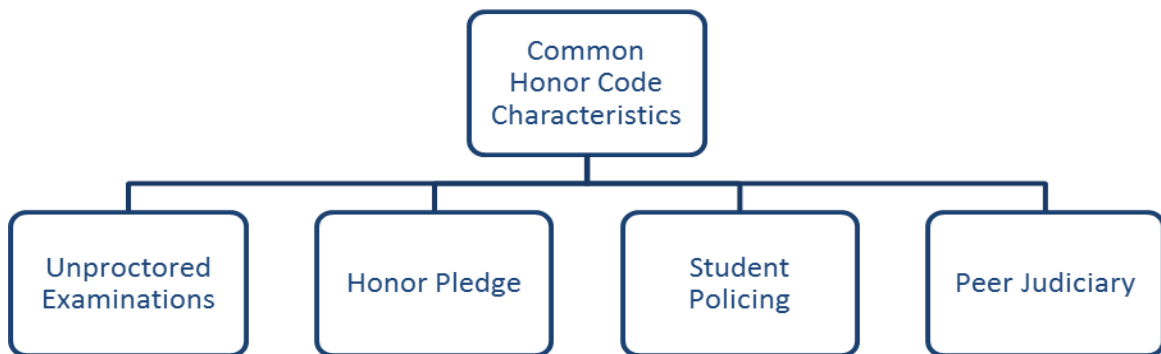
Figure 1. Common Honor Code Characteristics

Types of Honor Codes

Using these common characteristics as a base of understanding, there are two primary groupings into which most honor codes fall: traditional and modified (Dufresne, 2004; McCabe et al., 2002; Roig & Marks, 2006). Traditional honor code systems use all four of the common characteristics of honor codes (Cole & Kiss, 2000; Roig & Marks, 2006). They also are typically student initiated and student run, giving the student body a significant amount of responsibility in the culture of their campuses. Further, traditional honor codes often govern non-academic behavior in addition to academic integrity. Examples of institutions that utilize traditional honor codes include the United States Military Academy at West Point, Hampden-Sydney College, California Institute of Technology, Vanderbilt University, and the University of Virginia (California Institute of Technology, 2009; Hampden-Sydney College, 2011; Mitchell, 2009; Simon Center for the Professional Military Ethic, 2011; Vanderbilt University, 2011).

The honor code of the United States Military Academy at West Point serves as the starkest example of a traditional honor code. The honor code at the U.S. Military Academy simply states, "A cadet will not lie, cheat, or steal, or tolerate those who do" (Jones, 2007; Simon Center for the Professional Military Ethic, 2011). This honor code was originally written in 1922 and placed into its current form in 1970. At the U.S. Military Academy, the students are given the responsibility of running the honor code, including educating new cadets and maintaining the code, which is enforced at all times, both on and off campus (Jones, 2007). A similar honor system is also used at Hampden-Sydney College, another of the remaining all-male colleges in the United States (Brinkley, 1994; Hampden-Sydney College, 2011). At Hampden-Sydney, a student honor court presides over their honor code, which is provided to students in their student handbook, "The Key" (Hampden-Sydney College, 2011).

The honor code at the University of Virginia provides an example of a traditional honor code operating at a large public university. The University of Virginia places control of its honor system into the hands of a student honor committee which decides what the honor code covers and what constitutes an infraction of the honor code (Mitchell, 2009). Currently, an infraction of the honor code at the University of Virginia involves an intentional and significant act of lying, cheating, or stealing. This honor system is not as all-encompassing as at the U.S. Military Academy or Hampden-Sydney College, choosing to only govern behavior in the local surrounding area of campus as opposed to governing all behavior anywhere on and off campus.

Modified honor codes, by contrast, utilize some aspects of traditional codes while leaving out others. Focusing on developing a sense of community responsibility for academic integrity, modified honor codes use two or fewer of the common characteristics of honor codes (McCabe & Trevino, 2002; McCabe et al., 2002). One of the best examples of a modified honor code is the honor code at the University of Maryland (Office of Student Conduct, 2011a), which uses a written pledge and a judiciary system for violations of the honor code but does not associate as strongly with unproctored examinations or with student self-policing of the honor code (Roig & Marks, 2006). Faculty members and administrators are likely to be more involved in adjudicating offenses in a modified honor code environment. Examples of institutions that use modified honor codes include the University of Maryland, North Carolina State University, the University of California at Davis, the University of Georgia, and Kansas State University (Bennett & McDonald, 2011; Division of Undergraduate Affairs & Office of Student Conduct, 2001; Kansas State University, 2011; Office of Student Conduct, 2011a; University of California at Davis, 2009). The Gentleman's Rule at Wabash is also probably best identified as a modified

honor code due to a lack of a peer judiciary, limited student policing, and having very few examinations that stand unproctored.

The University of Maryland's modified honor code (Office of Student Conduct, 2011a) is considered one of the earliest codes of its kind. This honor code does make use of a public signing ceremony for undergraduates and both the inclusion of the honor code on examinations and papers as well as the use of an Honor Council to deal with infractions of the honor code. Unlike a traditional honor code, however, the University of Maryland honor code only pertains at academic integrity, does not encourage student policing of honor violations, and includes faculty participation with the Honor Council.

The Code of Academic Conduct at the University of California at Davis is based on an honor code originating in 1911 (University of California at Davis, 2009) that was student run and more traditional in nature. When the campus student population exceeded 10,000 students, the student-run honor system was deemed unworkable, causing the institution to modify the honor code into the current Code of Academic Conduct (Regents of the University of California, 2008). This code does not make use of a student-run judiciary with jurisdiction over breaches of the code, nor does it require that students take an honor pledge. However, it does place a strong emphasis on student honesty and integrity, even going so far as to encourage both group responsibility for honorable behavior and individual student policing of academic integrity.

While modified honor codes might not initially seem as strict or effective as traditional codes, these codes have tendencies that resound with the characteristics of current college students from the Millennial generation. Like traditional codes, modified honor codes also focus on building a culture of integrity on campus. Modified honor codes are also frequently intended to be educational and focus on the well-being of the community over the well-being of

individuals (McCain, 2004). This aligns well with the current generation of students,

Millennials, who have shown a tendency toward ethical and community-focused conduct, while

rejecting a self-serving approach to corporate and academic behavior (McCabe & Pavela, 2004).

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     ┌──────────────┐                  ┌──────────────┐
     │ Traditional  │                  │  Modified    │
     │ (Uses all    │                  │ (Does not use│
     │characteristics)                 │all characteristics)
     └──────────────┘                  └──────────────┘
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│U.S.      │ │ Hampden  │         │University│ │University│
│Military  │ │ Sydney   │         │of        │ │of        │
│Academy at│ │ College  │         │Maryland  │ │California│
│West Point│ │          │         │          │ │at Davis  │
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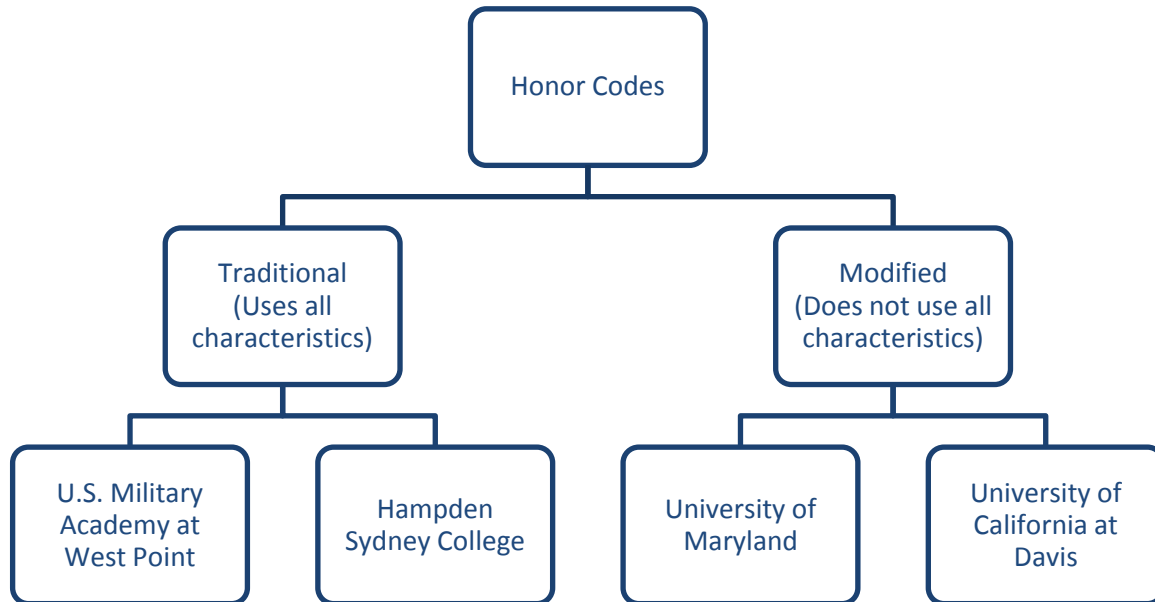
Figure 2. Types of Honor Codes

It might also appear as though the flexibility and subjectivity of both kinds of honor

codes might lead to more problems from students. The opposite is true. Both traditional and

modified honor codes, by appealing to each student's ethics rooted in a sense of community

responsibility, may help reduce instances of student misbehavior, particularly cheating (McCabe

& Trevino, 2002). This effect even extends to institutions that make use of academic integrity

and student conduct policies with a similar intent as an honor code, but do not use the term.

Dodd, Executive Director of the Center for Academic Integrity, noted that the power and

influence of all such policies do not come from the name honor code, but instead "are borne of

the myriad ways to promote discussion from admission to graduation, inside and outside the

classroom, of the fundamental values of academic integrity" (International Center for Academic Integrity, 2010).

Honor Codes and Student Development

Surprisingly little research has been conducted that connects honor codes to college student development theory. The most frequently cited connection between student development theory and honor codes is the connection with Kohlberg's (1969, 1977) stage theory of moral development (D. Carter, 2008; Roffee & Porter, 1991). Kohlberg (1969) stated that as students progress through the stages of moral development, they move away from requiring external forces to provoke good actions and move toward personal conscience and principles motivating action. "At heart, these are universal principles of justice, of the reciprocity and equality of human rights, and of respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons" (Kohlberg, 1977).

In an honor code environment, the interpretation is that students enter the institution as freshmen and require external influences (faculty members, administrators, and more experienced students) to push them into following the honor code or be punished. As time passes and the students mature and develop under exposure to the honor code, their reasons for following the honor code change. Instead of requiring external influences to force compliance, the student internalizes the tenets of the honor code and begins to follow the code believing that it is the right thing to do for his community. Kohlberg (1985) also suggested that moral communities would not only provide the conditions for this moral behavior, but that involving students in the process of forming and enforcing policies (such as in an honor code) would help build a just community overall (Caldwell, 2010).

Roffee and Porter (1991) discovered in their study of United States Air Force Academy cadets that as respondents developed and matured, they tended to look for more complex explanations to issues than the straightforward ones. However, Roffee and Porter (1991) also suggested that Kohlberg's theory might be overly simplistic in understanding the relationships between student development and moral choices. They noted in their study, for example, that there is an increased tolerance for moral offenses committed by friends than by acquaintances. This tolerance existed in their study for seniors the same as it did for freshmen (Roffee & Porter, 1991). The assertion was that students had a higher tendency to make exceptions to the honor code if they were able to identify with those who break the code, no matter whether they were processing the code as external control or internal morality. In this case, then, the level of student development, then, had no bearing on a student's decision whether to follow the honor code.

Effects of Honor Codes on Academic Integrity

Regardless of the developmental correlation, studies confirm that the existence of an honor code on college campuses is effective in reducing instances of cheating among students (Bowers, 1964; Campbell, 1935; Canning, 1956; McCabe, Butterfield, & Trevino, 2003; McCabe & Trevino, 1993; McCabe et al., 1996; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 1999; Trevino, Butterfield, & McCabe, 1998). McCabe and Trevino (1993) conducted an empirical study using a multiple regression model with academic dishonesty as a dependent variable and the various honor-code related items as independent variables, including the existence of an explicit honor code, peer behavior, and severity of penalties. All of the independent variables were statistically significant with peer behavior having the strongest impact on academic dishonesty.

A later study by McCabe et al. (2002) noted that institutions with traditional honor codes tend to have reported less cheating than those with modified honor codes. The implementation of a modified honor code resulted in less cheating than having no honor code at all (Roig & Marks, 2006). Once again, the perception of peer behavior had the strongest influence on academic dishonesty. If students perceived that their peers were closely following the honor code, they were less likely to cheat. The perceived certainty of being reported by peers was also found to be significant in this study. However, understanding and acceptance of the policy was only significant under a traditional honor code. Also, the severity of the penalties for cheating was not significant for either traditional or modified honor codes (McCabe et al., 2002).

The characteristics of an honor code environment also lend to the perceptions that students have of the culture of the institution. Students appear to not only react differently in honor code institutions, but also to view their institutions differently because of the existence of an honor code. In any college environment, both those who have and do not have honor codes, the ethical environment and how obedient students are to authority are the best predictors of unethical conduct (Trevino et al., 1998). However, students who attend an honor code institution are more likely to view academic integrity in a different way, including being more likely to actively engage in discussions about the importance of integrity and how a moral academic community should react to instances of academic dishonesty (McCabe et al., 2001). This open cultural emphasis on academic integrity and honor can lead to the perception that these issues are important at the institution, which can deter academic dishonesty.

Part of understanding an honor code's effectiveness comes from understanding the relationship between an honor code and the culture of the institution. The culture of an institution includes a number of situational or contextual factors, any or all of which can affect a

person's behavior. Situational factors, particularly, include a number of "pressures which come to bear on the individual to encourage or discourage ethical decision-making" (Ford & Richardson, 1994, p. 212). The presence of an honor system at an institution serves as a situational factor, by providing external pressure to make ethical decisions that lower the rate of academic integrity violations (K. May & Loyd, 1993; McCabe & Trevino, 1993). An honor code is also particularly effective because it is a situational pressure that impacts the entire student body of an institution at once (Cummings & Romano, 2002).

Because of this tie between the effectiveness of an honor code and the culture of an institution, colleges and universities should note that honor codes by themselves are not a cure-all for the ills of an institution (Pavela & McCabe, 1993). Honor codes are most effective when they are combined with an institutional culture that emphasizes the importance of academic integrity; where faculty members, administrators, and students lead by example; and that policies allow for student involvement in enforcing the honor code among their peers (McCabe, 1993; McCabe et al., 2002; Melgoza & Smith, 2008; Trevino et al., 1998). An honor code is less likely to be effective unless the entire institution is committed to the same integrity expected of students, meaning that faculty members, staff, and administrators should also be observing the code as they uphold it (Bok, 1990; Dufresne, 2004; Whitley & Keith-Spiegel, 2002).

Faculty members have good reasons to embrace an honor culture. Faculty members at honor code institutions report a higher level of confidence in their campuses' academic integrity policies. Because students at honor code institutions frequently self-police and share responsibility for approving disciplinary action, faculty members are less likely to handle cases of academic dishonesty on their own or take clear actions to catch students cheating or plagiarizing work (McCabe et al., 2003). While students tend to report that faculty members at

honor code institutions do not treat cases of academic dishonesty harshly (McCabe et al., 2001), students still perceive that the risk of being caught cheating is extremely high (Cummings & Romano, 2002), likely because a student never knows who might catch them in the act and report dishonest behavior. Therefore, faculty members often report that their institutions' academic integrity policies are fair and effective, even if those same faculty members do not have to engage themselves in disciplining students to maintain that integrity.

Academic Dishonesty

Much of the research on honor codes focuses on student academic dishonesty, especially cheating on assignments and exams, as opposed to other forms of student misbehavior. Part of the reason for this is that many honor codes only tend to focus on academic integrity and do not emphasize appropriate behavior outside of academic pursuits. For example, while the United States Military Academy enforces its honor code on actions that a cadet performs off campus in his personal time (Jones, 2007), the University of Maryland focuses its honor code exclusively on academic dishonesty with a Code of Student Conduct and Residence Hall Rules governing all other conduct outside of academic work (Office of Student Conduct, 2011a, 2011b). Another reason for the emphasis on academic integrity is the visible growing rate of student cheating in higher education institutions.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the perceived growth of academic dishonesty was already gaining national attention from studies of self-reporting of academic dishonesty. Wynne (1979) reported the results of two surveys of national samples of students at research universities in the United States where the number of students who admitted to having cheated rose 87% from 1969 to 1976. This was at the same time that the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education (1979) offered a report confirming that there was a significant and increasing

amount of cheating happening in higher education institutions. The next year Seib (1980) went

further into looking at medical schools and found that more than four out of five students

claimed to have cheated as a college student and almost six of 10 said that they had cheated as a

medical student.

This number is further corroborated by more contemporary research (Bowers, 1964;

McCabe & Bowers, 1994; McCabe & Trevino, 1993; Stern & Havlicek, 1986). McCabe and

Trevino (2002) cite a survey of students at nine college campuses used in Bowers's (1964) study.

In 1963, only 26% of the students self-reported that they had cheated. That number rose to 52%

by 1993, as well as a 21% increase in the use of crib sheets in taking tests (Bowers, 1964). A

positive aspect of this rise in cheating and students' attitudes toward cheating is that it seemed to

level off from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s (S. Davis, Grover, Becker, & McGregor, 1992;

McCabe & Trevino, 1993; McCabe et al., 1999, 2002; Roig & Ballew, 1994). However, most

recently, the Center for Academic Integrity (2006) reported that up to 70% of students had

cheated in some way while in college.

Much of the motivation behind engaging in academic dishonesty appears to be based in

the culture of the organization and how it is communicated. As students face greater competition

for scholarships, grants, jobs after graduation, and positions in graduate programs, they face

increased pressure to excel (Bowers, 1964; McCabe et al., 1999). When combined with a faculty

who do not wish to engage in student discipline due to bureaucratic intricacies (McCabe, 1993;

Nuss, 1984; Singhal, 1982) and the perception that all of a student's peers are engaging in

dishonest behavior, it becomes normative and a student will choose to behave dishonestly in

order to compete and fit in (McCabe et al., 2001).

Consequently, how students perceive their institutional culture will have a strong determination on how they respond to situational pressures as a student. According to empirical research performed by McCabe and Trevino (1993) on academic dishonesty, there is a significant correlation between academic dishonesty and how a student perceives their peers to behave. The student's perception of how likely he or she is to be reported by peers is also a factor as well as the perceived severity of the penalty. Last, there is a correlation between academic dishonesty and the student's understanding and acceptance of the honor code as an academic integrity policy.

This perception problem could also extend to how students perceive academic dishonesty and what constitutes a violation of academic integrity. There is concern that what students understand to be a clear case of academic dishonesty is different than in Bowers's (1964) study. One example is McCabe et al. (2001) finding that students are not as clear about academically appropriate behavior when paraphrasing a source as when providing a direct quotation of a source.

Colleges can make use of this information about academic dishonesty and its relationship with institutional culture to have an effect on student behavior. Academic integrity problems can also be opportunities where colleges and universities can most effectively make an effect on student behavior (Hoekema, 1994), perhaps because it is a place where both academic and student affairs professionals can work together on solutions (Nuss, 1996). Whether using an honor code or a different kind of academic integrity policy, the ability of an institution to effectively articulate a conduct policy where it is understood and accepted by its constituents is the most effective way to affect students' perceptions of the appropriateness of their peers' behavior and, consequently, student behavior itself (McCabe & Trevino, 1993). An effective

code of academic integrity not only admonishes students to avoid academic dishonesty but also fosters a climate where students feel prompted to actively encourage other students' positive academic behavior as well (Whitley & Keith-Spiegel, 2002).

While students may have this responsibility of academic justice pushed upon them, faculty members have a responsibility to teach and model appropriate behavior as a way to set cultural expectations for students (Whitley & Keith-Spiegel, 2002). Further, student affairs professionals should create and target programs to teach appropriate conduct (both academic and personal) to students, particularly in situations where students believe that the penalty for violating the code is high. These students are the most high-risk population for later violations of academic integrity and, therefore, need to be steered in the proper direction before they damage their academic careers (Cummings & Romano, 2002).

Supporters of honor codes also take the opportunity to note the evidence that instituting an honor code at an institution can positively affect academic integrity on campus. Self-reported cheating on campuses that make use of honor codes is significantly lower than campuses without honor codes, even when honor code campuses have unproctored examinations (McCabe & Trevino, 1993). More students cheat at non-code campuses than at code campuses, and those students on non-code campuses who cheat do so more often. In McCabe and Trevino's (2002) study, one student in six admitted to more than three instances of major cheating during an examination at non-code institutions. Only one student in 16 made the same admission at honor code institutions (pp. 39-40).

Civility and Character Education

Diminishment of Character

Beginning with the founding of Harvard College in 1636, colleges and universities in the United States were originally formed for limited purposes, whether to train future ministers and clergy or to prepare future leaders for the emerging colonies and eventually the young government (Rudolph, 1991). Over time, the purpose of higher education changed, but concern for character development, both in terms of personal morals and civic character, has been a relative constant in the stated missions of higher education institutions (Boyer, 1987; Boyer & Hechinger, 1981; Ketcham, 1992; Morse, 1989). In the twentieth century, however, there is a growing sense of unease and concern that morality, civility, and character are in decline in society at large and, particularly, in the halls of higher education.

The idea that the character and morals of students are in decline is not a new concern. The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education (1979) reported that integrity at that point was in a declining state on campus. This was indicated, in part, by the number of people defaulting on loans and engaging in the destruction of private property (McBee, 1994). This decline in integrity was emphasized by the Carnegie Foundation again in the 1980s in a report which said:

If there is a crisis in education in the United States today, it is less that test scores have declined than it is that we have failed to provide the education for citizenship that is still the most important responsibility of the nation's schools and colleges. (F. Newman, 1985, p. 31)

Faculty, themselves, have also been complaining for years about student behaviors that interfere with learning, claiming that society needed to combat incivility while higher education

directed the focus of initiatives in specific ways (Boice, 1996; Burroughs, Kearney, & Plax, 1989; Connelly, 2009; Rookstool, 2007; Schneider, 1998).

The impression of declining morals, ethics, and civic behavior is not limited to faculty and community members. Students themselves have long been aware of the diminishing level of civility on their campuses. More than thirty years ago Levine (1980) described an attitude of despair and pessimism among the college students of that period. In 1982, McBee (1994) noted that many students noticed that colleges and universities allowed the topics of good values and ethics to be ignored in favor of moral ambiguity which demanded a reevaluation of the standards for behavior and conduct endorsed and encouraged by higher education leaders as well as how educational leaders go about setting their standards that they support and teach.

So, while college and university leaders advertise in mission statements, marketing materials, and conduct codes that their institutions develop students to be "learned, honest, responsible, and productive citizens" (Stephens, Colby, Ehrlich, & Beaumont, 2000, p. 2), "the development of moral and civic responsibility is not even on the radar screens of most colleges and universities" (Stephens et al., 2000, p. 2). Even the Gentleman's Rule at Wabash vaguely admonishes students to be a "gentleman and responsible citizen" (Wabash College, 2010) with no further details of what being a responsible citizen entails.

The fault for this perceived decline in character education for young adults over time could be spread widely. However, the effect that faculty members have had as role models for students in determining the course of character education cannot be ignored. Even in ancient Greece, Aristotle questioned whether educators should be more concerned with intellectual or with moral virtue (McKeon, 1941). However, Max Weber (1946) argued that knowledge and morality should be separated in higher education, due to the idea that personal values were not

scientific and, therefore, could not be defended through reason. Weber's argument, despite

being advanced during the time of in loco parentis for colleges and universities, began to take

hold among faculty.After *Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education* (1961), universities

increasingly let students determine morality for themselves as long as it did not interfere with

their work or the law (Bickel & Lake, 1999).

Contemporary faculty have continued to bend their beliefs away from the joining of

morals and knowledge (Reuben, 1996). Lindholm, Szelenyi, Hurtado, and Korn (2005) noted in

their article that in a faculty survey where even though 99% of respondents thought that critical

thinking was *very important* or *essential*, only a fraction of those same faculty saw developing

moral character, developing personal values, or enhancing the self-understanding of students

with the same urgency. Roche (2009) adds that an increasing number of faculty members seem

to believe that the purpose of the faculty is not to teach morality or develop good character, but

to help students master the content of their disciplines and teach critical thinking, leaving

students to learn morality for themselves.

Rivers (2004) articulated an example of the kind of student that faculty would appear to

create under this paradigm. In this example, a student has been taught critical thinking to reach

the desired result of good character instead of teaching what good character is and then

correcting behavior:

> And now imagine a graduate of your university who has a check on herself, who
>
> recognizes competing points of view, understands in some fundamental way that all
>
> knowing is both a reflection and a selection (there is of course here a generous amount of
>
> disagreement about how little or how much knowing is reflection and selection, or some
>
> might even say construction). Imagine a graduate who follows Lord Acton's advice that

one has no right to attack or oppose a contrary view until one can express that view not

only as well as but better than its proponent. Such a student has one of the essential

marks or characteristics of the virtuous knower—integrity. In sum, we are asking

students to act in the manner of citizens of the university. (Rivers, 2004, p. 249)

While this approach does appear thoughtful and considerate, it does not appear to account for

more definite perceptions of moral and civic character as appeared to be called for by Stephens et

al. (2000).

Contemporary Demand for Character Education

Most people perceive that civility in American society is diminishing, and college

students in particular are tired of disruptive and uncivil behavior in their classrooms (Bjorklund

& Rehling, 2009). At the same time, students are dealing with a dichotomy between the

financial and philosophical priorities that they place on life. In 1996, over 80% of first-time

freshmen designated "being well-off financially" as being either *essential* or *very important*.

This contrasts sharply with a 1966 survey where only 45% of students felt the same way about

financial well-being. Also, in 1966, more than 80% of student respondents chose "developing a

meaningful philosophy of life" as *essential* or *very important*. In 1996, that percentage dropped

to less than 50%. This is important because the college years are among the last major periods

where young adults can learn and form social identities related to morals, character, a love of

knowledge, and service to others (Roche, 2009; Stephens et al. 2000).

However, converse to the current emphasis on financial well-being as the major priority

of life, students also repeatedly assert that they are looking for meaning and purpose in life

(Roche, 2009). Light (2001) reported that one of the most common hopes of students enrolling

in a new class is that the course will change them as persons. Students, then, are looking for college courses to be life-changing events that are full of meaning.

These students, and citizens at large, are looking at colleges and universities to be the bastions of good character morality. More particularly, they look to faculty to show the way. Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) have completed exhaustive reviews of the effect that higher education has on students, both while attending college and in their lives outside of the academy, and affirm that higher education does teach morals and character, even during the times when faculty claim that they are not engaged in character education.

Reuben (1996) commented that there was an increasing amount of attention being given to character in higher education by governmental and national collaborative bodies, which is a positive in moving colleges and universities to address the historic moral aspect of the mission of higher education. This assertion of attention to character has been played out in a number of venues. The Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities (1997) voiced a call for institutions to spend more time concentrating on developing aspects of character and morality in students. The U.S. Congress voted in 1998 to support and encourage character building initiatives in schools across America and urged higher education institutions to affirm the development of character as one of the primary goals of higher education (U.S. Department of Education, 1998). The Association of American Colleges and Universities (2002) has also called for institutions to produce graduates who could maintain a stable democratic society.

Historically, moral judgment has been the most widely studied moral capacity (Stephens et al., 2000). Contemporary studies in student development have guided higher education administrators and student life practitioners in addressing their positions in the academy, even if they are not generally accepted by faculty in other fields as germane to their work. It should be

noted, though, that even theorists from differing viewpoints on the ways that students develop

intellectually and morally generally agree that moral judgment and an intellectual understanding

of moral issues are vital aspects of moral maturity and should be goals of education (Gilligan,

1977; Kohlberg, 1971; Noddings, 1984; Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2005; Shweder, Mahapatra, &

Miller, 1987). This puts the impetus for teaching morals and character back squarely on the

shoulders of education professionals, including faculty.

However, faculty are hesitant to take on the role of teaching critical thinking and morality

to students, whether due to the belief in the separation of knowledge and morality or the

reluctance to accept part of the responsibility for the morality that students develop. M.

Berkowitz and Fekula (1999) asserted, however, that educators should not shirk the

responsibility of forming student character for three reasons. First, educators cannot avoid

forming student character. "Education inevitability affects character, either intentionally or

unintentionally. To abstain is to merely abdicate control to chance or other influences." (M.

Berkowitz & Fekula, 1999, p. 18). In this understanding, educators who do not actively take part

in helping to deliberately form student character, merely abdicate their opportunity to positively

shape students' morality and character to other external forces.

Second, there are significant moral problems on campuses (alcohol and drug abuse,

violence, academic dishonesty, etc.) that require people to take an active role in clearly

delineating appropriate behavior from what is inappropriate. Finally, higher education is one of

the final chances to affect a number of people on a large scale at a point in life where there is an

opportunity for significant developmental change.

In short, there is a need for college students to learn morals and character because it is

unlikely that the conditions for considerable mentored development will occur again in a

student's lifetime. If moral guidance does not come from faculty members, then who will it come from? If it does not happen then, when will the opportunity ever come again?

Ethical Community

Institutions who wish to develop morality as an internal compass guiding student behavior may benefit from an examination of how they display and model professional ethics. Institutional leaders who want to encourage ethical conduct from its students must, by extension, endeavor to be ethical themselves. This is a challenging concept that institutions have been struggling with since *Dixon v. Alabama Board of Education* (1961) began eliminating *in loco parentis* as a tool for managing students. McBee (1994) advised that the current college environment was an opportunity to help students develop internal controls (morality) instead of managing them with the external forces such as a code of ethics or administrative fiat. He noted that educators had the opportunity to equip students with the critical thinking skills to help them contemplate appropriate moral actions as a basis for making good decisions.

The equipment of students also comes from administrators and other institutional leaders who are needed to provide ethical leadership and direction that can affect students. Trevino et al. (1998) highlight that part of decreasing student misconduct is for there to be leaders who model and encourage appropriate conduct and for there to be a system that rewards ethical conduct while disciplining unethical conduct. This approach also allows for less of a focus on in loco parentis as an external force in lieu of the law and professional standards, where applicable. In practice, administrators should conduct the business of the university in a manner that shows a commitment to ethical behavior and integrity which acts as a model in forming an atmosphere of integrity (Whitley & Keith-Spiegel, 2002).

Trevino and McCabe (1994), however, go even further to suggest that faculty members and administrators work together to create an ethical community on college campuses. Such an ethical community clearly communicates rules and standards to students and encourages mutual respect between students and faculty, while utilizing a system where new students are conditioned to think critically as they form their own internal moral codes. As a result of the formation and encouragement of solid morals, students can receive privileges that are frequently associated with honor code cultures, including unproctored exams.

There are a few ideas of how this ethical community can be created. Trevino and McCabe (1994) suggest that character can be formed partly through the use of a hidden curriculum where students receive both formal education in morals and ethics as well as informal instruction through writing and discussion prompts that they can act upon, even involving tasks that allow participation by applying ethical principles in helping to run the institution. Bebeau (2002) also suggests the use of guided peer discussions and service-learning curricula as the most promising ways to develop character. Hoff Sommers (1993) adds that college students should be reading, discussing, and studying moral classics that reinforce goodness, while being subject to a behavior code that emphasizes civility, kindness, self-discipline, and honesty.

Beyond these specific ethical activity suggestions, Lickona (1991) recommended a model made of cognition, affect, and behavior to guide further development of character education programs. M. Berkowitz (2002) also utilizes a *moral anatomy* made of up "moral behavior, moral values, moral personality, moral emotion, moral reasoning, moral identity, and foundational characteristics" (p. 48) to help determine what constitutes a moral person and, therefore, how to help form good character (Hendrix, Luedtke, & Barlow, 2004, pp. 59-60). Rivers (2004) added to the conversation that at the college level, character should emphasize

epistemic or intellectual virtues such as intellectual courage and honesty, "responsibility,

humility, and hope" (p. 251) and that the university bears the responsibility of determining which

virtues to promote as part of "good knowing" (p. 248).

Rivers (2004) did, however, hedge his definition by saying that character education in

higher education should not be the same as teaching morality, particularly sexual morality, to

students. Rivers (2004) said:

> An exclusive focus on morality narrowly defined suggests that character education is about
>
> inhibition—and I am certainly willing to grant that much of character education that
>
> happens at home and in church and in our early years might in fact be inhibitive and
>
> necessary. I have Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* in mind. But character
>
> education of the sort that is arguably the job of the university is liberating. We should resist
>
> the term "character" being coopted by narrow sectarian and religious causes. (p. 250)

Therefore, to Rivers, teaching character in higher education is a matter of opening up the mind to

thought and reason rather than teaching boundaries to ward off destructive behavior.

Understandings of Character

With the importance of character education determined and with higher education

institutions being established as places where morality and character needs to be addressed, the

next question might be about what versions of morality and character should be taught in

colleges and universities. The question of character and morality in higher education has been

addressed by a number of people, including Bok (1990), Hoekema (1994), and Pascarella and

Terenzini (2005) in their discussions of the effect of higher education on students. Turiel (1997)

confirmed that there is a full body of work that examines how intellectual engagement and

challenges surrounding moral issues lead to developing a more sophisticated level of moral judgment.

Nussbaum (1997) went a step further to assert a connection between the actual academic curriculum of higher education and the ideals of good citizenship. She noted that college campuses in the United States are bastions of liberal education that base themselves on the ideals of Western philosophical tradition more than any other nation. She further connects the idea of liberal education to citizenship by stating that it draws:

> …on Socrates' concept of 'the examined life', on Aristotle's notions of reflective citizenship, and above all on Greek and Roman Stoic notions of an education that…liberates the mind from the bondage of habit and custom, producing people who can function with sensitivity and alertness as citizens of the whole world. This is what Seneca means by the cultivation of humanity. (Nussbaum, 1997, p. 8)

She conceded that colleges and universities in the United States have not fully committed to the ideal of liberal education, but she used this concession as a call to action of what higher education should then do to cultivate the humanity of students and develop effective world citizens.

Character is a concept that comes with a variety of understandings and is often used interchangeably with morals and civility, which can lead to contentiousness over the value judgments that develop. Baumrind (1998) defined character as the "ethical estimate of an individual" (p. 3). Rivers (2004) looked at character as being personality traits that are privileged. M. Berkowitz and Fekula (1999) noted that, "Ultimately, to speak of a person's character is to speak of their goodness, both in a global and in a differentiated psychological sense" (p. 18) and looked at character development as "the growth of those aspects of the

individual that represent his or her ethical worth, including behavior, cognition, affect, values, personality, identity and skills that are not moral themselves but support moral functioning" (p. 18). Dalton and Crosby (2010) also wrote about institutional efforts to teach character, writing that, while not typically labeled as such, institutional efforts implicitly guide the personal moral values and behaviors of students associated with contemporary ethical issues and problems.

Attention has also been given to the concept of civility as part of character. Beginning with Erasmus in 1530, civility was used to describe the things that allow people to live together peacefully. In order to live together in peace, we use standards of behavior that limit our freedom in exchange (S. Carter, 1998). Billante and Saunders (2002) described civility as being "behavior in public which demonstrates respect for others and which entails curtailing one's own immediate self-interest when appropriate" (p. 33). Royal Bank of Canada (1995) described it as being a combination of different qualities and "less a code of conduct than a spirit…that encompasses consideration, tact, good humour, and respect for others' feelings and rights" (p. 1).

Whether the focus is on morals or civility, character develops in part from the observed behaviors of others. Paine (1994) also states that the ethics of each individual in an organization reflects that organization's "values, attitudes, beliefs, language, and behavioral patterns" (p. 106). Both college students and corporate professionals learn appropriate conduct and have that conduct enforced by the surrounding culture and environment. For college students, specifically, this means that their ethics are likely to reflect what they find to be acceptable in their culture, both institutionally and in the sub-groups that they belong to (i.e., fraternities and sororities, residence communities, athletic teams, clubs and organizations, etc.).

Finally, support for college students in relation to character development may come from research about college student resilience, perseverance, and grit. Grit comprises characteristics

such as goal-directedness, motivation, self-control, and a positive mindset (Goodwin & Miller, 2013) and is defined by Duckworth, Peterson, Matthews, and Kelly (2007) as perseverance and passion for long-term goals. Grit has been identified as significantly impacting educational attainment and long-term goal success (Duckworth et al., 2007).

> We define grit as perseverance and passion for long-term goals. Grit entails working strenuously toward challenges, maintaining effort and interest over years despite failure, adversity, and plateaus in progress. The gritty individual approaches achievement as a marathon; his or her advantage is stamina. Whereas disappointment or boredom signals to others that it is time to change trajectory and cut losses, the gritty individual stays the course. (Duckworth et al., 2007, pp. 1087-1088)

Based on this definition, encouraging the development of grit as part of character education may help college students overcome negative experiences that drive students out of higher education institutions and give them a valuable tool for success as professionals.

Effect of Character Education on Students

Whether or not it teaches morality, character education does end up having a positive effect on students. Effective character education programs promote environments where academic standards are higher, including better scores on standardized tests (Urban, 2007). Blasi (1980) and Thoma (1985) both found significant, albeit moderate, correlations between moral reasoning and moral behavior (Roffee & Porter, 1991). Students who regulated themselves more, persisted in their studies, and engaged in critical thinking also tended to have higher grade point averages than peers who did not score as highly in these traits (Lounsbury, Fisher, Levy, & Welsh, 2009). Van Kuren and Creamer (1989) found that students who felt more positively about their institution were less likely to engage in academic dishonesty. This positive

environment formed by a character education program leads to greater overall academic success (Lounsbury et al., 2009), whether success is defined as high student satisfaction or as better academic performance. Both definitions of success, student satisfaction and academic performance are traits which are examined and measured frequently through the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) and the Community College Survey of Student Engagement (CCSSE).

Regardless of whether success is defined as high student satisfaction or as high academic achievement, a successful character education program even has effects on a student overall perspective on life. Park, Peterson, and Seligman (2004) found a significant relationship between character strengths and general life satisfaction, which could reflect either a difference in the context of participating institutions or developmental differences between early and mid-adults attending the institutions. Finally, to look at the subject from the other side, Trevino et al. (1998) revealed that two dimensions were the strongest predictions of unethical conduct: overall ethical environment and obedience to authority. If students perceived the institution's leaders as not valuing good character, then they felt no need to value good character themselves.

College Men and Masculinity

Masculine Ideology

In addition to the concerns of character development, young men making the decision to pursue higher education are in a challenging position as they come to an understanding of gender. Beginning as a teenager, young men are constantly exposed to images that depict an ideology for male behavior. This ideology indicates "values and standards that define, restrict, and negatively affect boy's [sic] and men's lives (Levant et al. 1992; Mahalik, Good, & Englar-Carlson, 2003; Pleck, 1995; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993; Thompson & Pleck, 1995)" (O'Neil

& Crasper, 2011, p. 21). Masculine ideology, specifically, refers to a set of "beliefs about the importance of men adhering to culturally defined standards for male behavior" (Pleck, 1995, p. 19).

Masculine ideology has a number of different facets. There is a recurrent theme of anti-intellectualism as the norm for masculinity, particularly in the fields of art and music (Kimmel & Davis, 2011). Men, especially young men, are portrayed as crude, rude, and childish (Weaver-Hightower, 2010). Men are depicted as sexist, frequently drunk, sexually promiscuous, physically aggressive and unlawful, and generally disregard their own safety and the safety of others (Harper & Harris, 2010). They are accused of feeling entitled to success despite being aimless (Kimmel, 2008). They are also shown to avoid the appearance of femininity or of feminine traits, disdain homosexuality, and pursue ambition, status, and victory while maintaining tight control of their emotions (Mahalik et al., 2003). These ideals are constantly displayed and reinforced through popular culture in sitcoms, music, movies, commercials, and online every day (O'Neil & Crasper, 2011; Weaver-Hightower, 2010). Bankart, an emeritus faculty member at Wabash College, has stated that this image of masculinity given by society has given boys too little leeway through which they may express themselves as males (Clayton, Lucas Hewitt, & Gaffney, 2004).

What is worse is that this masculine ideal is also propagated by higher education professionals. Informally, when higher education professionals discuss college men, they stereotype men using the norms of the masculine ideal (Redden, 2009), which does not account for the other ways that men express masculinity. Colleges and universities also cater to this same popular image of a masculine norm in commercials and admissions materials, highlighting images of sporting events and attractive females as prime characteristics of the college experience (Weaver-Hightower, 2010).

With the enormous force of society and its expectations stacked against him, it is little wonder that young men eventually find little comfort in the college experience. Even though a young man can temporarily avoid the responsibilities of adulthood as a college student, he must still explore new and different relationships with peers, academics, and the workplace as part of the experience (Rabinowitz & Cochran, 1994). At the same time, ideally, this happens while developing an identity, becoming independent, learning character and how to manage emotions, developing a set of knowledge and skills, and forming a purpose in life (Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993).

Gender-Role Conflict

Edwards and Jones (2009) discussed a distinct conflict experienced by young men between the dichotomous pulls of society's expectations for men and the demands to succeed and move beyond class restrictions as being integral to the college experience of men. Society's expectations prescribe that young men party and be careless while in college. However, young men also feel a similar pressure to prepare for life after graduation. This preparation involves everything that is supposedly expected from students, including taking academic life seriously, choosing a good internship, studying diligently, creating a good resume, and learning about the self.

Harper and Harris (2010) and L. May (1998) described how this dichotomy leaves many young men lost in terms of what they should be doing. This internal conflict related to trying to conform to traditional masculinity has been termed as gender-role conflict (O'Neil, 1981, 1990; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). Gender-role conflict is specifically defined as "a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences on a person or others" (Stillson, O'Neil, & Owen, 1991, p. 458). T. Davis (2010) asserts that this

gender-role conflict that college men experience has a negative effect on them "based on the assumption that identity develops as a person interacts with society and that gender is a central dimension of one's conceptions of self" (pp. 51--52).

Kimmel (2010) depicted masculinity as a homosocial enactment, where young men live constantly under threat of the scrutiny of other men who judge whether they have met the requirements for manhood. There is both constant competition as well as constant fear of failure in measuring up to the judgment of others. Masculinity is described as something that is relentlessly tested in the eyes of other men, of women, and in their own perspectives. Kimmel (2010) emphasized this with a quotation from an advice book written by Wayne (1912): "Every man you meet has a rating or an estimate of himself which he never loses or forgets…. A man has his own rating, and instantly he lays it alongside of the other man" (p. 18).

This constant state of evaluation leaves men feeling insecure and worried about being exposed as fraudulent men. For a young man trying to prove himself, this also means that his worth as an adult male is at stake. Even worse, the test of masculinity is to a standard that men had no part in creating for themselves, but which they perceive as a burden from which they can never be freed (Harper & Harris, 2010).

There are a few ways that Edwards and Jones (2009) depicted how young men attempt to avoid the condemnation of other men and gain acceptance by peers and society at large. Some young men act out, take risks, and do stupid things to gain the approval of other men. They also brag about their accomplishments and show off the markers of society's definition of manhood, such as power, money, status, and sex (Kimmel, 2010).

Other young men put on a mask to hide their insecurities or come up with their own definitions of what it means to be a man (Edwards & Jones, 2009; Kimmel, 2010) which end up

as only slightly differentiated from society's versions of manhood. These altered definitions of manhood do not necessarily stand up well against the pressures of society. Many times, even when men acknowledge that society's expectations of men are inappropriate and morally wrong, they still act in line with those same expectations through such means as drinking to excess, objectifying women, and making anti-homosexual comments.

Further, the ability to put on a mask and conform to societal expectations of manhood might depend, in part, on the socioeconomic status of the young man. Edwards and Jones (2009) discussed how men who come from affluent families with high perceived prestige tend to party more and study less than those who come from families with less perceived prestige. However, men with less perceived prestige tend to work harder and study more, even though it is a violation of societal expectations for men. Mostly, this is done because of a competing demand to succeed placed upon them by their communities, families, and themselves. However, they also lack the opportunity to party in the first place, due to having less time and money available as a consequence of the financial situations of themselves and their families.

Effects on College Men

Along with all these needs pulling college men in different directions, college men find themselves increasingly underrepresented in numerous aspects of college life, including study abroad programs, clubs and organizations, campus activities, civic engagement and service, and other co-curricular programs (Harris & Struve, 2009). First, the typical college student is no longer a male, but a female (Aud et al., 2010). As women have overtaken men in college enrollment, men have ended up behind women in the number of graduates at the undergraduate and Master's levels ("The case of the missing men," 2007), with men's lead at the doctoral level shrinking quickly.

This may result in future difficulties for men who are looking for potential mates. Cuyjet (1997) highlighted this difficulty particularly for African-Americans. African-American women are already far ahead of men in completing higher education programs and have difficulties finding African-American men who they consider to be good potential marriage partners due to the disparity in education level and, by extension, occupational positions after graduation.

There is also no help coming from researchers in higher education. Despite a recent increase in the study of men and masculinity, there have not been many comprehensive reviews of male psychology and masculinity (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1993; Good, Borst, & Wallace, 1994; Smiler, 2004) and, according to Whorley and Addis (2006), no reviews and critiques of methodological trends before 2006. Contemporary studies of college men pay little attention to their struggles and the causes of their negative behaviors and, instead, place an emphasis on their negative, destructive, and socially inappropriate behaviors (A. Berkowitz, 1992; Good, Hepper, Hillenbrand-Gunn, & Wang, 1995; Harper & Harris, 2010; Harris, 2008; Harris & Struve, 2009; Hong, 2000; Marshall, 1993). This research tends to specifically look at men and violent or oppressive behavior perpetrated against women (A. Berkowitz, 1994; Ludeman, 2004; Rhoads, 1995; Sanday, 1990).

Men, therefore, find themselves in a Catch-22. They are considered unmanly if they do not at least appear to follow social norms of masculine behavior. However, they are cast as uncivilized barbarians by their potential role-models in higher education for these behaviors with little regard for the trap that many men find themselves in. Having to deal with these competing demands between popular society's image of manhood and the need to prepare for life and employment outside of college, exacerbated by research on college men that focuses mostly on their negative behaviors, it is little wonder that young men find themselves falling behind.

Colleges and universities are not always the safest and most supportive environments for young men to have life-changing experiences and to grow social, academic, and vocational competencies (Harper & Harris, 2010; Kimmel, 2008). A young man might desire to experiment with identities, roles, and experiences that are not in line with the popular norm of masculinity that he was been socialized to accept (Ludeman, 2004). Nevertheless, without an environment that supports the young man's efforts to break out of the role that society creates for him, he can be set up for embarrassment and failure (L. May, 1998).

Call to Action

The call to action, therefore, is for more attention to be given to college men as a whole person, not just as being representative of the negative social identity that he has been given. Harris and Struve (2009) provided a starting point by defining masculinity as a "socially constructed identity that encompasses that attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that are culturally associated with men" (Harris & Struve, 2009, p. 3). Clayton et al. (2004) added that it is an open question if and how much male roles are changing, as well as the direction in which they are changing. According to Kimmel (2010), this fact that masculinity is socially constructed and the question about where masculinity is shifting over time is an essential positive. These ideas give men agency to replace a restrictive and ineffective social identity with one that is more positive.

Higher education researchers can help lead the way by starting their research from the perspective that men are gendered beings, just the same as women. Scher (1990) admonished researchers that men "must always be viewed in the context of the restraints, constraints, and expectations of the male gender role [because] men are inextricably entwined with the demands of our culture" (p. 325). T. Davis and Laker (2004) reiterated that to really understand college

men, a researcher must also understand the social identity of masculinity that men must conform to which has been laid out for them by society.

There are plenty of examples to start with for people who are looking for ways that men behave positively in defining and exhibiting masculinity. Harris (2008) advanced studies offered by Harper (2004) and Hong (2000) which illustrate young men conceptualizing and expressing masculinity in ways that exemplified leadership, academic excellence, and civic service. These displays of masculinity were not only productive and positive, but also were never challenged by their male peers, defying conventional assumptions about male behavior. Harper and Harris (2010) concluded that, while research about the negative behaviors of men is important, there should be also be further research into the successes of men in creating positive masculine identities that benefit themselves and the people around them.

Many different types of masculinities exist that men may display, and these multiple types can offer diverse perspectives and experiences to support the varied ways to be a man (Weaver-Hightower, 2010). Many studies do not consider the different masculinities from men who are gay; who belong to different social classes; who are ethnic minorities, veterans, disabled; or who are from other significant identity and demographic groups. Whitehead (2002) added that, particularly in the new millennium, gender relations are undergoing changes which are only beginning to be understood. A couple of the changes that are receiving attention are the concepts of masculinity and how men understand masculinity (Faludi, 1999). Because of the attention given to subjects like these, Harris and Struve (2009) advanced the proposals of other student development scholars that more can be done to better support and understand men as they progress through college.

One place to look to study the male experience in college is the single-sex male college. Neal Spence and Parikh (2004) commented about how they believed that women's colleges would support the creation and maintenance of safe spaces for men to discuss and express the manifestations of masculinity. A single-sex male institution would constitute a safe space to create, explore, and voice different positive narratives on masculinity and male identity. Such an institution could act in part, as J. Newman (1996) envisioned that a college could, as a "bountiful mother who nurtures a 'gentleman' by teaching students how to behave properly in society" (Healea, 2005, p. 65). It could also address the masculine experience by addressing subjects that appeal to a cross section of men and encourage participation and success (Weaver-Hightower, 2010).

Finally, further studies about men and masculinity or programs to assist college men should avoid treating men as broken or violent beings or treating masculinity as a disease to be cured or fixed. Further study and support also does not mean that it must come at the expense of women's issues (Harper & Harris, 2010; Weaver-Hightower, 2010). It is by encouraging sensitivity to the male experience and understanding the different forms that masculinity can take, those steps can be taken to improve the experience of men as college students and positively affect the definition of masculinity in society.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology describes the meaning that several individuals give their lived experiences of a concept or of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). This approach is intended to understand what a group of individuals have in common about how they understand and experience a shared phenomenon as part of better understanding the true nature of that phenomenon. The basic purpose, then, of phenomenological analysis is to reduce the

experiences of this group of individuals to a concise description of their shared concept or phenomenon, otherwise referred to as the essence of the phenomenon. In this section, the background of phenomenology is described, as well as the basic structure and application of phenomenological analysis.

Foundations of Phenomenology

Phenomenology as a methodology began with the philosophical arguments of Husserl who asserted that there was an active relationship between a person's perception and the object being perceived and that human experience was made of conscious thought (Holstein & Gubruim, 1998). Husserl (1975) wrote, "For me, the world is nothing other than what I am aware of and what appears valid in my cogitationes.…I cannot live, experience, think, value, and act in any world which is not in some sense in me, and derives its meaning and truth from me" (p. 8).

Merleau-Ponty (1962) went further about the nature for phenomenology and referred to perception as being the way through which humans access and define truths, or essences, in their existence. Every person encounters truth through their perceptions and, as each person shares their concept of truth:

> …the chance happenings compensate each other, and that dust of facts forms an agglomeration. There appears the outline of a way of facing the human situation, an event whose contours are defined and of which one can speak….Everything has a meaning, and we find beneath all the relations the same structure of being. All of these views are true as long as they are not isolated…. (Merleau-Ponty, 1956, p. 68)

An understanding of the world or of an idea, then, is formed by meshing an individual's perception of their experiences with the perceptions of other individuals of their experiences and finding the places where they join or have aspects in common (Merleau-Ponty, 1956).

Branching out from Husserl and Merleau-Ponty's writings, phenomenology uses human perception as the primary source of knowledge which cannot be doubted (Moustakas, 1994). According to Moustakas (1994), phenomenology describes the meaning that several individuals have of their lived experiences related to a concept or a phenomenon. The reflection of lived experiences made by individuals participating in phenomenological research provides a logical, systematic, and coherent resource for carrying out the analysis and synthesis (Moustakas, 1994) and forms meanings by reducing lived experiences to a common, essential core description (Creswell, 2007) or a "grasp of the very nature of the thing" (van Manen, 1990, p. 177).

Phenomenological Analysis

An important understanding about the contemporary performance of phenomenological analysis as a research methodology is that it is used by philosophers and social scientists in both North America and in Europe in ways that are very different from each other. As a result, there are so many variations in the definition and understanding of phenomenology that it cannot be described as having only one approach or perspective (Patton, 2002). Because this study deals with a subject more closely related to social science than philosophy, the perspective described in this study is more in line with that detailed by Moustakas (1994) which serves as a grounding text for those studying the phenomenological process.

Phenomenological research is a flexible method when it comes to the selection of respondents. Moustakas (1994) asserted that the only essential criteria are that each respondent should have experienced the phenomenon, be interested in understanding its nature and meanings, be willing to participate in a lengthy interview and perhaps a follow-up interview, and finally grant the researcher the right to record the interview as well as publish the data in a

dissertation or other publications. Under these criteria, potential respondents can easily be targeted as long as they have experienced the phenomenon being studied.

The accomplishment of a classical phenomenological study, according to Moustakas (1994), comes in four stages: epoche, phenomenological reduction, imaginative variation, and synthesis. Epoche involves abandoning preconceived notions, ideas, or biases about a phenomenon so that the researcher can form conclusions from a fresh understanding. Phenomenological reduction comes in two parts: (a) Bracketing, where the researcher brackets out their presuppositions to understand the full nature of a phenomenon, and (b) Horizonalization, where all of the data is given equal weight as it is organized into a complete textual description of the phenomenon (Patton, 2002).

Next, the researcher uses imaginative variation to look for possible meanings, using his or her imagination to change and manipulate the data into different possible structures and interpretations. This includes having the researcher take on different perspectives, different roles, and positions. The purpose is to come to understand how an experience came to be what it is (Moustakas, 1994). This leads to the final step, synthesis, where the textual and structural interpretations of the phenomenon are brought together and synthesized into a unified statement of the essence of the phenomenon.

Each of the steps of this process described by Moustakas (1994) is very general in nature. Moustakas wrote that "every method in human science research is open-ended" with no definitive or exclusive requirements (p. 104). Each project should hold its own integrity and form its own methods and procedures to help facilitate the flow of information and the collection of data. This leaves the methodological details of a study completed using phenomenological

analysis to the researcher, as long as the methodology is conducted with a phenomenological

goal in mind.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Attempting to understand the nature of what Wabash College students experience in the

Gentleman's Rule requires a methodological approach that brought out detailed descriptions.

These descriptions were then used to form an understanding of common, fundamental

interpretations of life under the Gentleman's Rule. This chapter reviews issues related to the

methodology that was used to complete the study.

Situating the Study

The methodology of this study sprung from a constructivist epistemological stance that

was derived from the researcher's prior study in the fields of rhetoric and communication

studies. This epistemology drew from Crotty's (1998) definition of constructivism which states

that "meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are

interpreting" (p. 43). By focusing on the meaning that respondents gave experiences, social

actions and phenomena can be understood more clearly.

The constructivist epistemological approach is undergirded by Baxter Magolda's (1992)

model on epistemological reflection. Baxter Magolda's model discusses the ways that college

students engage in reasoned thought on the path to knowing. She grounds this model, in part, on

the assumption that ways of student knowing can be related to gender, although they are not

dictated by gender:

As we saw earlier, receiving-, interpersonal-, and interindividual reasoning patterns were used more by women than men, and the mastery-, impersonal-, and individual reasoning patterns were used more by men than women in this study. However, no pattern was used more by women or men. (Baxter Magolda, 1992, p. 369)

In this model, men have reasoning patterns that they use more frequently than women. However, not all men use those reasoning patterns more frequently, and men do not use those reasoning patterns exclusively. For example, men are capable of using interpersonal-reasoning patterns even though they are used more frequently by women. Alternately, women are capable of using mastery-reasoning patterns even though they are used more frequently by men (Baxter Magolda, 1992). She also noted that "the gender-related nature of the patterns is similar to distinctions in moral development, an area closely related to epistemological development" (p. 370).

Based on these underpinnings, a phenomenological methodology was chosen as the best way to understand the common interpretations that Wabash students give to the common experience of living and developing under the Gentleman's Rule. This methodology allowed the formation of an understanding of the Gentleman's Rule while taking into account the different ways of knowing that students might utilize to come to their individual understandings of the rule.

Research Site

Wabash College was chosen as the single site for this study. As a men's college, Wabash provides an opportunity to see men in an environment where a variable affecting behavior, the presence of women, is largely removed. There are women who are employed as faculty and staff, and female students attend Wabash classes on occasion from the local high schools, but no

traditional, college-age women are enrolled as students at the institution. For the most part, Wabash students are only accountable to other men as their peers.

Wabash is somewhat selective in admissions, with 70% of men who applied being offered admission as freshmen for the 2013-14 academic year (Jump, 2014). Wabash is also uniquely positioned as the only higher education institution that is both all-male and includes a subjective honor code that guides both academic integrity as well as the general moral character of students. The existence of such an honor code can provide illustrations of how college men come to understand appropriate behavior academically, socially, and culturally.

Of the other men's colleges in the United States, St. John's University and Morehouse College both have coordinate women's colleges in close proximity, occasionally sharing students between the institutions. Hampden-Sydney College is a men's college that uses an honor system, but acceptable behavior in compliance with the honor code is supplemented by a student handbook called "The Key." By contrast, Wabash College does not have a coordinate women's college nearby and uses an honor code in The Gentleman's Rule that leaves interpretation entirely open. Finally, a benefit of selecting Wabash as a site arose from the researcher's experience as an alumnus with the institution. As an alumnus, I have an understanding of the various methods that the college has available to solicit respondents to the study. However, prior experiences with the institution have been bracketed so as to reduce the effect of potential bias in the analysis of participant responses.

Sample Size

In phenomenological study, there are no firm rules or advance criteria for sample size, nor for locating and selecting participants (Moustakas, 1994; Patton, 2002; Polkinghorne, 1989). An appropriate number of respondents is reached when trends and patterns in responses become

established and theoretical saturation of the data is reached. Theoretical saturation occurs when further interviews result only in repeated data and no new information becomes visible during the coding of responses (Creswell, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

The number of respondents needed to reach saturation varies based on the nature of the study. The study may be completed successfully based on a sample size of one, as long as theoretical saturation is reached relative to the study's needs (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Creswell (2007) prescribed a maximum of roughly ten participants for a qualitative study, but Polkinghorne (1989) noted a study that used 325 written descriptions.

Based on this literature, I intended to interview a minimum of five students as initial respondents to the study. In this study, 12 respondents were interviewed before theoretical saturation was reached. The additional respondents added variation, breadth, and depth of understanding to the themes and meanings that emerged. Coding and analysis of the data occurred after every five interviews were completed.

Participant Characteristics

All 12 respondents for this study were full-time, undergraduate men attending Wabash College between the ages of 18 and 22. Wabash does not use a system of credit hours for measuring coursework, opting instead for half or full course credits. A full-time student typically takes from three to five credits per semester with the college. This population is crucial because each student with these characteristics will have been exposed to explicit and implicit messages from faculty, staff, administrators, and peers about the Gentleman's Rule and how it should and should not be applied.

Students were recruited across all class levels (freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors) in order to address Research Question #2 regarding how students learn about the Gentleman's Rule.

It was assumed that, because all current Wabash College students live under the Gentleman's Rule as part of their attendance at the institution, they all have experienced the phenomenon in some manner and, therefore, are qualified to be respondents for this study.

Exclusions

Alumni of the institution were excluded from selection as respondents because they are not held accountable by the institution for behavior that falls outside of the Gentleman's Rule. Alumni may also have different meanings related to the Gentleman's Rule and masculinity, which would adversely affect the results of the study.

Faculty and staff were also excluded as respondents for the study. Faculty and staff are part of the Wabash community and may hold students to the Gentleman's Rule's standard of conduct. However, they are not subject to the Gentleman's Rule to guide and direct their conduct as employees of the institution in the same manner as the students. As a result of these circumstances, the experiences and meanings of faculty and staff related to the Gentleman's Rule are likely to be significantly different from those of students who are held accountable by the honor code.

Finally, students attending Wabash whose country of origin was outside of the United States were excluded from this study. Understandings of gender are often constructed socially in each culture. Differences in cultures around the world can result in different interpretations of gender and gender roles. The differing nationalities of international students could skew the results of this study due to their differing cultural backgrounds. Only students whose origin is within the United States will be included to provide a more homogeneous population from which to draw a basic understanding of the essence of the Gentleman's Rule.

Respondent Selection

Gatekeeper Identification and Initial Sampling

At Wabash College the Dean of Students serves as the arbiter of administrative judgments related to the Gentleman's Rule. This same person spearheads discussion of the Gentleman's Rule with incoming freshmen during freshman orientation week and with the greater Wabash community as needed. As a result the Dean of Students was the first person that I contacted in order to begin identifying and securing potential respondents to the study.

I first e-mailed the Dean of Students at Wabash College to explain the purpose of the study and request his permission to work with students as respondents for the study, pending the approval of the Indiana State University Institutional Review Board and the Wabash College Institutional Review Board. I requested assistance in identifying an initial pool of potential respondents for the study from among the student body, including names and e-mail addresses.

The Dean of Students invited me to speak to a group of fraternity leaders and resident assistants on campus. At that gathering, I discussed the study and invited the students to complete an anonymous form indicating whether they had an initial interest in being a part of the study. These forms were collected from the student attendees and taken for review to determine the level of initial interest.

Respondent Contact and Network Sampling

Upon receiving the list of potential respondents, I e-mailed each potential respondent to provide more information about the nature of the study. This included a basic description of the study, how it would be conducted, how information would be used, any potential risks and the methods being taken to minimize risk, and how the confidentiality of responses would be maintained. The e-mail attempted to secure interview arrangements and acquire through an e-

mailed response each person's initial consent to participate as a respondent in the study. Consent was formally given by each respondent personally signing a consent form before their interview began.

As each respondent was interviewed, I requested that he recommend other potential respondents to the study through social connections to encourage a variety of respondent characteristics. Potential respondents were asked to contact me via e-mail to indicate their interest, whereupon they were provided with a more detailed description of the study and a copy of the consent form for their review. This network sampling helped identify further respondents. This process was repeated with each respondent, resulting in a snowball technique of gathering respondents that expanded into the social networks of respondents. Ultimately, 12 students were interviewed as respondents for the study.

Procedure

Data Gathering

In-depth interviews were used to collect data from respondents about their experiences with the Gentleman's Rule. Interviews in a phenomenological study involve an "informal, interactive process and (utilizing) open-ended comments and questions" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 114). Therefore, while there was a structure to each interview consisting of the questions of the interview protocol, the open-ended nature of the interview allowed each respondent to feel comfortable enough to respond completely and honestly to the questions.

Interview Protocol

Interview questions were used that allowed respondents to best describe their understanding and experience as it related to being a Wabash student living under the Gentleman's Rule and the gender roles that they understand, experience, and present. Questions

were open-ended to allow for exposition and provided openings for follow-up questions to

encourage further explanation. At the beginning of each interview session, respondents were

told that they may choose to not answer any question asked and may withdraw from the study at

any time, even after consenting to participate in the study.

It should be noted that the interview protocol was formed to allow a complete, detailed

recollection of each experience. Protocol questions were changed or discarded as the respondent

shared his recollection of the experience with the phenomenon. The goal was for the respondent

to construct a full description of his conscious experience, including the thoughts, feelings,

narratives, examples, ideas, and situations that portray what comprises an experience.

Interview Setting

Interviews were conducted during the fall semester of 2012 and spring semester of 2013,

until theoretical saturation was reached in the data. I conducted private face-to-face interviews

with each respondent to allow the possibility of gaining the rich levels of information needed for

this study (Bambara, Harbour, Davies, & Athey, 2009; Fontana & Frey, 2000). Interviews were

conducted in a private study room in the campus library or in a private dining area in the campus

student center. These venues are neutral spaces where a formal, private interview could be held

without concern for interruption. The only deviation to these locations occurred when the

locations were not available due to prior scheduling or outside student occupation. In this case,

an alternate neutral location was secured just outside the college chapel building.

These interviews were audio recorded by the researcher using two digital recorders.

Handwritten notes were also taken during the interview. Recordings of the interviews were

checked after each interview to identify parts most relevant to the study. The parts of each

interview relevant to the study were transcribed by a professional transcriptionist into written

form for review and analysis. Finally, I double checked the transcriptions for accuracy to the original recording.

Respondents were also asked by the researcher to choose a pseudonym before beginning the interview, which was used for the duration of the study to preserve anonymity. Additionally, identifying information was reviewed during transcription and alterations were made in order to preserve the anonymity of respondents.

Data Analysis

Methodology

A qualitative phenomenological strategy was utilized to analyze the data in this study. The subject of this study is a phenomenon that is received and interpreted subjectively by each of the students who encounter it. This strategy allowed me to best establish common meanings and truths that respondents placed on the subjective interpretations of their experiences.

A qualitative method was used because the situation fits with Creswell's (2007) interpretation of when a qualitative methodology should be used. Specifically, Creswell (2007) noted that qualitative analysis should be conducted in studies that require a complex, detailed understanding of an issue where "quantitative measures and statistical analyses simply do not fit the problem" (p. 37). Due to the subjective nature of the Gentleman's Rule, each subject in the study had different experiences and perceptions that lead to his interpretation and understanding, making quantitative measures ineffective.

Qualitative methodologies also allow a researcher to be actively engaged with participants in the collection and interpretation of data. The end result explains the common meanings that are obtained, as well as the reflexivity and role of the researcher in the study as it extends the literature or makes a call for further action (Creswell, 2007). This inclusion of the

researcher in the study provides a full disclosure of any bias, prior knowledge, or insight that the researcher might have that would affect the collection and interpretation of data and helps play a more central role in the design decisions of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

A phenomenological approach was used in data analysis because of the emphasis on the descriptions of the respondents' experiences and how it is that he experiences what he experiences (Patton, 2002). The specific procedures of phenomenological analysis provided the best path of understanding what and how each student experiences as he encounters the Gentleman's Rule. The end result of the study became a well-formed composite of meaning that can be utilized in future interactions with Wabash students as well as male students at other institutions.

Phenomenological Analysis

The first stage of the analysis was to make transcriptions of interview recordings upon each interview's completion. A professional transcriptionist was hired to transcribe audio recordings into written form. Only the portions of each interview that were used for analysis were transcribed, with notation s added by the researcher to provide any necessary context. Each transcription was then subjected to phenomenological analysis (Creswell, 2007). Transcript contents were examined for significant statements and information that reflected the experiences of respondents in relation to the Gentleman's Rule and masculinity. This process, called horizontalization, gave equal weight to each statement in the initial analysis. Transcripts in this phase were also reviewed for signs of theoretical saturation. Indications of theoretical saturation included, but are not limited to, the following results of continued interviews: a lack of new insights being contributed, a lack of new themes being identified, and a lack of new issues being raised.

Next, the significant statements were grouped into consistent categories and themes that describe the textural description of what respondents experienced. Common ideas were identified that act as properties of each category, showing the different perspectives that respondents have of each category. Additionally, belief intensity of respondents was noted as part of the categorization.

Individual belief intensity was observed and recorded through multiple methods, including nonverbal responses and dialogue analysis. I recorded nonverbal responses that indicated intensity of belief during and immediately after the interview, as well as during transcription. I also used dialogue analysis as part of categorization, analyzing transcripts for the repeated use of words, phrases, and themes among individual respondents and the respondent group as a whole.

I then re-analyzed respondent transcripts to reflect the settings and contexts in which respondents experienced phenomena. I examined these contexts for similarities in context or situation that can provide a structural description of how Wabash students experience the Gentleman's Rule and masculinity. I also searched for setting and contextual similarities in the recollections of individual respondents as well as the entire respondent group.

Finally, the textual and structural descriptions of how Wabash students experience the Gentleman's Rule and masculinity were considered together. These descriptions were used to form a composite description of how respondents understand the Gentleman's Rule at Wabash College. This composite description serves as the ultimate goal of phenomenological study and is the "essence" of the experience (Husserl, 1975).

Authenticity

In a qualitative study, the researcher is immersed in the collection of data which provokes the formation of relationships and biases concerning the data. Researcher objectivity cannot always be relied upon. It is important, then, for the researcher to acknowledge and expose the prior biases or interpretations that might be held in engaging the subject.

This stems from Moustakas's (1994) description of the role of the researcher in a phenomenological study as one who "abstains from making suppositions, focuses on a specific topic freshly and naively, constructs a question or problem to guide the study, and derives findings that will provide the basis for further research and reflection" (p. 47). The process required is called bracketing, where the past experiences and judgments of the writer are exposed and described to limit the contamination of the research bias in the study. Bracketing frees the researcher to explore a topic from a fresh perspective as a more disinterested observer (Schutz, 1970) and allows a researcher to understand phenomena at a deeper level (Merleau-Ponty, 1956; Moustakas, 1994).

Researcher Statement

I graduated in four years from Wabash College as a first-generation college student in 1999. I lived in the residence halls for the entirety of my time at Wabash, and the activities that I was involved in while attending Wabash included serving as secretary of the student senate, writing for the student newspaper, and working as a member of a service fraternity chapter.

Before arriving at Wabash, I grew up in a rural, economically disadvantaged part of west-central Indiana. Many of the examples of ideal masculinity were farmers, tradesmen, and industrial workers. These men exhibited values that included athletic skill, a desire to work and

play outdoors, the ability to work with your hands, emotional distance and stoicism, and aversion to behaviors that could be considered feminine.

My first encounter with the Gentleman's Rule was as part of the college's admissions literature and, in passing, as part of my student-led college tour experience. As part of freshman orientation in August 1995, I received a short explanation of the Gentleman's Rule from Wabash president Andrew Ford in a convocation event for incoming freshmen. Outside of these mentions of the Gentleman's Rule by administrators, I was left to rely on my understanding of what a gentleman was supposed to be. This interpretation was shaped through observations made about various popular culture icons and literary figures. Examples of a gentleman in my mind included Phineas Fogg in Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* and the depictions of James Bond given by Sean Connery, Roger Moore, Timothy Dalton, and Pierce Brosnan in the cinematic interpretations of Ian Fleming's spy novels. This left the perception in my mind of a gentleman as a polite person of refined tastes who is willing to fight for what he believes is right and to take a stand in favor of good behavior.

Discussions that I participated in involving the Gentleman's Rule were informal and occurred primarily between me and other students attending the college at that time. Some of these discussions were prompted by articles in the student newspaper, *The Bachelor*, which discussed the rule in specific contexts. Sporadic mentions of the Gentlemen's Rule were also made by faculty members pertaining to academic dishonesty issues.

While I attended Wabash as a student, there were two definitive issues that occurred involving the Gentleman's Rule. The first issue highlighted the subjective nature of the Gentlemen's Rule for Wabash students. The second issue underscored the absolute authority of the institution, and the Dean of Students in particular, in responding to breaches of the Rule.

These experiences shaped my perspective of the Gentleman's Rule from the perspectives of everyday courtesy and threats to academic integrity and personal property.

The first issue was a recurring problem that arose as Wabash College began to adjust to the use of e-mail and the Internet by its students. The result was a rise in unwanted spam e-mails sent by students advertising goods or engaging in passive-aggressive debate over matters of relative student interest. These spam e-mails spurred an ongoing discussion of whether forcing members of the Wabash College community to receive and process through spam e-mails was gentlemanly. Additionally, discussions included debate about the best way for students and the Wabash community to regulate unwanted behavior or reprimand students who were thought to be guilty of being ungentlemanly in their use of e-mail.

Despite a general, implicit understanding that spam e-mails were not ethical or gentlemanly, there was no agreement from the students as to what the penalty for sending spam e-mails should be. Mostly, the penalty seemed to be a mild rebuke from peers for wasting the time of people on campus. There was no apparent direction from administrators of what would be done beyond admonitions to be courteous to each other and advice to delete offending e-mails without responding to them.

The second issue involved a breach of ethics by a student. During the Fall 1996 semester, a student was expelled from the college for computer hacking. The student was accused of breaking into student network accounts and deleting 20 files belonging to other students in their network accounts (Boyce, 1996). The charges not only resulted in the student's expulsion, but eventual deportation from the United States.

It is unusual that this much information was made available about a disciplinary issue with a student. Typically, Wabash appears to use an approach more akin to how Trippet

described gentlemanly discipline conducted while he and George Kendall were Deans of the College (Wabash College, 1956). In that era, discipline was conducted quietly and privately by the Dean of Students. There was no trial by a student court. The student body was not publicly informed of the expulsion nor the exact infraction or crime which a student committed.

In this case, the likely reason why this case was known to the campus was that the expelled student sent two e-mails to the entire campus publicly discussing the charges against him and accusing other students of having been responsible for the hacking incidents. Additionally, the expelled student spoke with the college newspaper, *The Bachelor*, about his situation and his charges (Boyce, 1996). College administrators and other students accused by the expelled student, however, did not speak about the disciplinary proceedings with the college press, except to refute charges of wrongdoing made by the student against the administration.

After graduating from Wabash, I continued my examination of the Gentleman's Rule by attending the Symposium on the Gentleman's Rule hosted by Wabash in 2008 (Heinke, 2008). The symposium was a one-time conference where students, faculty, alumni, and staff joined to discuss issues related to the Gentleman's Rule. The symposium was prompted by the alcohol-related death of a freshman (James, 2008a), which lead to the closure and revocation of charter for one of Wabash's fraternity chapters (James, 2008b).

There were few conclusions drawn at the symposium, but there was agreement that Wabash students needed a clearer understanding of what constituted inappropriate behavior, even when that behavior might be legally acceptable. This understanding inspired the institution to implement a more defined program discussing the Gentleman's Rule during freshman orientation week.

As the study progressed, I found that my past experiences at Wabash occasionally caused difficulty during the interviews with respondents. As respondents shared their ideas, experiences, and stories, I needed to make a concerted effort to not respond by adding my own stories, experiences, and historical context to the interview. Doing so would have made the interviews more informal, but could have also impacted the contributions of respondents and adversely affected the results of this study. In the analysis phase, I did not experience the same concerns about my past experience impacting how the information was processed, but my positive evaluation of respondents' contributions may have made it more difficult to see negative characteristics hidden in the text of their responses. However, my use of an audit trail, triangulation, and member checking should have protected the validity of this study and the authenticity of respondents' ideas.

Trustworthiness

In a qualitative study, it is important to use multiple means through which to verify the information collected and validate the results. In this study, there are three methods which were used to help validate the trustworthiness of the data. I created an audit trail, used triangulation, and engaged in member checking.

First, I engaged in creating an audit trail throughout the study. To form this audit trail, I kept a research journal where I wrote and kept notes about how the study progressed from beginning to end. In this way, any external auditor can look back and review the progress of the study and how data was collected (Carlson, 2010) and interpreted. This research journal help will be kept along with transcripts and other research-related materials for three years after the completion and publication of the study.

Triangulation involves comparing and cross-checking the consistency of information obtained at different times and through different means within the qualitative methodology (Patton, 2002). The search for consistency and differences in the data obtained through triangulation can reveal different aspects of empirical reality; prevent errors from leading or loaded interview questions, biases, or untrue responses; and lead to deeper insights as well as increased credibility for the results of the study.

In this study, multiple methods of triangulation were employed to both engage in multiple methods of analysis and verify the transcription and interpretation of data obtained. First, I triangulated data sources in the course of the interviews with respondents. This was done by observing both verbal and nonverbal responses to questions and reviewing the responses to questions that are similar in nature to check for consistency. This allowed me the flexibility to determine if theoretical saturation was emerging that required confirmation in later interviews, as well as allowed me to more easily determine whether corrections to the interview protocol were necessary. Statements about attitudes that a respondent believes to be common to all students were also verified against written opinions of other students written in the student newspaper, *The Bachelor*.

Next, I asked similar questions of respondents to determine if there was consistency in how respondents answer questions about the Gentleman's Rule over the course of the interview. The variation in questions occurred in asking about examples of appropriate and inappropriate behavior in different contexts: in class, during activities, with friends, and in the community. This allowed me to get a more comprehensive view of how Wabash students understand the Gentleman's Rule in different parts of his life and detect both consistencies and inconsistencies in how the rule is understood and learned.

I also used peer debriefing as a form of analyst triangulation. Typically, the critical friend assisting in this capacity is a professional who is chosen based on trustworthiness, confidentiality, and expertise (Patton, 2002). In this study, the chairperson of my dissertation committee served as my peer debriefer and had the opportunity to review each transcription and its coding to verify interpretations of the data.

Finally, this study employed a form of member checking to verify the trustworthiness of the data and interpretations. I offered each respondent the opportunity to meet with me a second time to read and respond to the transcription of his interview. This allowed each respondent the chance to provide clarification of an idea or to correct any misinterpretations of ideas or themes. I also asked each respondent to keep a journal and e-mail me over the next four weeks following the initial interview with any further information about how and when they experience situations related to the Gentleman's Rule. This information was added to the data for each respondent and was subject to member checking with each respondent in a follow-up interview.

Even though this study endeavored to come to a common understanding of a phenomenon, it should also be noted that claims of generalizability in relation to this study should be made with caution. The differences between Wabash College as a men's college with a subjective honor code and other institutions may result in different understandings of the phenomenon. Also, differences between respondents and individuals outside the study due to demographic factors may limit the broader usefulness of the study's results.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH RESULTS

This study explored the understandings that college men have about a subjective honor code like the Gentleman's Rule and about masculinity while living under the Gentleman's Rule. The respondents who took part in this study were students at a small, private, liberal arts college that operates under a subjective, modified honor code. Institutional Research Boards at both institutions restricted the publication of nearly all identifying information about respondents because the small size of the student body would make identification of respondents very easy with only a small amount of data available.

Interviews with each respondent were able to yield information falling into different meta-themes. The first meta-theme discusses masculinity as a subject where respondents draw some distinctions between perceptions of masculinity and what it means to perform masculinity. Next, while they share common characteristics, gentlemanly behavior is discussed differently by students than masculinity. Respondents' talk of the characteristics of being a gentleman is also talk about holding to a higher standard than what would be allowed by the societal stereotypes of masculinity. Finally, the process of how the Gentleman's Rule is learned, practiced, and enforced will be discussed.

Participants

Of the 906 undergraduate students attending Wabash in the 2012--13 academic year, 687 were White (non-Hispanic), 53 were African-American, 46 were Hispanic, and 61 were nonresident international students. Seventy-four percent of American Wabash students are originally from the state of Indiana; 51% of students at Wabash belong to a social fraternity; 87% live in college-owned housing, which includes fraternity houses, residence halls, and off-campus houses which are owned by the college (Amidon, 2013). Most Wabash students are involved in student organizations, and many are leaders in those organizations. Also, many Wabash students are student-athletes in at least one sport. Over the course of six months, interviews were conducted with 12 Wabash students. However, because of the nature of the student body, it requires very few identifying characteristics to be able to identify participants to the study. As few as one or two demographic factors could cause a student to be easily identified, particularly as more students are interviewed. As a result of these confidentiality concerns, Institutional Research Boards at both Indiana State University and Wabash College have restricted me from providing detailed descriptions of respondents.

Table 1 lists the student participants in the study. To abide by the conditions set by both Institutional Research Boards, only limited descriptions are provided. Aside from pseudonyms, a general identifier of each student's enrollment status is listed (i.e., underclassmen [freshman/sophomore] or upperclassman [junior/senior]). Also, participants' place of origin will list whether the student is originally from within or outside of the state of Indiana.

Each of these students participated in individual interviews, lasting anywhere from 30 minutes to one hour. The responses from these students were coded into themes, which were then re-analyzed and formed into emergent meta-themes. These meta-themes provide further

insight into how these college men view masculinity, the Gentleman's Rule, and the administration of such an honor code.

Table 1

Participants

Name	Status	Origin
Andrew	Upperclassman	Indiana
Christopher	Underclassman	Outside of Indiana
David	Upperclassman	Indiana
Evan	Upperclassman	Indiana
Grimes	Upperclassman	Indiana
James	Upperclassman	Indiana
Kyle	Upperclassman	Indiana
Michael A.	Upperclassman	Indiana
Michael L.	Underclassman	Indiana
M. W.	Upperclassman	Indiana
Patrick	Upperclassman	Indiana
Xander	Underclassman	Indiana

Masculinity

Respondents had little difficulty talking about their understandings of masculinity as it pertains to their college student experiences. However, respondents spoke differently about masculinity than the norms that society casts on masculinity. Many of the descriptors that respondents used in relation to masculinity were also used to refer to being a gentleman. There

were also themes that were separated as being masculine but not specifically gentlemanly. Words used to describe respondents' perceptions of masculinity and gentlemanly behavior differed from negative societal norms.

Finally, respondents differentiated between perceptions of masculinity held by people outside of Wabash and how respondents perceived masculinity to actually be. This section will examine those contrasts further through discussing how Wabash students talked about performative aspects of masculinity in relation to the characteristics that they embraced as being masculine but not specifically gentlemanly, which include athleticism and grit.

Performance of Masculinity

Students who were interviewed as part of this study often bore insights on masculinity as part of their individual experiences. David asserted that he believed that Wabash students were different, in part, because of the all-male nature of the student body. He said, "We don't have to worry as much about acting different because there are women." However, this is not always the case, as other Wabash men see a dichotomy in the behavior of their fellow students at Wabash, which was reflected during this study. Respondents talked about masculinity in terms of its positive traits and framed hyper-masculine stereotypes as undesirable. At the same time, they described their peers as being people who fell into hyper-masculine performances in line with societal stereotypes and performed some of those same hyper-masculine behaviors during the interviews. These dichotomous views form a foundation that students both embrace and struggle with as they interact with the Gentleman's Rule.

M. W. gave a clear statement about the belief that students are performing masculinity as much as they are living it. This behavior results in acting in ways that hide a person's true self

and in-public behavior that can contradict how the student acts in his private time. As an example of this performance, M. W. said:

> A lot of Wabash men are really performing -- really stressing the performance of masculinity, and so, they do a lot of actions that would suggest that they're very man-ish, but when you actually nail them to a board and try and get them to do more difficult things like talk about feelings, you get much more shy behavior and much less typical masculine behavior.

According to M. W. when you put them in large groups or in front of other people, Wabash men act like "good old boys" and engage in behavior that lines up with common stereotypes of masculinity, such as avoiding activities and personality traits that could be perceived as feminine. Xander described elements of this performative side of masculinity as including student crowds growling at the competition and stomping the ground at athletic events. Interestingly, Xander said that he believed that this kind of behavior was part of an attempt to normalize the campus so as to not seem as academically intensive or all-male as it is.

This idea of performative masculinity has a similar tone to how Patrick talked about his struggles with hearing misogyny and homophobia played out in stereotypically hyper-masculine language from other men on campus. Patrick emphasized that it was not expected that any student participate in it, but that he hears lazy gender stereotypes and jokes about homosexuals from other students which he does not find acceptable. In explaining his perspective, he said:

> It's not something that they intend to be offensive when they say something's gay or whatever, but saying things about a group of people in that sort of way is definitely ungentlemanly. But it's something that I struggle with personally, being willing to call them out on it, because it seems like I'd be being really harsh because I know they don't

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necessarily mean it to be specifically offensive. But at the same time, it is. So that's

honestly the hardest kind of crossroads between the kind of masculine way people talk

and things like that versus what I know in my mind and heart to be right and respectful of

other people….I think that most people, once they heard it, would be like, "Oh, yeah,

that's probably fair" that there's a lot of misogyny and bigotry that is not necessarily in

people's actions but more in their words.

These narratives appear to form a belief that Wabash students, like many college men,

may put on a mask of masculinity when around others and have the potential to engage in

activities that are socially unacceptable or hurtful. Respondents defended their peers from the

idea that their core personalities were aligned with performative hyper-masculine stereotypes.

Nevertheless, the manners in which respondents discussed their experiences indicate that their

encounters with masculinity are more complicated than it may appear on the surface. Some of

their expressed experiences, in addition to the language that they use to describe those

experiences would seem to reinforce that Wabash students actually display those hyper-

masculine gender stereotypes, even when they believe that they are not performing.

For example, Andrew and M. W. spoke about the value of discussion, but alternately

showed a capability for disrespect toward authority figures. M. W. said, "Most laws are just a

bunch of dumbass people saying don't do, do, don't do, do, and that doesn't encourage action

really. It's like, no. No is not an action. It's a word that says you can't." In talking about the

value of peer accountability, Andrew said that it was easy to dismiss concerns of an authority

figure and say, "What an asshole!"

Andrew talked about an occasion where a female student from DePauw who was

attending a party at Wabash started to disparage Wabash in favor of DePauw. The female

student suffered a verbal attack from multiple Wabash students who reacted to her comments. Andrew said that the aggressive behavior of his Wabash peers was wrong, but also said that the female student, "kind of brought it on herself."

Other examples include M. W. having displayed competitiveness in how he described Wabash students in comparison to students with other institutions. Evan's described expectations of maximum effort in everything that a Wabash student did. Michael L. talked about expectations of being vocal and loud at football games saying, "you don't fit in if you're not." These examples all imply that a dichotomy exists between respondents' beliefs about masculinity and how they perform it every day.

Characteristics of Masculinity

As previously noted, respondents seemed to indicate that they believed there to be a difference between stereotypes of performative hyper-masculinity and their personal understandings of masculinity. Performative hyper-masculinity was frequently discussed in a negative manner, despite still communicating in ways that align with hyper-masculine gender stereotypes. However, while this definition by negation may bring us closer to the understanding that Wabash students have of masculinity, it does not bring an understanding of what respondents perceive masculinity to be.

This lack of specific understanding appears to be confirmed by respondents to the study. While there was agreement among respondents that hyper-masculinity was not what masculinity is supposed to be, there was little agreement about specific words that made up a core understanding of masculinity. No more than half of the students who were part of this study offered descriptions of masculinity that fit two overarching themes: athleticism and grit. Both

responsibility and chivalry were ideas also mentioned as being part of masculinity, but that also spanned the fuzzy boundary between masculinity and gentlemanliness.

First, Wabash students considered a certain amount of athleticism to be a component of masculinity. This began in the mind of some Wabash students from an early point in their interactions with the college. Michael L. mentioned how he saw the college portraying images of the ideal Wabash man in its admissions materials to high school students. These materials show a football player from the 1950s. Michael said, "He's big, he's strong, and he's looking you right in the eye, and he looks confident."

This image portrayed on admissions literature seems to have some effect on the men who are attracted to attend Wabash. According to the Wabash College website (2014), more than 75% of the student population participates in at least one intramural sport, and more than 40% of students play a varsity sport. To punctuate the point, M. W. said:

> I'm not the worst shape, but I'm not really the best shape. You go to the gym and you
>
> see real-life men who could be underwear models are all over the place here at Wabash. I
>
> mean, the athletic department here builds them like sides of beef. They are T-shaped,
>
> six-pack toting men who have nothing to do but study, sports, and work out. So, with
>
> those three things, you get some pretty toned men here.

However, despite the inclusion of athleticism in the descriptions of masculinity at Wabash, respondents were also careful to go out of their way to qualify it as being only part of what it means to be masculine. Xander, for instance, sarcastically referred to his Wabash experience as having taught him how to present himself as a masculine individual, complete with broad shoulders, big biceps, and a thick neck, before more seriously referring to his Wabash experience as one that taught him the importance of hard work in academics, personal ambition,

and drive. He went on to say that he saw the masculine ideal at Wabash as being similar to the movie, *Dead Poets Society* (Haft, Witt, Thomas, & Weir, 1989), where reading poetry and shedding tears with your friends is accepted as masculine in addition to running laps and showing bravado on the field of play.

Michael L. followed the same pattern while talking about the admissions literature with the tough football player. After highlighting the strongly visible presence of the tough, confident athlete in admissions literature, he noted that "that marketing tactic is for more of your athletic-based individuals, but what I see as more is that you're developed as a whole person" before discussing the importance of being able to write well and participate in discussion and debate as part of masculinity. He said,

> I see the athlete or I see the guy who stands strong, but I also get to see that same guy in the classroom. I get to see that same guy standing up for people, and that's something that's hard to display in one picture or one image.

So, while respondents aligned masculinity with athleticism or physical fitness, there is no evidence from respondents that this idea stands in opposition to or in place of intelligence and mental fitness.

These caveats tie in well with the next category of responses that students talked about in relation to masculinity: grit. Once again, respondents did not have a uniform way of expressing the ideals that they valued. In this case, grit summarizes what respondents said that included ideals of resilience, confidence, self-sacrifice, and striving for improvement as being necessary parts of manliness.

Grimes identified grit in masculinity when he said that he thought that "keeping my cool, being calm, and trying to be aware and have a broad perspective is a really important part of

being a man and taking responsibility for my actions." These elements of confidence and a broad perspective were also identified by Andrew. Andrew felt that masculinity, by nature, involved aspects of protection, sensitivity, confidence, compassion, and self-reliance.

Other examples of grit related to resilience and toughness under fire. Patrick viewed masculinity as being "about just more general backbone and toughness, whether it be physical or mental that goes into making you a man as opposed to just being physically tough or whatever." This sentiment was echoed by Michael L. who said that masculinity involved being loyal, being faithful, being willing to sacrifice for something, and seeing a task through to its end. He said that he thought part of being a man was, "when you do face adversity, because it will happen," to be able to confront it and still be confident in the person that you are.

Beyond the general categories of athleticism and grit, there was little agreement about anything specific from respondents to this study of a singular definition of masculinity. Probably the most telling indicator of masculinities being embraced as a complex subject is that most respondents seemed to be willing to identify characteristics of masculinity, but they also appeared to embrace the idea that masculinity was not a concept that could be specifically defined and reduced to an essence. One of the best examples of this acceptance of complexity came from Xander, who described the concept of masculinity as being more of a general vision rather than a narrow definition. He said:

> It's difficult to describe a vision. A vision is like a mosaic. It's comprised of all the tiny pieces. So, this masculine ideal is comprised of the running laps when your papers are terrible. It's on the football field. It's together when you're singing Chapel Sing, when you're doing the fight song together. It's your fraternity brothers and your bond with them. It's going to your professor and saying, 'Hey, please, absolutely I need help'.

The ideas of masculinity that respondents gave may have included part of the stereotype of athleticism and confidence that is embraced by hyper-masculinity, but it was also tempered by ideals of sensitivity, intellectualism, and acceptance of different forms of masculinity. These ideas not only relate to masculinity, but they also appeared again when students went further to talk about what it means to be a gentleman.

Being a Gentleman

It may be easy to try writing off Wabash College as a bastion of masculinity, but there is always the presence of the Gentleman's Rule to confound such a simplification. While many of the ideas that Wabash students use in discussing gentlemanly behavior were also used to talk about masculinity, Wabash students spoke about being a gentleman somewhat differently from how they approach the subject of masculinity. Talk of being a gentleman is also talk about holding to a higher standard than what would be allowed by the societal stereotypes of masculinity. This section reviews how Wabash students understand the Gentleman's Rule, followed by four themes that form the foundation of Wabash students' understanding of gentlemanly behavior: responsibility, respect, reasoned discussion, and self-awareness.

Understanding The Gentleman's Rule

While the written language of the Gentleman's Rule is clear, little has been made of what students understand about the rule. Participants in this study described the Gentleman's Rule using general descriptors and short comparative phrases. For instance, Xander stated that the Gentleman's Rule was "not law, but a vision of who we want to be" as mature adults. This vagueness was echoed by Andrew, who referred to the Gentleman's Rule as a learning experience guided by the half-joking phrase, "Don't be a jackass." M. W. spoke frankly in saying that the Gentleman's Rule was "open-ended" and "action-oriented," compared to laws

which were "just a bunch of dumbass people saying 'don't do, do, don't do, do, and that doesn't encourage action, really."

Even though respondents addressed the Gentleman's Rule in such a general way, it was not because they avoided the subject. Mostly, respondents seemed to believe that any specific understanding of the rule given by one person would not do the rule appropriate justice. David said:

> I don't think that the Gentleman's Rule is a rule that you would cite examples of….I could come up with a ton of things, but the reason that they're gentlemanly is not because I think they're gentlemanly. It's not because I have some idea of gentlemanliness. It's because I think that they are good things, and gentlemen do good things.

This loose definition of gentlemanly behavior gave David a considerable amount of human behavior to be considered as part of the Gentleman's Rule, including doing homework on time or volunteering for a community service project.

Andrew felt that his personal definition of the Gentleman's Rule ("don't be a jackass") was different from many other potential respondents, but he also believed that it was those differences in understanding that added depth to what it means to be a gentleman for everyone on campus. He said:

> The Gentleman's Rule varies for each person…and I think that it's the different interpretations of the Gentleman's Rule when compiled together and mixed with other definitions and interpretations from other people that you begin to narrow down what it is to be a gentleman.

In this perception, the Gentleman's Rule was not a static thing for Andrew, but an ongoing process where each new person interacting with the Gentleman's Rule became an opportunity to

introduce new ideas. Every previously unknown idea helped add to and refine the definition of what a gentleman is.

The definition of the Gentleman's Rule may be vague and general on an individual basis. However, it appears that students at Wabash believe that each student who interacts with the rule brings knowledge along with them to help the rest of the student community decipher what it means to be gentlemanly. With that allowance for variability in mind, the more common understandings of appropriate behavior under the Gentleman's Rule can be explored by looking at the feedback given by the body of respondents to the study.

Responsibility

The concept of responsibility was the most discussed attribute related to respondents' discussion of the Gentleman's Rule. Additionally, responsibility was often emphasized for its importance as part of gentlemanly behavior. When asked what the most important thing that he has learned about living under the Gentleman's Rule is, Patrick said, "I think the most important thing I've learned is that you can't go wrong or you won't go easily wrong if your main focus is personal responsibility." Grimes stated more plainly that, "if I don't want to succeed, I won't…I'm directly responsible for my success and…I shouldn't be entitled or expect the help from others."

Responsibility is an idea that students are heavily invested in through their time at Wabash. Students learn, practice, and encourage personal responsibility as a critical component of being a successful man. Students also interpret their sense of responsibility as being connected to the freedom that the Gentleman's Rule affords students.

For many students, going to live at college is synonymous with freedom. This could be particularly the case as an outsider looking at Wabash where the Gentleman's Rule is the only

rule discussed on campus. Evan said that he believed the Gentleman's Rule provides "a strong opportunity for growth" to young men coming to Wabash. He perceived that high school students have an impression that Wabash gives unadulterated freedom. He said that they seem to think:

> They only have one rule. We can go there, and we can party. We can drink the whole time. It'll be fun. Well, yeah, you can, but, as soon as the students get on campus, they understand we carry ourselves in a different manner.

When students arrive at Wabash as freshmen, the importance of personal responsibility as part of the freedom accorded by the Gentleman's Rule is set and reinforced. Andrew talked about how this sense of responsibility as part of the Gentleman's Rule is reinforced:

> I know incoming freshmen, they see the senior fraternity brothers, the RA members, the people doing speeches, the president, the student body, football captains, people from various different areas across the campus taking the Gentleman's Rule seriously, the freshmen understand that this is a big deal. The responsibility is being placed on my shoulders now. I need to prove to these guys that I'm ready for this responsibility.

Part of the responsibility that students gain when they live under the freedom afforded by the Gentleman's Rule is the responsibility to face consequences for their actions. These consequences may be simple issues of trial and error or they may be effects of a more serious nature. David appeared to understand the potential for facing consequences under the Gentleman's Rule when he said:

> I think that what brings you to say that is the fact that Wabash culture is so free that you have responsibility for your own actions. You decide what's okay to do and what's okay not to do to an extent, and then you see what happens afterwards.

While this quotation may seem somewhat laissez-faire, David went on to talk more

specifically about the connection between responsibility and consequences that could occur

when students are given the freedom to live under a flexible rule structure. He stated:

> I think that the Gentleman's Rule creates a culture of freedom more—or not freedom, but
>
> taking responsibility for your actions. It's not like, "Oh, we'll take care of this, but here's
>
> your punishment." Instead, it's like, "You take care of it. That sucks for you." I think
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> that's what the Gentleman's Rule makes the culture of Wabash look like, and then when
>
> you look at people who are under the Gentleman's Rule, they still do the right thing.

Through the study, respondents seemed to value the opportunity to learn from failure.

This made living under the Gentleman's Rule seem more valued to respondents than living in an

environment where students have a detailed rule book. In talking about how opportunity for

failure through the Gentleman's Rule compared to the rules at other institutions, Evan said:

> Some of these rules are thrown out there with just like the understanding that students
>
> will see a rule and respect it and say, "Okay, that rule's there for the betterment of me."
>
> That's not the case. Like, a lot of times, we learn things, and we become better because of
>
> respecting our failures.

The drive for personal responsibility and for learning by trial and error may have two

resultant effects on students. On one hand, this system of personal responsibility may lay the

groundwork for problems. These problems include allowing risky behavior for students and

encouraging a bystander mentality that further endangers them. In a discussion of personal

responsibility, Evan said:

> I'm not going to go running through everybody's dorm and checking that a mini-fridge is
>
> full of a case of beer, even if they're underage. What that does is that gives them the

opportunity to learn how to handle their alcohol. It gives them the opportunity to learn

how to balance their time, and I think we hold ourselves to a higher standard than many

of our other peers that are our age, and what I think is so great about this Gentleman's

Rule is that it offers the opportunity to fail and bounce back.

The dialectical tensions between responsibility and freedom are a problem that

respondents seem to understand and work through. Xander made a clear note of these concerns:

This is the trickiest one, because to what extent are we allowed to have fun, and how does

our definition of fun and enjoying ourselves fit in with comporting ourselves in a mature

way? To be perfectly honest, I don't entirely know the answer to that, but maybe

childishness held in tension with your maturity is what's necessary at social events such

as football games and parties so that, yes, it is perfectly acceptable to enjoy yourself to

the extent that you are still comporting yourself as we've defined as a gentleman.

However, an alternate interpretation that some respondents inferred was that part of

learning personal responsibility means also taking responsibility for the well-being of those

around you and protecting them from themselves. Evan's willingness to allow an underage

student to consume potentially dangerous amounts of alcohol as an opportunity to "learn how to

handle their alcohol" is an example of bystander behavior that could allow dangerous actions to

happen. Patrick, however, gave a contrasting example of a story where one of the undergraduate

resident assistants took responsible action to care for a student who was overly intoxicated. He

said:

He [the resident assistant] was just walking through the basement and saw some kids kind

of behaving suspiciously. He dropped everything he was doing, questioned them, figured

out what was going on, and found one of their friends was puking in the toilet and was

really intoxicated. He stopped everything he was doing and called an ambulance. [The student] came down to the hospital and got his stomach pumped and it ended up being fine, but it was one of those things where his direct, decisive action and being willing to go ask questions and take charge of a situation averted something that could have been really bad.

This example shows that, despite the agreement of respondents on a general principle of gentlemanliness, there still remains variability from person to person in how that principle is put into action. While some respondents appear to believe that responsibility stops with themselves, others take a further step into taking personal responsibility for the welfare of others. An important note, though, is that no respondent gave an example of responsibility that involved preventing someone else from engaging in risky behavior. The view appears to be that, as long as a person was actively taking responsibility for himself, he was behaving acceptably.

Respect

Wabash students living under the Gentleman's Rule believe in the power of respect as a guiding force for positive behavior. Respect is a characteristic that threads itself through most aspects of a Wabash student's life. Grimes talked about the ideal gentleman as being "inquisitive, determined, discerning, and respectful in an intellectual way." By treating others with respect, students perceive that they will be given respect in accordance with their positive behavior.

Patrick believed that there was an inextricable link between the Gentleman's Rule and respect. Particularly, he associated respect in the Gentleman's Rule as being respect for other people. He said:

I think that the Gentleman's Rule is a lifestyle. I mean, it is technically a rule, but it's more like a lifestyle where you pledge yourself to treating others with respect and dignity and treating them as a gentleman would. That just kind of entails being respectful of other people—not just them, but also their viewpoints, and conducting yourself in a manner that, even if no one's around to see you, your parents or whoever would still be proud of you for behaving that way. [It's] something that would bring the college pride and honor as opposed to people being ashamed or neutral to the way you're acting.

The respondents in this study tied respect for others to the Gentlemen's Rule in a variety of ways, drawing connections between different parts of the student experience. Respondents saw respect toward their professors and toward each other as necessary in maintaining a positive academic environment. Patrick noted, in relation to how students should behave in the classroom, that "you need to be respectful of the fact that it's a learning environment and other people—even if you don't have any interest in paying attention, that you're not damaging that in any way for other people."

For Andrew, there was a tie between the idea of respect and faculty-student interaction. To him, students behaved differently depending on what the instructor would allow, but there was always respect for what the professor did. Andrew said:

So, there are some classes where there's a lot more reservedness and very limited goofing off and, in other courses, there's a tendency to be a little rowdy, but when it comes down to it, there's a definite respect from student to professor, and I think most of the guys realize this person has a Ph.D. They really care about being here, because they could be other places making a lot more money than being at Wabash College.

Andrew went on to contract the respect that a Wabash student has toward his professor with what he has seen at another institution:

> I went to a psychology lecture at Purdue because my girlfriend goes to Purdue, and I went to one class with her. She was like, there's 250 people in here, but there were people sitting in class with earbuds in playing music loud enough for me to hear….I was one of the most participatory people in the course, and I wasn't even taking it. I had a conversation with the (Purdue) professor—almost one-on-one is what it felt like. Yeah, so I'd say that the level of consideration the students (at Wabash) have for their professors and the recognition that these people are qualified and they deserve your attention and your respect correlates to classroom behavior.

Outside of the classroom are situations where Wabash students have a greater opportunity to engage in risky behavior and perform in ways that conform to hegemonic stereotypes of masculinity. Wabash students tend to agree that the college is perceived as having a reputation for wild parties and excessive consumption of alcohol. Wabash students believe, though, that respect for others helps students in the culture of the Gentleman's Rule navigate situations that would be very difficult for most traditionally aged college men. For instance, Kyle said:

> I think we've caught this rep the last few years of being this party school, but the people on the outside don't really see how really respectful we are of the situation. We can have a situation like the Phi Delt bouts where guys are beating the crap out of each other, and you're rooting and hollering, but you still have the respect of the situation where you're still there as Wabash. You're still there rooting for a social situation. So, we probably don't have as many events or as many big concerts and things like at another school, but when we have those, we're a lot closer bound and a lot more tight with each other.

Andrew took a step farther than Kyle in expressing the importance and effect of respect in the culture of Wabash. Andrew was particularly concerned in relation to how respect can affect the image that others form of individual students and the college as a whole. He said:

> I think a big aspect of being a gentleman is respect—respect for yourself, respect for other people, respect for the environment, respect for what you're doing, whatever. I think that respect to me is to kind of formulate behaviors that are acceptable and not acceptable….I mean, if you're drinking your liver to death, it's probably not a gentlemanly thing to do. That's a conversation brought up at Wabash, because, for a long time, there seems to be this identity of Wabash that's associated with heavy drinking, and it's interesting to see what guys are having conversations about it, and I think that the Gentleman's Rule is allowing for those conversations. Like, do we really want our college's identity to be associated with drinking the whole time? We can put away a lot of beer. Do we really want that image? I think it goes back to respect: respect for your college's identity, respect for your college's reputation. So, I would have to say that the ideal Wabash student or Wabash gentleman's behavior would be centered around respect.

This environment of respect outside of the classroom extends beyond social functions. Athletic contests and even off-campus behavior were also talked about by respondents as being contexts where they were concerned about how behaving with respect affects how they are regarded by others. In talking about respect, Michael L. drifted toward talking about how respect factored into behavior in athletics. He said:

> Back to the whole thing about being respectful of your opponents, that's part of being a gentleman. After a sports event, if you're not able to be friends or at least talk friendly to the person that you're playing with, there's probably a gentlemanship problem there,

because I think everyone sort of universally understands that there is a certain way that you conduct yourself on the field….So, at the end of the day, after the game's over, Wabash gentlemen should be respected and not hated because maybe they won the competition.

So, in total, respondents place a heavy emphasis on respect for others as being part of the gentlemanliness under the Gentleman's Rule. Additionally, this characteristic is particularly close to the definition of the Gentleman's Rule in that it is embraced by respondents in situations at all times, both on and off campus. From this respect for others, paired with personal responsibility, other common characteristics of the Gentleman's Rule can be brought into clarity.

Reasoned Discussion

Respondents to this study emphasized that part of the Gentleman's Rule included the ability to conduct a reasoned discussion with other people. This manifested itself in two main forums. Primarily, students connected the ability to hold a reasoned discussion as being part of their academic experience at Wabash. However, there were some signs that this ability was a valued part of handling situations outside of the classroom as well.

Annual studies from NSSE and CCSSE tend to agree that faculty-student interaction, both in and out of the classroom, is vital to student engagement and satisfaction. Wabash students tend to take these ideas to heart, believing that their academic coursework requires engagement and participation in order to be successful. Some students, like Patrick, believe that the high level of participation at Wabash is more indicative of the type of student that the college attracts. A number of respondents believe that the college tends to attract students who are more intelligent than the average college student. Patrick specifically talked about the results of this kind of a student body in the classroom, saying, "You get a lot more input than I'm used to

getting in classes when I was younger, and so, you kind of develop a discussion rapport with the students in your class."

This high level of discussion is perceived as being important to the long-term success of Wabash students, particularly when compared to peers from other high-quality institutions. M. W. talked about his experiences during a semester of off-campus study where the norms of discussion and engagement set him above his peers:

Well, we perform well there (in class), would be the first thing I would say. I'm not sure what it is about this school…well, part of it is the fact that we've got really good professors, and the classes are so hard, but we even do well compared to other schools that are sometimes considered higher-tier—Georgetown and places like that. I kicked some of their butts at Diplomacy, and they're the premier Diplomacy school in the United States. Why is that? Well, I found out… that in an academic environment, Wabash men are encouraged to comment and engage the professors and the material instead of regurgitate a bunch of information, and that really improved my score in that class. In fact, the reasoning that was given by the professor for me doing so well in that course was—the thing that marked the difference between me and the dudes from Georgetown was described—he used the term face, where he said the other people showed a good face. They came to class prepared. They did the work. They were saying all of the right things, but you took the questions that I asked and tried to answer them and started class discussion about things even when other people were trying to not discuss that, and that is what I wanted to accomplish in this program, which is cultural exchange as well as just academic, and so, in addition to puffing up my already inflated ego a little bit, I think that that's a good example of Wabash men in the context of an

academic environment. They're—we're supposed to be aggressively engaged with the professors' coursework and subject ourselves to kind of the angle of the kind of—what do you call that—the pedagogy of the professor, and if you do both of those things, you will do better than if you don't.

While this behavior would seem to only have an effect on academic behavior in the classroom, the ability to engage in rational discussion and debate is also seen as part of the larger function of the Gentleman's Rule on campus. The prestige that students gain by participating and engaging in class as well as how they self-moderate and hold each other accountable in risky situations is dependent on not only taking personal responsibility or the respect that students have for each other, but on their ability to talk through a problem in a clear, rational manner. Students who cannot have such a discussion are not looked upon favorably, which carries its own social stigma. For instance, Michael L. talked about the value of courtesy during classroom discussions with a disdain for people who could not hold such a conversation. He said:

> There are certain rules professors have that should be inherent anyway for a gentleman. They expect you to speak up, and you're sometimes graded on classroom participation, but I would interpret the Gentleman's Rule as requiring you to say, "This is my opinion;" not to be afraid of expressing your opinion but, at the same time, being willing to listen to other people's opinion and find out how your point fits in with all of that.

Kyle also brought forward an example of how discussion played into holding peers accountable in a risky situation. He discussed a situation where he encountered an underclassman who was intoxicated. The intoxicated student tried to say that the alcohol was not his, but Kyle still took the bottle away and told the student that whoever it belonged to could come and get it from him. Soon after, the upperclassman who owned the alcohol came to Kyle's

door and demanded the alcohol back. Kyle refused to give him the alcohol, which resulted in an argument until the upperclassman left his room. Reflecting on the incident, Kyle said:

> If it were an ideal between two gentlemen, that conversation would have never had to happen. It would have been, hey, you know the rules. He would have said, "Okay, I apologize," and we could have gotten over it. But him acting the way he did, we had a lot more conflict than needed.

From Kyle's perspective, if either the student or the upperclassman had been able to have a rational discussion about the situation at hand, there wouldn't have had to be an argument. That inability to have the discussion left him disappointed in his peer's behavior.

Reasoned discussion appears to work as a mechanism through which to display respect for others and personal responsibility. While having a dominant presence in academic contexts, it also is valued as a way to address difficult social situations. If a Wabash student lacks the ability to have a reasoned discussion, he seems to be without a critical tool for displaying appropriate behavior under the Gentleman's Rule.

Self-Awareness

Self-awareness is a final characteristic of being a gentleman that complemented the combination of responsibility, respect, and reasoned discussion. In discussing characteristics of the Gentleman's Rule, respondents offered examples that showed that they were engaged in the development process toward adulthood. Some students seemed aware, though, that their levels of self-awareness may developmentally set them apart from students at other institutions who were the same age.

For example, in talking about behavior at social events and how a Wabash student should behave that shows gentlemanly behavior, Evan and Kyle took different approaches. Kyle

discussed more polite social conventions in saying that a gentleman should be engaged in "opening doors, pulling out chairs, and that sort of thing". However, he went on to say, in regard to what it takes to be a gentleman, that "it's hard to describe it just because you live it."

Evan offered a more specific reasoning process for how he approached gentlemanly behavior at social events that tied respect for others with self-awareness. He said that, in the classroom and in the weight room, Wabash students should do everything "all-in." A Wabash student should give maximum effort to each activity. However, social activities were different. Those circumstances required an understanding of self and place above what he expected when he was doing something for himself. In relation to social activities, Evan said:

> Does that mean drinking and just go hard? No. With respect toward others, [it means] understanding that lines can be breached at specific social events, knowing where those lines are, having some sort of awareness of, "What state am I in right now? What state is everybody else in?" It's this overall social awareness. That factor of awareness is very key.

So, while Evan expected Wabash students to give their best effort in most aspects of their lives, he did not believe that the same effort should be placed into consumption of alcohol or putting yourself or others at risk.

More importantly, Evan had a great deal of confidence in his peers that they could manage social situations in a way that was gentlemanly. He said, "I think that we are perceptive enough to understand proper social etiquette in those kinds of events, and I feel like a Wabash man should abide by those characteristics".

Wabash students perceived a difference between Wabash students living under the Gentleman's Rule and their peers from other institutions. Andrew recalled a story during his

freshman year that was an instance causing him to believe that "you can tell when there's a Wabash man around." Andrew was at a bonfire at home and spent time with another young man who he didn't realize was a senior at Wabash. The positive behavior that the other student displayed while at the gathering stood out. Andrew said, "How he behaved and how we were kind of the voices-of-reason thing going on, eventually we just were drawn to each other because we engaged in discussion and then it turned out we both went to Wabash."

Andrew's example is a concrete display of how the previously mentioned characteristics of gentlemanly behavior combine to set a Wabash student apart from his peers. The awareness of one's own behavior and how that behavior affects other people ties together with personal responsibility, respect for others, and reasoned discussion to form a basic understanding of gentlemanly behavior. While there is variability in how each of these characteristics are interpreted by students, these four ideals appear to form an essence of how the Gentleman's Rule is understood by the students at Wabash.

Administering the Gentleman's Rule

The Gentleman's Rule does not happen as a spontaneous and natural extension of student behavior. The rule is learned, maintained, and passed along to high school students who are thinking of attending Wabash and to students who have arrived on campus for freshman orientation. This section will examine the ways that Wabash students understand how they learned about the Gentleman's Rule, the peer accountability methods that underpin the rule, how student affairs administrators are involved in enforcing the Gentleman's Rule, and places where respondents see a conflict between the Gentleman's Rule and the broader rule of law enforced by society.

Learning the Gentleman's Rule

Respondents to this study believed, for the most part, that the Gentleman's Rule does help maintain good conduct among the students at Wabash. A logical question, then, would be how students learn about the Gentleman's Rule. When asked, respondents were fairly evenly distributed between three different methods which acquainted them with the Gentleman's Rule: promotional materials, friends and family familiar with Wabash, and through group discussion sessions during Freshman Orientation.

For some students, such as M. W., Grimes, and Evan, learning about the Gentleman's Rule came from talks that they had with men who had attended Wabash before. In M. W.'s case, he had a family member who had attended Wabash who talked with him about it. For Grimes, it was not a family member, but an older friend who had started attending Wabash and talked with Grimes about it during a trip home. Evan learned about the Gentleman's Rule first from another student who had visited Wabash as a prospective student. Once he had been introduced to the existence of the Gentleman's Rule, Evan then learned more about it from a friend who was attending Wabash. In each of these instances, learning about the Gentleman's Rule came about because of a personal relationship with someone who had a connection with the college. This personal connection gave learning about the Gentleman's Rule more weight in the students' minds, making it stand out as a significant piece of information.

Not everyone learns about the Gentleman's Rule by having a friend or family member talk them through it. Andrew, Patrick, and Xander learned about the Gentleman's Rule through the promotional materials that the college sends out to prospective students. Andrew received a card from the Admissions Office that talked about the Gentleman's Rule. Xander was exposed to the Gentleman's Rule for the first time in a larger brochure that he received as a high school

student. Patrick also received promotional materials about the Gentleman's Rule, but noted that he was not aware of the sentiment behind the Rule until he actually came to campus as a freshman. So, while these materials garnered the attention of these respondents, they appear to be effective in piquing the interest of a prospective student to learn more about the Gentleman's Rule through other means, such as a campus visit.

Finally, Wabash offers explicit instruction and discussion about the Gentleman's Rule during Freshman Orientation. This is where Kyle and Michael L. responded that they learned about the Gentleman's Rule. The Dean of Students and Associate Dean of Students organize and present sessions where the Gentleman's Rule is reviewed more explicitly and situations related to the Gentleman's Rule are discussed. These events include a large-group presentation as well as smaller breakout sessions with administrators, faculty, and alumni to talk about the Gentleman's Rule in detail. It was in these discussions where Patrick indicated that he really learned about the importance given to the Gentleman's Rule in student behavior, which guided his behavior on campus from the first day.

Once students have been initially taught about the Gentleman's Rule, though, respondents indicated that it is not usually talked about openly. The only times when respondents indicated that they explicitly discussed the Gentleman's Rule were in situations such as meeting with student affairs administrators. More frequently, respondents felt that the Gentleman's Rule was reinforced in their lives through the character and behavior of their fellow students rather than through repeated discussions. David described the behavior of other students as a "pool of reinforcement" that students draw from. Evan said that he sees and hears it everywhere in other students, and Grimes said that he saw it manifested in the expectation that people be responsible for themselves. Based on these contributions, it appears that once a

Wabash student has been told about the Gentleman's Rule as a freshman, the rest of his experience at Wabash becomes an exercise in learning by example and being prepared to pass that example along to other students around him.

Peer Accountability

As described in Chapter 2, part of the effectiveness of an honor code comes from the involvement and enforcement of the honor code by fellow students. At many honor code institutions, this involvement and enforcement comes through the actions of student honor courts. Wabash, however, does not have an honor court. Most of the strength of the Gentleman's Rule, therefore, falls back on the average student and his peers.

Students were clear in asserting that the influence, behaviors, and reactions of other students are the most commonly used method of enforcing the Gentleman's Rule. When a student is concerned about how he is perceived by others and he thinks that he will be confronted about ungentlemanly behavior, then he is less likely to engage in ungentlemanly behavior. These influences can be either through direct interaction or through a more proactive approach where students behave appropriately to preserve their perceived reputations.

The most effective method of maintaining appropriate behavior seemed to be through direct interactions with other students. Whether interactions were with resident assistants, fraternity brothers, or athletic teammates, these interactions made an effect on respondents and encouraged them to maintain a standard of conduct acceptable to the college culture. Michael L. noted that he believed that it was because Wabash trusted its students to use their sense of honor and "gentlemanship" to guide their actions as students and as individuals helping hold other students accountable.

Andrew said that there is plenty of opportunity to have a good time at Wabash, but there are lines that should not be crossed. The examples of these lines among respondents were often situations where a student caused property damage or drank alcohol to excess. It was in those situations that Andrew thought that students should be directly stepping in and taking responsibility for their peers. He believed that there was usually at least one student present at an event who would take responsibility by being "a voice of reason." Andrew found that, most of the time when students were confronted with a reasoned check on their behavior, other students would come to their senses and back down. This was supported by David who said, "It's frowned upon to not be gentlemanly, and it's made known. People will tell you if you're doing something wrong."

Evan also discussed his experience with an athletic team that he was involved in at Wabash where the team took peer accountability in hand in their sport as well as their outside lives. He said:

> It's hard to confront people, especially friends, but we hold ourselves to a higher
> standard, and if I'm not stepping it up in practice, if I'm doing something wrong off the
> field, if I'm doing something wrong in the classroom, somebody's going to walk up to
> me and be, like, "Hey, dude. Let's go. Step it up. You're not doing what you should be
> doing. Why are you doing this right now?" I'd have some sense talked into me.

All of these examples of taking responsibility for holding others accountable align with the earlier definitions of a gentleman, including reasoned discussion, taking personal responsibility for the care of others, and respecting other people.

In addition to direct intervention, there is also power in peer accountability through more indirect means. Specifically, students tend to be concerned about their reputations on campus.

Patrick, Grimes, and Andrew talked about the effect that even unspoken criticism from peers can have on behavior. For example, Patrick noted that the opinion of others was one reason that he is deterred from skipping class. He believed that if he skips out on a class, the next time he would come to class, "everybody's looking at you like they know you skipped. So you look like a bit of an idiot." Andrew agreed that criticism from peers was important:

> …because if a friend calls you out on something, it carries a lot more weight than if some authority figure does it. With someone in authority, you can say, "That guy—what does he know?" or "What an asshole!" If your friend does it, you're not just going to discredit whatever he says, because if you're friends with him, you value what he says.

Grimes summed up his perspective on the influence of others very succinctly. He said that, "there's pressure from the professors and pressure from the students not to be an asshole, and I think people can recognize that they're not going to get anything doing that."

While some students appreciated the responsibility and opportunity that living under the Gentleman's Rule offered, some respondents took a more critical or outright conflicting view of the Gentleman's Rule, implying that there was very little substance to it without the credence given to it by students. Xander indicated that he believed that the Gentleman's Rule only had meaning when people in the campus community gave it meaning. He said:

> Amongst the student body, the Gentleman's Rule doesn't mean anything, because we don't talk about it and because we don't discuss it enough, whereas the Gentleman's Rule means everything in the relationship between the administration and the student body, because that is the go-to conversation in terms of behavior.

> In another instance, James said that he believed the Gentleman's Rule to be more of "a trick to fool guys into policing themselves instead of actually wanting them to become better

people." This was despite giving other responses that supported the effectiveness of peer accountability in maintaining the Gentleman's Rule. When James began to see the Gentleman's Rule as a way for the administration to not have to enforce a written book of specific rules, then the appeal of the Gentleman's Rule as a conduct system lost its luster.

Other respondents were just as critical about the way that the Gentleman's Rule operated. Grimes, Patrick, and David all responded that they either did not feel pressure from other students to uphold the Gentleman's Rule. They also did not feel like students would actually confront another student over gross misconduct, such as cheating on a test. Michael L. added specifically that, even when there was a clear need for direct intervention, the Gentleman's Rule did not give students the authority to do anything of substance when direct intervention was called for. This was even true for resident assistants in the residence halls. The most that Grimes, Patrick, and David seemed to think would happen is either a change in the perceived reputation of the offending student or that a report would be sent to the Dean and Associate Dean of Students asking for them to intervene directly.

Role of Administration

The everyday effectiveness of honor codes, including the Gentleman's Rule, relies on the use of peer accountability in regulating student behavior. Many honor code institutions use peer reporting and honor courts consisting of peers to hold students accountable. However, in a legal sense, college student affairs administrators bear the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of the students at their institutions. While Wabash has a Dean of Students, an Associate Dean of Students, and other student affairs personnel, respondents in this study would often either refer specifically to the Dean of Students or to "the deans" together. The students who responded to

this study did not typically note the specific involvement of the Associate Dean of Students in their contributions.

Respondents appeared to understand that there were limits to what peer accountability could do to advance appropriate behavior at the institution. Some conduct violations occur that require the attention of student affairs administrators. Andrew indicated that he believed that resident assistants on campus were typically empowered to take as much responsibility as possible in addressing situations in their living units, but that repeated violations of the Gentleman's Rule were likely to end up with the student having a conversation with the Dean of Students. Grimes specifically highlighted illegal drug or alcohol use as being examples of when student affairs administrators would get involved in a situation.

The involvement of the Dean of Students, however, was considered by respondents to be a method of last resort. Students usually preferred to handle problems on their own. When peer accountability was ineffective and resident assistants or fraternity officers could not effectively address a problem, though, the deans would step in and attend to it. According to Kyle, the perception that the involvement of the deans was a last-resort solution also gave the perception that their methods were harsher than if it were handled by peers. He said:

> I don't think that they go for the heartfelt, life lesson situation. I think they try to fix the
> problem and get it done. After it's all said and done, I think that there is a lesson to be
> learned—that, holy crap, I'm never going to do that again because I don't want to go
> through that again.

Kyle believed, though, that the tough approach was because a situation that needed the deans' involvement had probably evolved to the point where they needed to resolve the situation

quickly. To him, this explained why there was more of a focus on punishment than creating a teachable moment related to character.

Administrators are given a high degree of latitude in how they address the situation, partly because of the scope of their responsibility, but also because of when they are often needed as part of the conduct process. However, not all respondents agreed with Kyle's assessment that administrators were heavy-handed in addressing conduct issues. A number of respondents believed that the common response of the administrators was to prefer an approach that reinforced appropriate behavior, but gave ownership of the solution to the students. This lays in stark contrast to alternatives that offer no restorative justice to the victims, do not require that offenders face the results of their actions, or teach appropriate future behavior in resolving negative situations.

For many respondents, the primary way that they see the Dean of Students handle conduct issues is through a face-to-face discussion with some kind of action taken by the student to remedy the situation. Kyle and Evan both knew of situations where apology letters were written by students after meeting with the Dean of Students. Andrew gave an example of offending students having a financial penalty levied on them to repair damages from vandalism or irresponsible behavior. David talked about being part of circumstances where multiple people were included in a conduct problem and the Dean of Students spoke with each individual involved, as well as with the entire fraternity chapter that the offending students belonged to about behavior that violates the Gentleman's Rule. Each of these examples put responsibility onto the student while also providing an opportunity for the student(s) involved to fix the situation.

There are some situations that are so serious that administrators have to impose a heavier penalty. For example, after the death of freshman Johnny Smith in 2008, college administrators placed responsibility on the members of Delta Tau Delta Fraternity and removed recognition of the local chapter (James, 2008b). M. W. gave another example where students of the Malcolm X Institute were accused of treating college staff poorly and, as a result, administrators took away the ability for student members of the institute to use the building 24 hours a day. Finally, respondents talked about students getting expelled, although only in general terms. There was not a clear understanding given by respondents of what specific violations would cause a student to be expelled.

One part of administrator involvement that stood out for respondents was the privacy that is kept of any intervention involving the deans and the implication that the college tries to keep outside parties such as parents and police away from the disciplinary process. For example, Andrew talked about how disciplinary situations passed to the deans by resident assistants typically were handled "between the deans and the student, and…we kind of respect that confidentiality." This was corroborated by David as he talked about the differences between Wabash and other colleges, like Butler University. He said that "if you do violate the Gentleman's Rule at Wabash, it stops at the college….It's very seldom that anything goes beyond the deans, I think, and so that makes it much more legitimate." If a student violates the Gentleman's Rule and the situation can be kept private and in-house, it appears that both the students and administrators would rather keep it that way.

Students appear to also understand that there are flaws in how the administration can make use of the Gentleman's Rule to administer discipline. James believed that the real power of the Gentleman's Rule came from the administration's ability to use it. He believed that this

also operated in reverse, where a failure by the administration to uphold the Gentleman's Rule resulted in increased disregard by the students. Michael L. added that he thought that the effectiveness of the Gentleman's Rule was based on part on how well the Dean of Students, specifically, made certain that everyone understood the Gentleman's Rule and how it is applied. However, he also felt that seating so much responsibility for administrative sanction with one person, the Dean of Students, gave room for the perception of favoritism among the student body. His concern mostly dealt with the potential perception that "there's not an equal use of the Gentleman's Rule when one person might be treated one way and another person another way." In Michael L.'s perception, the Gentleman's Rule is enforced best when it is applied consistently by multiple administrators in similar situations.

Another perspective of the limits of administrators in using the Gentleman's Rule came from learning that the Gentleman's Rule was actually not the only rule that governed student conduct at Wabash. While Wabash publicly touts that the Gentleman's Rule is the singular rule that governs student behavior, there is an actual written rule book that the administration uses to govern student life. Xander talked about how some of these rules are given in the academic bulletin that students receive at the beginning of the year. However, other rules appear to not be made available to students unless necessary.

James and Xander felt the existence of this rule book was not a major concern. They believed that the Gentleman's Rule generally acted as an overarching structure that accomplished the purpose of the rule book without having to state each rule specifically. James talked about his experience learning about the rule book from the Dean of Students. As a result of his experience, he said that:

…the Gentleman's Rule is basically used to enforce the rule book without actually

having to write out all these explicit rules. So it seems that the Gentleman's Rule doesn't

really have much to do with being a man as much as it is an enforcement mechanism.

However, not all respondents agreed with James and Xander. Other respondents who talked

about discovering the existence of this rule book gave the strong impression that they felt

somewhat betrayed by its existence, leading to a more critical perspective of the administrators

who have to uphold it.

Critical Thoughts about the Gentleman's Rule

Wabash students may be proud of the Gentleman's Rule as part of Wabash's tradition,

but they also have critiques and concerns related to the Gentleman's Rule. The concerns

mentioned by respondents centered on navigating the contradiction and dissonance that occurs

when behavior they believe is appropriate under the Gentleman's Rule ends up being

discouraged or forbidden by the college community or by the government. Often, these concerns

are connected to concepts of personal responsibility, peer accountability, and fairness.

One of the critiques relates to how students behave in an environment that encourages

them to take personal responsibility for their own lives, but also enforces policies against

underage drinking, firearm possession, and recreational drugs. For example, Patrick, Evan, and

Andrew each discussed their beliefs that laws against underage drinking should not be enforced

on campus. In their view, questions about when and how much to drink should be decisions best

left for students to make under the Gentleman's Rule. Patrick said:

I think that where many people fall short, myself included, is by obeying the law. I

mean, underage drinking is, since it's illegal, by definition ungentlemanly….I guess my

opinion is a little mixed. I mean, I can't argue with their reasoning, but at the same time,

there's such a thing, at least in my mind, as responsible underage drinking in that you're well within your limits, and if you were 21, you would be absolutely safe to be out in public and everything else. You're not a danger to yourself or others but, again, I think the administration of the college would probably disagree with that sentiment despite the fact that many of the students would agree with me.

This account illustrates one of the contradictions in the mind of Wabash students in relation to the Gentleman's Rule. On one hand, there is an understanding that illegal behavior is a violation of the Gentleman's Rule. However, students also believe that they are legally adults with the freedom to make their own decisions. Students also believe that they are expected to be responsible for themselves as adults. This causes dissonance in the mind of students. From their perspective, as long as a student is responsible about how much alcohol he drinks and does not harm others with his behavior, he should be free to choose to have a beer.

This dichotomy between acknowledged legal issues and the desire for freedom to exercise greater personal responsibility extends to other topics on campus, including online piracy, the possession of firearms, and the use of drugs and other controlled substances, such as marijuana. In each of these situations, students understand that they must obey the laws related to these subjects, but they also question the need or validity of laws that restrict or prohibit actions that do not seem inherently destructive or imminently harmful to other people. Grimes summed up many contributions in saying:

So, for example, they're [the administration] not down with illegal downloading, but I have no problem with it, and they're not down with illegal drug use. I don't use illegal drugs, but I don't have a problem with it. I think there's a way to do it responsibly. They are not down with underage drinking, but I don't have a problem with it, for sure. Then,

at the same time, there's no active campaign against illegal drug use, either. They don't go from house to house with drug dogs. You just enforce it on a situational basis, and that's, I think, as far towards my idea of the spirit of the Gentleman's Rule as they can go while also having to live within the boundaries of the law.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Since the early 1950s, the Gentleman's Rule has been touted as the one guiding rule for the conduct and behavior of students at Wabash College. This rule states that a Wabash student "shall conduct himself at all times, on and off campus, as a gentleman and responsible citizen" (Wabash College, 2010). While the succinctness of the Gentleman's Rule eliminates the verbose handbooks that many other institutions utilize, the flexibility and subjective nature of the rule leave it open to the interpretation of administrators and students alike.

This background led to the following research questions being posed for the completion of the study. The first question sought to explore what shared meanings exist related to the Gentleman's Rule among students at Wabash. Next, there is the question of how these shared interpretations are learned by students. The third question sought the observed behaviors or actions that Wabash students would identify as following the Gentleman's Rule. Finally, the last research question would explore how interpretations of the Gentleman's Rule related to interpretations of masculinity and masculine gender roles.

Twelve respondents ultimately took part in this study, all of which were current students at Wabash College. Respondents were recruited through network sampling, beginning with an initial pool of potential respondents provided by the Dean of Students and spreading out through the use of the social networks of each respondent. Each interview was 35 minutes to one hour in

length and audio recorded for later transcription. After transcription of interviews, a phenomenological method of analysis was used to discern common ideas, themes, and phrases that could show the essence of how students interpret the Gentleman's Rule.

Interpretation of Findings

Respondents tended to learn about the Gentleman's Rule in three ways. One possibility for students to have learned about the Gentleman's Rule came through the marketing and admissions material that they received from the college as high school students. They also may have been exposed to the Gentleman's Rule as high school students through discussions with other students or alumni of the college. If a student managed to not learn about the Gentleman's Rule before arriving on campus as a freshman, he was part of group discussions and lecture sessions put on by college administrators about the Gentleman's Rule. Each of these methods were opportunities for the Gentleman's Rule to be passed along to them, as well as have the introduction to the rule framed by either college administrators or people with experience living under the rule.

Based on the contributions of respondents, it appears that students learn details about living under the Gentleman's Rule mostly through personal interactions. These interactions may happen with friends or family before arriving on campus or with administrators and peers during non-instructional week. The efforts of admissions and marketing material did draw interest about the Gentleman's Rule, but communicating with a live person was important to drive the reality of the Gentleman's Rule home.

Much of the time, any lessons that respondents learned about the Gentleman's Rule were filtered and / or assimilated with information about good character and masculine behavior learned from parents and family before attending Wabash. Although respondents answered

questions that showed some opposition to the spirit of the Gentleman's Rule, when asked directly, respondents did not indicate that they felt their perceptions of masculinity or gentlemanly behavior challenged by the Gentleman's Rule. Nevertheless, their responses to other questions indicate some continued conflict between their stated perceptions related to appropriate masculine behavior and the intent of the Gentleman's Rule to prompt good behavior and character. Students may not be learning much new information about masculinity or good character by living under the Gentleman's Rule. They may only be in a laboratory environment that allows them to experiment with what it means to be a student, an adult, and a man. Along similar lines, respondents did talk about the value of learning about themselves through trial and error and personal responsibility. These experiences were not necessarily connected to the Gentleman's Rule as much as the do-it-yourself culture of the college.

These conclusions of subjectivity and interpretation align with Kohlberg's (1969, 1977) theory of stage development. Students that arrive at Wabash believing that good behavior is showing respect for authority, doing your duty, and maintaining traditions for the sake of the tradition (4th stage) may develop into a mindset where appropriate behavior is determined by the campus culture that exists while they are there (5th stage). Students that are in the 5th stage of development may also progress into the 6th stage, involving a mindset where good behavior means that abstract and ethical principles are defined by each student's own conscience and appealing to "logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency" (Kohlberg, 1977, p. 55).

Additionally, while respondents were fairly clear about the times when they learned about the Gentleman's Rule as high school students and freshmen, they did not learn clearly about the penalties for breaking the rule. Respondents only knew about the consequences of breaking the rule anecdotally from other students or by talking to a victim or a violator of the

rule. This left students confused about what they should expect to happen when the rule was violated.

Next, Wabash students appeared to have few terms in common in relation to the meaning of the Gentleman's Rule or masculinity. Respondents stated directly that the Gentleman's Rule was best left as vague and subjective, open to interpretation by each student that encounters it. In discussing masculinity and gentlemanly behavior, they talked about ideas that needed to be grouped into general meta-themes. As a result of the disagreement and lack of unified meanings among respondents, it appears that no phenomenological "essence" was found as a result of this study.

Respondents understood the Gentleman's Rule as more of a loose vision statement rather than a clear, direct rule to follow. The ideas that they did relate to the Gentleman's Rule were categorized into the meta-themes of responsibility, respect, reasoned discussion, and self-awareness. While these meta-themes provide a platform from which students can begin to discuss and understand the Gentleman's Rule, they are still abstract in nature. This abstraction gives each student the opportunity to use their previous life experiences and their perceptions of what it means to be men to frame how they interpret the Gentleman's Rule, resulting in some variation in interpretation within the bounds of the meta-themes.

Despite the variation, these meta-themes reflected a belief by respondents that masculinity could be a positive thing. When asked about masculine behavior, respondents acknowledged having heard about the hegemonic stereotypes that college men often receive, but then proceeded to challenge any stereotypes about masculinity as too monolithic and narrow. Respondents had little agreement about what constituted masculinity or manliness outside of the positive characteristics that they related more to being a gentleman. Only loose acceptance of

ideas such as athleticism and grit emerged from those discussions as meta-themes pertaining to masculinity but not necessarily gentlemanly behavior.

While there was only loose agreement on the characteristics of masculinity, the existing consensus of athleticism and grit as meta-themes can have positive results even without being identified explicitly as gentlemanly. An embrace of athleticism can encourage life-long health and fitness. Grit can help college men persevere through difficult situations academically, emotionally, and professionally (Duckworth, 2007; Goodwin & Miller, 2013).

Respondents acknowledged that their peers engage in performative hyper-masculinity, including over-competitiveness, aggressiveness, misogyny, homophobia, and avoiding behavior perceived as feminine. These traits were framed by respondents as not being representative of who men really are. Nevertheless, despite their challenges of performative hyper-masculinity, respondents still discussed behavior and used language that was hyper-masculine in course of their interviews. This illustrated a dissonance between respondents' perceptions about masculinity as only positive and the potentially negative manners in which they behave and perform their masculinity. The dissonance that exists further validates O'Neil's (1981) ideas on gender role conflict and demonstrates Kimmel's (2008) concerns about how college men navigate their way into adult manhood.

In terms of gentlemanly behavior, respondents often discussed characteristics that bridged the gap between masculinity and gentlemanly behavior. Specifically, the concepts of personal responsibility, respect for others, self-awareness, and reasoned discussion were identified as core to the Gentleman's Rule and were also talked about as being integral to masculinity. From the perspective of respondents, there was not as much of a grey area between masculinity and gentlemanly behavior so much as that there were few things that were aligned

with masculinity that were not also identified as part of being a gentleman. For the most part, even though respondents acknowledged that masculinity can take many forms (e.g., masculinities as a plural concept), their responses implied that a student could not really be masculine unless they were willing to take on being a gentleman as well. While the themes and descriptors that were used to describe gentlemanly behavior were also frequently tied with masculinity and being a man, gentlemanly behavior was discussed as though it represented a higher echelon of masculinity that incorporated masculinity into a code of conduct.

There is a potential negative to some of these perceptions of gentlemanly behavior and masculinity. Respondents to this study believed strongly in personal responsibility and some expected that responsibility to extend to caring for others. However, the contributions of respondents seemed to indicate that taking responsibility to care for others did not necessarily mean taking proactive measures to prevent risky behavior or stop others from actively engaging in dangerous or hurtful behavior. This leaves open the question of whether students' interpretations of personal responsibility and respect for others ends up causing dangerous bystander behavior as students attempt to respect their peers' choices and allow them to take personal responsibility for their failures.

Finally, there was agreement that enforcement of the Gentleman's Rule was primarily done through peer accountability. Respondents believed that student affairs administrators would only get directly involved when the situation was too severe. The effectiveness of the Gentleman's Rule in encouraging peer accountability and responsibility in this manner confirms the conclusions that McCabe and Trevino (2002) made about the effectiveness of honor codes in preventing student misbehavior and Roig and Marks (2006) conclusions that even a modified honor code can have an impact on academic dishonesty.

Beyond that, there was a lack of clarity from respondents about what happens to students who violate the Gentleman's Rule. Students anecdotally knew of expulsions, fines, and letters of apology. Some respondents implied that student affairs administrators could be too heavy-handed when dealing with negative situations. Other respondents spoke of situations where student affairs administrators engaged in disciplinary measures that educated students about their behavior, treated both victim and offender with respect, and took advantage of whatever means of restorative justice was available. There was no clear articulation given of the kind of violations that would result in each of these penalties. This lack of clarity did give at least one respondent a reason to question whether administrators were administering the Gentleman's Rule with equity.

The enforcement of the Gentleman's Rule by administrators also drew questions from respondents about whether different laws or policies were unjust or unnecessary. Some of these questions came when students learned about a rule book that exists in addition to the Gentleman's Rule, but which students may not be privy to. Other questions arose in situations where the law or school policy prevented actions that respondents felt that they could handle responsibly on their own. In both of these categories, respondents felt as though these were indications that the Gentleman's Rule was not the only rule that governed student behavior, leaving them feeling betrayed by the dissonance caused by that reality.

Lastly, it should be noted that students who served as respondents to this study conspicuously did not provide many specific examples of behavior that they considered breaches of the Gentleman's Rule. Examples of ungentlemanly behavior were often general or referred to behavior that would not be a serious offense (i.e., jeering the opposing team at athletic events, inattentiveness in class). Taken at face value, this gives an almost exclusively positive picture of

masculinity. However, the displays of hyper-masculine behavior given by respondents during this study imply that there is more to ungentlemanly behavior than respondents reported and validates the pervasiveness of the performance of masculinity discussed by Edwards and Jones (2009).

Effect on Higher Education

Students who participated in this study were more likely to have learned about the Gentleman's Rule before arriving on campus for their freshman year, whether through admissions marketing materials or through personal relationships with individuals connected to the college in some way. Part of this exposure may have been because the Gentleman's Rule is such a unique way to articulate an honor code compared to other honor codes nationwide. It remains, though, that institutions that wish to make use of an honor code may wish to emphasize the honor code and build a constituency that can discuss the honor code and leverage personal relationships to acclimate prospective freshmen with the code.

Another effect arises from the reports of respondents that they did not perceive masculinity as being monolithic or subject to social stereotypes. Respondents believed that masculinity could not be pinned down to a small group of characteristics that would serve as an "ideal" and felt that what was masculine depended on the interpretation of each individual. As respondents were interviewed, however, there were some consistent concepts that they used to refer to masculinity. Along with loose connections to athleticism and grit, the characteristics that were agreed upon were positive ideals that they associated with both masculinity and good character or being gentlemanly, such as personal responsibility, respect for others, reasoned discussion, and self-awareness.

The respondents in this study wanted to perceive themselves as exhibiting positive traits as they expressed their perceptions of masculinity. This suggests that a change in perspective from higher education professionals is necessary where college men are not approached primarily as representations of negative gender stereotypes. The gender stereotypes that are maintained about college men conflict with the positive characteristics of masculinity highlighted by respondents to this study. This dissonance poses a potential threat for male student engagement and eventually retention.

Instead, programming should acknowledge these common characteristics of positive masculinity and work to refine and develop these traits further. Such programming would capitalize on positive expressions of masculinity to allow college men to test the boundaries of their abilities and learn from failure in a controlled environment. Examples among student affairs professionals may include talks about how to conduct reasoned discussions in academic success programs and initiatives that encourage self-awareness and responsibility for others in fraternity- or sorority-life programs. Student conduct departments can take overt actions that acknowledge the desire of college men to be respected, whether as the offender or the victim. Faculty can be more intentional in encouraging and modeling positive traits like reasoned discussion, responsibility and respect both in and out of the classroom. These types of initiatives would better prepare college men for long-term success as professionals and citizens after graduation.

A third application resulting from this study relates to the application of an honor code. This study implies that a subjective honor code can emphasize personal responsibility, self-awareness, and respect for others. However, the embrace of these ideals by college men may not be enough to prevent risky behavior without the addition of proactive concern for others. A lack

of empowerment or encouragement to act proactively in preventing risky behavior could result in increased instances of dangerous bystander behavior by college men when students need their peers to step forward to hold them accountable. This includes reducing bystander behavior in instances of assault, excessive intoxication, date rape, and personal endangerment. A few programs where higher education professionals could articulate this empowerment and encouragement could be in alcohol and drug prevention programs, campus safety initiatives, and residence hall associations.

Next, there are larger applications of this study relating to the way that conduct rules are communicated and enforced. Generally, respondents to this study appreciated the efforts of administrators to allow peer accountability to work and only get involved when necessary. When administrators were involved, respondents tended to respect instances when restorative justice methods were used as a way to educate violators of the Gentleman's Rule, such as being required to write personal apologies or provide restitution to victims of bad behavior. This approach to administering conduct aligns with the value of respect for others that respondents valued. Whether an institution uses an honor code or not, these findings provide guidance for student conduct professionals so that they could better work with college men in conduct violation situations.

In higher education institutions that use an honor code, there may be a benefit in being more open about applying the honor code equally throughout the institution. For instance, the application of the Gentleman's Rule and similar honor codes would be made stronger if it was clear that everyone in the college community was also beholden to the same rule. Additionally, there should be clear, consistent application of the honor code among higher education professionals so as to prevent feelings of favoritism or arbitrariness. One way to address this

concern may be through the institution of a trained honor court that can provide peer

adjudication and give consistent forms of punishment.

Finally, student affairs administrators should note that any rules that exist alongside or as

part of the honor code should be clearly articulated to students as part of students' initial

education about the code. Respondents who felt that information about rules and policies was

held back tended to be more critical and dismissive of the honor code at Wabash. This reaction

aligns with the ideals of reasoned discussion, personal responsibility, and respect for others

valued by respondents. A failure to fully inform about rules or policies may be seen as

administrators treating students with disrespect by holding back information that can be used to

take advantage of students.

Limitations

During the course of this study, limitations became clear that could have affected how

these results are interpreted for wider use. The first limitation of the study involved the number

of respondents who participated in the study. The study concluded after securing only 12 student

respondents out of a campus of more than 850 students. While I do not anticipate that there

would be a major difference in results with added respondents, I would have preferred to have

more respondents in order to have more examples that clearly illustrate theoretical saturation.

A second limitation to the study was that only one respondent came to Wabash from

outside of the state of Indiana. While most students who attend Wabash may be from Indiana,

most college men in the United States are not. A broader sampling of respondents from other

places across the United States may have provided results that would be more acceptable as

being broadly representative of all American college men.

A third limitation relates to the subjectivity of the researcher in the study. As an alumnus of Wabash College, it is possible that unrecognized ideas or assumptions may have affected the questions asked or the interpretation of results. While I utilized methods of identifying and analyzing data that should have addressed most of these concerns, the structure and conclusions are drawn through the experiences of the researcher and are a product of those experiences.

Another limitation of the study was that there was very little information gained about how Wabash students associate the Gentleman's Rule in their interactions with women. The ungentlemanly behaviors mentioned by respondents were ones that primarily resulted from interactions with peers or with male and female faculty. Interactions with female peers or women visiting the campus were not discussed by respondents. As researcher, I did not press the issue because of my intent to focus on the more common Wabash student experience secluded from most college women.

There is a limitation in this study in how little students were willing to give examples of specific experiences where they encountered behaviors that could be considered ungentlemanly. Respondents were able to give specific examples of behaviors or ideas that were positive in nature, but chose not to discuss specific behavior that would show other students in a negative manner. One reason for this lack of disclosure could be the consideration of the researcher as an outsider, making it uncomfortable to talk about personal experiences. Another reason could be that respondents considered giving such information to the researcher for use in this study to be disrespectful to their peers. Lastly, the inexperience of the researcher in this method could have been a factor that prevented information from being gained from respondents.

Suggestions for Future Research

Opportunities for future research related to this study most clearly center on the defining characteristics of Wabash College. Wabash is a small, private, selective liberal arts institution for traditional-aged college men. Each of these characteristics also serves as a cue of where future research may be found to add more depth to the understanding of good behavior.

Honor Codes, Masculinity, and Coeducational Institutions

First, Wabash is a single-sex institution for men. This was considered to be a strength in choosing a site location for the study to take place. This leaves the question open of how college men may have responded to the study if conducted in a coeducational environment and if there would be changes in the understanding of masculinity, good behavior, or bad behavior when women are a constantly, present part of their lives. Additionally, this would provide room to more deeply examine how college men interact with women in all aspects of the college experience.

Honor Codes and Masculinity in Less Selective Institutions

A second opportunity for future research is to examine institutions that are less selective in admissions than Wabash. Wabash prides itself in being special, part of which comes from being a place where men are chosen to attend. This selectivity means that the college may intentionally or unintentionally select students from backgrounds of privilege or from families that have had a strong effect on the upbringing of the student. A study conducted at a college with a more open admissions policy could help verify the results of this study in relation to a broader sample of college men, including students from different socioeconomic backgrounds and students from different family dynamics.

Honor Codes and Masculinity in Larger Colleges and Universities

A third opportunity for research would be at institutions that are considerably larger than Wabash. Due to the nature of institutions that currently exist in the United States, a larger institution would likely be coeducational. Therefore, it would be better if future study was conducted at a number of institutions of different sizes so that the results could be compared to this study and a baseline could be established to evaluate comparisons and contrasts between smaller and larger institutions.

The Gentleman's Rule and Masculinity among Wabash Alumni

Fourth, future study could be done involving the alumni of Wabash. The current study provides a snapshot of what the current generation of Wabash students understands as the essence of the Gentleman's Rule and masculinity. The results of this study show that the essence of student interpretations is abstract and open to interpretation for students attending during the present time period. Future study could examine topics such as how alumni understood the Gentleman's Rule during their undergraduate experiences, how they interact with women, and how they have come to interpret and talk about the rule after having pursued lives away from the institution. Additional work could examine whether the Gentleman's Rule has continued to impact their lives after graduating from Wabash.

Honor Codes, Masculinity, and Nontraditional College Students

Finally, one last opportunity for future research would be to study the interpretations of college students who are nontraditional students older than 23-years of age. The college men in this study likely entered college at 18-years old and have not had the same amount of lived experience as an older student. This may particularly be true of students who are military veterans coming to college after returning from active duty. There could be value in

understanding how lived experience outside of the educational system may have affected the ways in which nontraditional college men and women understand the concepts used as the basis of this study.

Summary

This dissertation examined how college men at Wabash College understand good behavior and masculinity while living under a subjective honor code. This honor code, the Gentleman's Rule, represents the single rule governing most student conduct at Wabash. The Gentleman's Rule gives no further explanation or description of how a student follows or violates the rule.

Specifically, this study examined how students learned about and talked about the Gentleman's Rule, as well as the particular behaviors that students would identify as exemplifying the Gentleman's Rule in action. The study also explored how college men attending Wabash understood masculinity and the intersections that may occur between their perceptions of masculinity and their perceptions of following the Gentleman's Rule.

To unearth this information, 12 current Wabash students were each individually interviewed for roughly an hour. Audio recordings of the interviews were put into written form by a professional transcriptionist. The researcher then subjected the contributions from respondents to phenomenological analysis to determine the essence of students' experiences related to the Gentleman's Rule.

The study found that students typically learned about the Gentleman's Rule as prospective students still in high school and had the most formative conversations only up to the end of freshman orientation. By the time that students begin classes as freshmen, they will have learned about the Gentleman's Rule and its importance to Wabash. This leaves confusion about

what constitutes a serious offense under the Gentleman's Rule and the boundary between where peer accountability is expected and when the administration steps in to manage a situation.

Students understood masculinity to be complex and not something to be narrowly defined, leaving its "essence" unfound. Most respondents' understandings of masculinity were entwined with their understandings of good character or gentlemanliness. There was little agreement of characteristics of masculinity that fell outside of gentlemanliness, with the only emerging meta-themes being athleticism and grit. Meta-themes that emerged as connected to gentlemanly behavior included personal responsibility, respect, reasoned discussion, and self-awareness. This conflicted with negative stereotypes of hegemonic masculinity as well as the language cues of respondents' statements, which occasionally reflected hyper-masculine behavior.

The results of this study inform higher education institutions about the ideals that college men associate with masculinity and gentlemanliness. Based on these findings, new modes of addressing and working with college men were recommended. For example, clear communication about the expectations under an honor code should be expected. Characteristics of positive masculinity can be emphasized and modeled by student affairs administrators, faculty, and staff. College men need to be empowered to take responsibility for their peers and to prevent risky behavior from happening and disciplinary measures that happen as a result of poor behavior should be addressed with respect toward both the offender and the victim.

In the end, this study served as a starting point for further research about college men and masculinities, honor codes, and student conduct. Future research can provide more information about how college men and women interpret good behavior under an honor code system and how college men understand masculinity and gentlemanly behavior. Additional opportunities for

research can explore how alumni understand the Gentleman's Rule and how honor codes are understood by nontraditional students and military veteran students,

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APPENDIX A: Consent to Participate in Research

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Jacob Isaacs, who is a doctoral student from the Ph.D. program in Higher Education Leadership at Indiana State University. Mr. Isaacs is conducting this study for his doctoral dissertation. Dr. Barratt is his faculty sponsor for this project. Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You should read the information below and ask questions about anything you do not understand before deciding whether or not to participate.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to determine the meanings that Wabash students give The Gentleman's Rule, as well as how it is communicated. This study will provide greatly needed information on how male students respond to an honor system as a form of student conduct system in higher education.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we will ask you to do the following:
1. Agree to participate in 1-2 interviews of roughly one hour each.
2. Agree to be available for follow-up interview sessions

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

1. Potential risks. We expect that any risks or inconveniences will be minor, and we believe that they are not likely to happen.

    a. Physical. There is little likelihood of any physical risks as a result of participating in this research project. Interview subjects are not asked to perform any tasks as a part of the interview schedule that could result in physical harm.

    b. Psychological. Participants will be asked to provide information about their experiences related to their experiences while they are students at Wabash College and demographic data (i.e., age, gender, education, and race/ethnicity). However, the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life. If the interviews generate more stress than normal for a participant, the participant will be provided information on how to locate their Student Counseling Center.

    c. Social. Developing an understanding of the meanings associated with the Gentleman's Rule and how it is learned by students has a small likelihood of social risk in terms of conflicts with cultural biases, traditions, and social order. It

is anticipated, however, that the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort in the research are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

Adequacy of Protection Against Risks

1. Participants for the audio-recorded interviews will be recruited using network sampling. Prior to conducting any interviews, all participants will be given a formal Statement of Consent form to read, and the form will be verbally explained by the interviewer. Participants will sign the form, indicating that they understand that they are being asked to participate in a research study, that they understand the unlikelihood of risks involved in participating, that they can refuse to answer any question that they are not comfortable answering, and that they information that they provide will be kept strictly confidential.

2. Protection against Risk. Minimizing physical, psychological, and social risks. Participants are free to refuse to respond to any question that that may result in psychological disturbance. Written information will be collected for research purposes only and will not be linked to identifying information, except for purposes of following up on APPENDIX B.

3. Minimizing risks to confidentiality. Identifying information from any participants will be kept separately from the forms on which they record their responses to the questions. Records will be linked to individuals only through a pseudonym, and the information used to link records with identifying information will be kept in a securely locked file drawer only accessible to the interviewer. References to actual names or other identifying information will be substituted with the pseudonym in the written transcript of the interview in preparation for analysis of qualitative data. Names and any other identifying information will be eliminated in preparation for analysis of transcripts. These precautions are expected to be completely effective in eliminating risks to confidentiality.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR SOCIETY

It is not likely that you will benefit directly from participation in this research study. However, the research should help us learn how to best teach college men about an honor code like the Gentleman's Rule and what behavior can be expected by college men living under a student conduct system such as the Gentleman's Rule.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

You will not receive any payment of other compensation for participating in this study. There is also no cost to you for participating in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law.

Confidentiality will be maintained by means of a pseudonym that you will choose as a way to let Mr. Isaacs and Dr. Barrett know who you are. We will not use your name in any of the information we get from this study or in any of the research reports. When the study is completed, we will destroy e-mails that can be used to identify participants as well as the list that shows which pseudonym goes with each participant's name.

Information that can identify you individually will not be released to anyone outside the study. Mr. Isaacs will, however, use the information collected from interviews in his dissertation and other publications. We also may use any information that we get from this study in any way we think is best for publication or education. Any information we use for publication will not identify you personally.

The audio-recordings that we make will not be viewed by anyone outside the study unless we have a separate, signed permission form from you allowing us to use them. The recordings will be destroyed three years after the end of the study.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether or not to be in this research study. If you volunteer to participate in this study, you may withdraw in person or in writing at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. There is no penalty if you withdraw from the study. Any recordings or information obtained prior to withdrawal will be destroyed three years after the end of the study. If you would like a copy of the study after its completion, you may receive a copy by e-mailing the researcher.

IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

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RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the Indiana State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) by mail at 511 Erickson Hall, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, IN 47809, by phone at 812-237-8217, or e-mail at isu-irb@indstate.edu. You will be given the opportunity to discuss any questions about your rights as a research subject with a member of the IRB. The IRB is an independent committee composed of members of the Indiana State University community, as well as lay members of the community not connected with ISU. The IRB has reviewed and approved this study.

_____

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____
Printed Name of Subject

_____   _____
Signature of Subject   Date

_____

APPENDIX B: Guiding Interview Question Examples

1. Tell me about yourself. (RQ1, RQ4)

    a. Where did you come from? (RQ1, RQ4)

    b. How did you come to Wabash? (RQ1, RQ4)

2. What attracted you to Wabash? (RQ1)

    a. How would you honestly describe a typical Wabash student to a peer? (RQ1, RQ3)

3. In your perception, what is life like for a student at Wabash? (RQ1, RQ3)

    a. Describe what classes are like as a student at Wabash. (RQ1, RQ3)

        i. How do Wabash students behave in classes? (RQ1, RQ3)

    b. Describe what social events are like at Wabash. (RQ1, RQ3)

        i. How do Wabash students behave at the social events? (RQ1, RQ3)

    c. Describe what athletic events are like at Wabash. (RQ1, RQ3)

        i. How do Wabash students behave at athletic events? (RQ1, RQ3)

    d. Describe what it's like going off campus from Wabash. (RQ1, RQ3)

        i. How do Wabash students behave when away from campus? (RQ1, RQ3)

4. What does being a man mean to you? (RQ4)

5. What is your definition of manliness? (RQ2, RQ4)

    a. How have you built your definition of manliness? (RQ2)

6. What is your definition of the ideal man? (RQ4)

7. How does the Gentleman's Rule fit with this definition of the ideal man? (RQ1, RQ4)

8. Tell me, in your own words, what the Gentleman's Rule is. (RQ1, RQ3, RQ4)

   a. What is a Wabash gentleman supposed to be like? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, RQ4)

9. How is a Wabash gentleman supposed to behave:

   a. In class? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3)

   b. At social events? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3)

   c. At athletic contests? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3)

   d. Off campus? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3)

10. What is an example of ungentlemanly behavior that you have observed:

    a. In class? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3)

    b. At social events? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3)

    c. At athletic contests? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3)

    d. Off campus? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3)

11. How did you learn about the Gentleman's Rule? (RQ2)

12. How was the Gentleman's Rule reinforced to you while you have been a student? (RQ2)

13. What are some examples of when you have seen a Wabash student behave in a way that you immediately identified as gentlemanly? (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3)

14. Give me an example of your perception of the ideal Wabash Man. (RQ3, RQ4)