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Caballerismo in Latinx Men in Higher Education

Abstract

Latinx men continue to be marginalized in higher education, and more research is needed to understand how to retain them using anti-deficit frameworks (Cook et al., 2012). Studies have investigated caballerismo as a protective factor for LatinX men. Caballerismo is defined by egalitarian beliefs, affiliation, positive family relationships, and empathy (Arciniega et al., 2008; Neff, 2001). Despite its promise as an anti-deficit framework, little is known about how caballerismo informs Latino students' experiences in higher education. Therefore, this study addresses the following research questions: a) How does caballerismo manifest in Latinx men in higher education, b) how does caballerismo intersect with racial and ethnic identity, immigration status, acculturation status, social class, and other dimensions of privilege and oppression to (re)produce educational equity/inequity for Latinx men? A constructivist grounded-theory design will be used to address the research questions (Charmaz, 2000). Preliminary findings from semi-structured interviews with 10 Latino men suggest two thematic trends. First, the influence of caballerismo on Latino men's higher education experiences appears to be dependent upon age and acculturation. Further, the values most often associated with caballerismo seem to be respeto, familismo, and responsibility. A theory will be generated to explain the impact of caballerismo on Latino men's college persistence. Implications for understanding how caballerismo can be leveraged to retain Latino men students on college campuses will be discussed.

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Caballerismo in Latinx Men in Higher Education

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Victor Carrasco

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Chapter One: Introduction

The Latinx population is one of the largest minority groups in the United States yet continues to be one of the most underrepresented groups in post-secondary education (College Board, 2011; Noguera et al., 2011). The term Latinx is a gender-neutral alternative to *Latino* or *Latina* referring to anyone of Latin American heritage (Merriam-Webster, 2022). Latinx men continue to be an understudied population in higher education, and more research is needed to understand how to retain these students (Cook et al., 2012; Pino et al., 2012; Razfar & Simon, 2011). The current study addresses the need to understand the persistence of Latinx men in higher education (Casas & Cabrera, 2011; Cook et al., 2012). Further, the current study will examine the positive cultural factors among this population as it relates to college success.

Latinx Men in Higher Education

Little research has been conducted on positive masculinity and educational outcomes of Latinx men. As of 2014, 20% of Latinx men had earned an associate degree or higher, compared to Asian men (62%), White men (45%), and African American men (30%) (U.S. Department of Education, 2015). In 2011, Latinos(as) obtained just 6.3% of all doctorates, whereas Whites earned 74% (National Science Foundation, National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics, 2012). Latinos(as) are also the most underrepresented major racial/ethnic group among college/university faculty. In

2011, Latinos(as) constituted just 4.3% of all faculty in U.S. post-secondary institutions, whereas faculty who present as Whites represented 73.8%; as Blacks, 6.9%; and as Asian American and Pacific Islanders, 6.4% (Nunez, 2014).

The majority of research on Latinx masculinity has used the term machismo to describe the characteristics of Mexican men (Griffin et al., 2012). The term has been associated with characteristics of sexism, chauvinism, and hypermasculinity (Anders, 1993; Ingoldsby, 1991; Mosher & Tompkins, 1988). It can also be defined as perceived male characteristics, both positive and negative in Latinx men (Arciniega, Tovar-Gamero, & Sand, 2004). Historically, Latinx men students' have reported various reasons for dropping out of high school and college. Traditionally, Latinx individuals, specifically men, have been unsuccessful in attaining higher education degrees due to the inability to navigate post-secondary education (Kiyama, 2010; Solórzano et al., 2005). Students frequently report feeling teachers and administrators do not value their presence or efforts to persist in school (Halx & Ortiz, 2011). Moreover, Latinx men are overrepresented in school suspension, labeled as learning or emotionally disabled, and often targeted by school police (Contreras, 2011; Noguera et al., 2011). Additionally, Latinx students from low socioeconomic status (SES) backgrounds are not provided with reliable access to timely and accurate college information (McDonough & Calderone, 2006). Lastly, financial support and limited knowledge of the financial aid system have presented as additional barriers (Perna, 2006; McDonough & Calderone, 2006; Tierney & Venegas, 2009).

Past research has found that Latinx men possess cultural protective factors. Huerta and Fishman (2014) examined a small group of urban, first-generation, Latinx male

college students who completed the K-12 educational system and were attending college at a 4-year institution. The authors examined how students adjusted to the "culture of college" and protective factors that allowed them to adapt to their new environment. The "culture of college" can be referred to as the knowledge parents from middle-class backgrounds have in the United States about college preparation and financial aid (Cabrera & Padilla, 2004). The authors found that students whose parents had the least education sought support from role models and mentors for resources and information in order to apply to an elite institution. In addition, participants reported that pride in their Latinx culture was significant to them, and they saw this as part of what contributed to their success in school. Even though their parents had little education, students reported that the support and encouragement from their families helped maintain their focus. Lastly, students presented with a strong sense of self and maintained strong self-efficacy surrounding their ability to accomplish their educational goals. However, this study did not explore how male identity contributed as a protective factor.

Huerta (2015) conducted a qualitative study of Latinx male high school students who continued with their education and the interactions they had with gangs, college, and the military. Huerta (2015), found three overarching themes. First, Latinx men in middle school had a period of exploration between gangs and college. Second, these Latinx men were from a low SES background and typically worried about financing their education. Thus, many students began to consider joining the military to help alleviate their economic stress, although one student felt the recruiters often targeted Latinx students.

Third, students felt that they did not receive much support from college counseling services.

In sum, the majority of the existing literature on Latinx masculinity has identified various negative aspects (Griffin et al., 2012) and limited scholarship has focused on positive aspects of Latinx masculinity. This suggests researchers have historically been biased in their approach to studying Latinx men. This information, if later used to inform practice, could lead to further marginalization of this population in higher education.

Multilevel Model of Intersectionality

According to the multilevel model of intersectionality, an individual's core sense of self is nested within social constructions like race and gender. The individual's identities are constantly interacting with different systems and can vary in importance (Núñez, 2014). The multilevel model of intersectionality is comprised of three levels. The first level is termed Social Categories and Relations. This level includes social categories that intersect with each other. Although Latinos are diverse, "Latino" has now come to be recognized as a distinct racial group in the United States. According to the U.S. Census, Latinos are allowed to report themselves as "Hispanic" and treated as a separate race (Mora, 2014; Rodríguez, 2000; Telles, 2012). The U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) requires federal agencies to use a minimum of two ethnicities in collecting and reporting data: Hispanic or Latino and Not Hispanic or Latino. OMB defines "Hispanic or Latino" as a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race (OMB, 2020). It should be noted that the Latinx social identity is often intersecting with the social

category of im/migrant status Rodríguez (2008). The social category of gender also has an influence on the experience between Latinx men and Latinx women. For example teachers may interact in more supportive ways with Latinx women compared to Latinx men (Sáenz and Ponjuán 2009). Further, student affairs professionals perceive Latinx women college students as more inclined to seek help and receptive to information compared to Latinx men (Gloria & Castellano, 2012). Thus, professionals in higher education may be less likely to offer support to these students because they have a more difficult time interacting with them. In graduate school, Latinx men often seek out a sense of belonging at their institution rather than consider its ranking (Ramírez, 2013). Ultimately, Latinx men have salient social categories such as gender that can influence their experience in higher education. However, it is important to recognize that gender is only one social category among many.

The second level of the model includes the domains of society, or “domains of power” (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). These different domains include: organizational (e.g., positions in structures of society such as work, family, and education), (b) representational (e.g., discursive processes), (c) intersubjective (e.g., relationships between individuals and members of groups), and (d) experiential (e.g., narrative sensemaking). The different intersections between these domains and the relationship between them is important to consider in conceptualizing the Latinx man’s experience in higher education. Domains of power may increase awareness of the power dynamics that contribute to Latinx students’ opportunities.

The third level of the model is “historicity” (Anthias, 2013), p. 12). This level focuses on broader systems that evolve over time and the social movements to challenge them. For example, the economic system has increased resentment and fear of Latinx immigrants since the financial crisis of 2008. In general, U.S. history has a complex relationship with Latinx labor such as the bracero program which was a series of laws and diplomatic agreements, that required a Mexican labor work force (Calavita, 2010; Mitchell, 2012). Further, the willingness of the U.S. to grant citizenship and rights to Latinx has changed over time. Now, more Latinx men may have the opportunity to access educational resources (Martínez Alemán, 2006; SuárezOrozco et al., 2008; Sáenz, & Ponjuan, 2011).

The multilevel model of intersectionality has been focused on the intersections between the ethnic and immigrant identities. However, the model has not been used to focus on how other identities such as gender, race, class, citizenship, sexuality, religion, and other differences can influence educational experiences and outcomes (Núñez, 2014). Therefore, additional theory generation is needed to explain the dynamic process between students’ educational opportunities, social identities such as gender and race, and persistence within higher education.

Institutional Barriers and Latinx Students

It is important to recognize that the Latinx population is broad and that specific groups within this population may be at higher risk of not succeeding in higher education. This heterogeneity includes various ethnic identities and levels of acculturation. Acculturation can be defined as the changes over time, and adaptation during cross-cultural

transition (Ward, 1996). For example, many Latinx who recently left their countries due to various circumstances arrive to the United States with a wide variety of challenges (Cook et al., 2012; Teranishi et al., 2011). Latinx come with a variety of backgrounds, experiences, goals, and challenges as they establish their new lives in the United States (Casas & Cabrera, 2011; Teranishi et al., 2011). The population has a high concentration of individuals who have arrived in the United States with little or no formal education (Teranishi et al., 2011). The lack of formal education typically influences the ability for this particular group to have success within the United States (Pino et al., 2012; Teranishi et al., 2011). During early childhood many Latinx individuals experience long periods of separation from their parents that result in stress, anxiety, depression, and withdrawal (Teranishi et al., 2011). These factors may add an additional layer of trauma or mental health concerns. Additionally, some individuals may have family members who are undocumented in the country. The negative consequences of having a parent detained include a high incidence of reported depressive, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms (Teranishi et al., 2011).

Financial Barriers

At times Latinx men face additional pressure from their parents to contribute financially to their families. School administrators have reported that these students in particular enter the job market early in order to help their family. This is also a reason many of these students do not go on to post secondary education (Gloria et al., 2009). In particular, Latinx men are regarded as protectors and providers of the family and are often called to support the financial needs of the family (Gloria & Segura-Herrera, 2004:

Rodriguez, 1994). In one study 35% of the men reported a household income of \$29,000 or less. About 63% reported taking out student loans, working part-time (55%), and receiving financial support from family (50%). About 39% lived off-campus with friends, and 28% lived in on-campus (Clark et al., 2013). Latinx families' socioeconomic status was another critical factor regarding family influences on their child's educational experience. Similar findings have been documented at the high school level, where school counselors reported that Latinx male students' attendance level was often influenced by the family's poverty level (Gloria et al., 2009).

Generation Status

Generation status may also interact with gender for Latinx men. Generational immigration status has been shown to influence academic performance. For example, first generation Mexican-American students report better grades and more years of schooling, compared to their peers from later generations (Hurtado-Ortiz & Gauvain, 2007; Rodriguez, 2002). First and second generation Mexican-American students have been more motivated to achieve academically than their third-generation peers (Kim & Chao, 2009). Portes and Rumbaut (2001) performed a longitudinal study to further examine why these generation differences exist. They found factors such as parents' higher ambition and optimism, and students' level of diligence, commitment, and expectations toward schoolwork and high grades, and low levels of drop-out rates explained some of the differences between first and second generation students. It is important to note that although some of these differences appear grounded in aspects of *caballerismo*, it was not explicitly examined in this study. Further, a residual immigrant

drive weakens for second and third generation students due to experiencing an unwelcoming environment for a longer period. (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 279). It is suggested that Mexican Americans in particular are affected by high rates of prejudice and discrimination (Lopez & Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Organista, 2007).

Many Latinx students who enroll in colleges and universities are first-generation students (Case & Hernandez, 2013; Medina & Posadas, 2012; Nuñez, 2009; Pino et al., 2012). First-generation students are defined as students whose parents did not attend college (Boden, 2011; Carolan-Silva & Reyes, 2013; Pino et al., 2012). First-generation Latinx students often lack the social and academic capital necessary for academic success, often making their navigation of the academic environment challenging (Case & Hernandez, 2013; Crisp & Nora, 2010; Hernandez et al., 2013; Pino et al., 2012). Because first-generation students are the first in their families to go to college, they often doubt their ability to do well and be successful (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014; Boden, 2011). Many first-generation Latinx students do not have parents who attended college and may not be fully supportive or understanding of their children attending college (Boden, 2011). First-generation students may lack the confidence necessary to perform well academically and may perceive themselves as underprepared for the academic demands of college (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014; Boden, 2011). Many of these first-generation college students may also be first-generation Latino youth (foreignborn youth with foreign-born parents). These intersecting identities may present additional barriers for students.

Chicano is defined as an American man or boy of Mexican descent (Merriam-Webster, 2022). Chicano (person of Mexican origin or descent) students are often found to be one of the most marginalized subgroups of Latinx students in studies of Latinx student success. Ramirez (2017) completed in-depth qualitative interviews with 24 Chicano/Latino(a) doctoral students across social science, humanities, education, and science disciplines. Ramirez (2017) found that Chicano graduate students frequently encountered institutionalized racism, sexism, and classism. The themes interpreted by Ramirez (2017) included: low faculty expectations, stigmatization, alienation, racial isolation, tokenism, stereotyping, lack of faculty mentorship and support, as well as hostile departmental, and institutional climates. The experiences that many of the doctoral students reported ultimately affected their career choices (Ramirez, 2017). It is evident from this study that additional research must be done to understand the experiences of Chicano students in higher education and how these experiences will later affect their career decisions or academic pursuits. The study focused on primarily on barriers rather than forms of cultural wealth that kept students going whether wittingly or inadvertently, being inadequately prepared for and diverted away from academic careers. In contrast, the current study may explore cultural wealth within the Latinx community. For example, cultural wealth is referred to as accumulation of specific forms of knowledge, skills and abilities that are valued by privileged groups in society (Yosso, 2005). For many Latinx students they bring in different vocabulary, bilingualism, and other techniques that are valued by them and their families. However, not all of their knowledge carries capital in the university context (Yosso, 2005).

The current study may identify how caballerismo is seen as some form of cultural wealth in the university context. Moreover, it can be equally important to recognize the positive cultural aspects that these students possess to help them navigate the systemic racism they often face. Ramirez (2017) suggests that evaluating a group through negative cultural stereotypes can lead to poor performance by the group. Latino students in general experience negative cultural stereotypes about their intelligence and are vulnerable to stereotype threat in academic settings (Guyll, Madon, Prieto, & Scherr, 2010). It is important to recognize that Latinx students are not experiencing stereotype threat in all environments. It was found that students attending predominantly white colleges often face an environment that does not encourage a sense of belonging and places them in a situation where stereotype threat often occurs. However, an environment where students of color feel welcomed and receive support from that environment may help reduce stereotype threat. The social support received by counselors, advisors, and faculty, may also aid in the reduction of stereotype threat. However, studies that explicitly focus on interactions between cultural assets in affirming versus isolating environments have not been conducted.

Documentation Status and DACA

On June 15, 2012, the Obama Administration announced the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals as a United States immigration policy, which granted youth who met the eligibility requirements increased educational opportunity and access. On September 5, 2017, the Trump Administration revoked the DACA program. Research suggests that even though financial support is provided for undocumented/DACA students, this act

itself does not change the campus climate (Ledesma, 2016; Perez, 2011). It is suggested that undocumented students' decisions to remain in school depends on how easily colleges accommodate working students. Ultimately, DACA seemed to open up more opportunities for these students to also find work (Hsin & Ortega, 2018). However, community colleges may provide more opportunity for this student population, who tend to work often to remain in college. The vast majority of undocumented students remain in school under DACA (Hsin & Ortega, 2018). DACA may have provided work opportunities that motivated some undocumented youth to attend college under DACA (Hsin & Ortega, 2018). Most recently the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the Trump administration's efforts to end the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program. However, this may only delay the efforts of the Trump administration to end DACA (SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, 2019).

Muñoz & Vigil (2018) conducted a qualitative study with DACA students from different universities in Colorado. The majority of these students' families originated from Mexico. Findings showed that undocumented/DACA students experienced multiple forms of *legal violence* in higher education settings. Legal violence included lack of knowledge of legal status, lack of empathy and acknowledgment of students' lived experiences and experiential knowledge, and repeated racial and status microaggressions. Further, the students reported that faculty, staff, and administrators were unaware regarding undocumented/DACA students' rights and lived experiences. The authors suggested that institutions seem unprepared to provide culturally inclusive policies and or to create positive campus climates for undocumented/DACA students. Although Latinx

men may have access to college campuses, they may feel invisible because of their legal identity. The microaggressions these Latinx men face may further contribute to these student's lack of self-efficacy and sense of belonging in the setting.

Muñoz & Vigil (2018) findings are similar to other climate studies (Hurtado et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2005) in which there are psychological consequences of marginalizing conditions. Hostile institutional climates contribute to White supremacy culture in higher education—the idea that White individuals are the holders of knowledge and knowers of what is “right,” thereby excluding anyone who is not White (Cabrera, 2014). As a result, undocumented/DACA Latino men are violated through being dehumanized, silenced, and criminalized (Muñoz & Vigil, 2018).

Gender Role Barriers: Machismo Label

Latinx men from lower SES backgrounds tend to be more at risk of facing barriers related to machismo (Strayhorn, 2010). The influence of machismo may socialize Latinx men do not seek out help from others. Harper and Harris, (2010) suggest that college men tend to underutilize student services, in part because pervasive male scripts among young men can often portray help-seeking as weak. Similarly, traditional machismo characteristics can cause Latinx men not to seek out resources or professional help due to fears of presenting as weak or incapable (Griffin et al., 2012). Sáenz and Ponjuan (2011) reported that 29.6% of Latinx male students in Grades 6 to 12 have experienced suspension from school. It is suggested that these students tend to experience high levels of stereotype threat and have an increased likelihood of special education referral and placement compared with their peers (Jackson, 2012). Halx and Ortiz (2011) showed that

when compared with their same-race female peers and White students, Latinx men are more often misdiagnosed and overrepresented in special education. Latino men's efforts to excel academically typically go unrecognized, yet they place equal value on achievement across contexts, such as work experience and family involvement (Halx & Ortiz, 2011). Further, few studies explore positive relationships Latinx men have with school (Flores-Gonzalez, 1999; Harper & Associates, 2014; Lewis et al., 2008; Toldson & Lewis, 2012; Woolley et al., 2009). Typically, research has identified oppositional behaviors and students' lack of positive social and academic adjustment in schools.

Cerezo et al. (2013) conducted a qualitative study with a sample of men predominantly of Mexican American background and found that internalizing a hyper-masculine identity may deter them from college success. The authors also observed that shared notions of being a family provider and a role model motivated participants' degree completion. Thus, research has identified masculinity traits that positively influence positive forms of functioning among Latinx men (Estrada & Arciniega, 2015). However, many of the studies have only sampled from one small university and their samples have consisted of mainly Mexican American men. Further, few studies seem to screen participants for their level of acculturation. Advancing this body of research will contribute to a fuller understanding of underrepresented college populations as well as interventions that are male-oriented and solution-focused during a critical period of life.

Gender Role Assets: Caballerismo

In contrast to the negative aspects used to describe Latinx men, caballerismo refers to a code of masculine chivalry (Arciniega et al., 2008). Specifically, caballerismo

is a dimension of machismo defined by egalitarian beliefs, affiliation, positive family relationships, and empathy (Arciniega et al., 2008; Neff, 2001). Ultimately, caballerismo is a set of behaviors and attitudes such as nurturance, social responsibility, and emotional connectedness in Latinx men. The counseling psychology profession may be able to further evaluate caballerismo as a positive aspect of Latinx culture that can be recognized and enhanced. Studies have investigated caballerismo and self-esteem among Latino men (Ojeda & Piña-Watson, 2014). Additionally studies have examined how caballerismo correlates with posttraumatic stress disorder, psychological distress, paternal involvement, coping mechanisms, and relationship satisfaction (Glass & Owen, 2010; Herrera, Owens, & Mallinckrodt, 2013, Ojeda & Liang, 2014). Research has also examined the influence caballerismo has on help-seeking behaviors such as using psychological services (Davis, 2012). In general, studies have found that endorsement of caballerismo can have a positive impact on various aspects of Latinx men's mental health.

In contrast to caballerismo, machismo has often been associated with negative behaviors in Latinx men. For example, Latinx adolescent men who endorsed the machismo value were more likely to engage in sexual behavior and had greater intentions to have unprotected sex. Adolescents who endorsed less caballerismo placed more importance on having sex when not sexually active. Additionally, adolescents in this study reported lower importance of male virginity (Espinosa-Hernández et al., 2020). Adolescents who endorse traditional machismo have shown to have poorer ethnic identity development and familial connections. Meanwhile, caballerismo has been found to be

positively linked to familial connections and ethnic identity development (Sanchez et al., 2017).

Researchers have used quantitative approaches along with the 20-item Machismo Measure to assess machismo and caballerismo (Arciniega et al., 2008). Caballerismo has been positively correlated with an open disposition towards others and satisfaction with existing social support with effects strongest for men involved in religious activities (Arciniega et al., 2008; Estrada & Arciniega, 2015). However, few of these studies have included information regarding participant's level of acculturation. Glass and Owen (2010) included measures of acculturation and found differences among their participants on caballerismo based on level of acculturation.

There has also been an increased interest in how caballerismo influences Latinx men in college and how caballerismo may have a positive impact on Latinx men's success (Estrada & Jimenez, 2018). It has been suggested that students of color in higher education navigate the educational system with a heightened awareness of inequality (Núñez, 2014) and will seek out a culturally supportive atmosphere. Ojeda et al. (2011) suggest that feeling a sense of belonging and social well-being are important for college Latinx men to continue in higher education. However, risk factors like low cultural representation at predominantly white institutions and the restrictive socialization effects of traditional machismo can be a source of gender-related stress (Guardia & Evans, 2008). It is possible that caballerismo is related to experiencing social connectedness in college for Latinx men. Strayhorn (2008) found that in a nation-wide sample of college Latinx students, interactions with diverse peers led to a greater sense of belonging at

school. Schneider and Ward (2003) found that Latinx students who held a more positive view of their own ethnic background experienced greater successes at institutions where they were underrepresented. Guardia & Evans (2008) suggested that Latinx men could also develop a more positive view of their ethnic background with school-based brotherhood organizations like fraternities and possibly other male-oriented student clubs. An integrated identity can be important to help buffer against negative social appraisals (Cronin et al., 2012). For example, first-generation Latinx students continue to face racial, and gender stereotypes, and an integrated identity may act as a buffer (Ojeda et al., 2012). There is a need to further investigate how machismo and caballerismo intersect with Latinx ethnic identity. White & Bembenuddy (2013) suggested that seeking support from others as a means to self-regulate can be a function of a positive ethnic identity. Examining whether caballerismo, directly and indirectly, influences help-seeking patterns could extend prior findings showing Latinx undergraduates relying on active coping strategies to deal with stress (Gloria et al., 2009).

Purpose of the Present Study

The purpose of this study was to better understand the role of caballerismo in Latinx men who are pursuing a degree in higher education. In general, Latinx are underrepresented among college faculty and students in U.S. post-secondary education (National Science Foundation, National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics, 2012; Nunez, 2014). Studies have investigated protective factors in general for Latinx men, and caballerismo, specifically. However, few studies have used qualitative methods to examine how caballerismo manifests in Latinx students in higher education. The study

will utilize a qualitative method to capture the richness of participants' stories specific to the dynamics of ethnic minority status and gender among Latinx men in the college setting. This study will be based on a constructivist grounded-theory design (Charmaz, 2000). Grounded theory allows for theory to be developed from themes that are interpreted from the data. The theory developed from these themes can give an increased understanding to the experiences of these men and may provide guidance to those responsible for the welfare of these individuals in college. My study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What aspects of the cultural value of caballerismo manifest itself in Latinx men in higher education?
2. How does caballerismo intersect with racial and ethnic identity, immigration status, acculturation status, social class, and other dimensions of privilege and oppression to (re)produce educational equity/inequity for Latinx men?

Chapter Two: Method

I used a constructivist grounded theory approach to collect and analyze data. This approach can be described as an interpretative approach that allows for the examination of "hidden networks, situations, and relationships as well as making visible hierarchies of power" (Creswell & Poth 2018, p.134). Thus, through this approach, I gained an understanding of messages or barriers that may not be captured via quantitative methods for this population. Also, the constructivist grounded theory approach emphasizes "values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions, and ideologies of individuals rather than on the methods of research" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 87). Thus, the approach seemed appropriate for studying a concept such as caballerismo. Theoretical sampling was used to collect a sample of individuals that had specific demographics to contribute to both open and axial coding of the theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Semi-structured interviews were conducted and questions focused on how the participants experienced caballerismo. Specifically, the questions were intended to examine how caballerismo manifests itself within the higher education system and how it promoted college persistence.

Constructivist Grounded Theory Analysis & Philosophical Assumptions

The constructivist grounded theory approach was appropriate for this particular study for several reasons. The approach allowed me to adopt a more neutral perspective when entering the study. This was particularly important for me given I shared similar identities to the participants. Ultimately, my intention was to suspend potential bias that could influence interpretation of the data. Simultaneously, my experiences and identities allowed for me to better interpret certain experiences of the participants. Moreover, grounded theory allows for conceptualizing of caballerismo, accounting for the different interpretations that participants may have about masculinity in their culture. Although this approach is flexible, the methodology offers a systematic and rigorous process of data collection and analysis. I interpreted themes to develop a model based on the participants' perspectives and experiences to capture the process by which caballerismo promotes college persistence. This approach also allowed me to capture the interaction between different systems and identities of the participants. I used constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) as it emphasizes that data collection and interpretation are influenced and created by the shared experiences of the researcher and the participant.

Positionality Statement

Before entering the doctoral program at the University of Denver, I worked as a counselor in the U.S./Mexico border region and mainly with Mexican immigrant communities. My work with immigrant communities has spanned over six years. Moreover, I am a first-generation Mexican American. I was raised in a community with other first-generation Mexican American men. Further, I graduated from a high school,

which consisted of mainly Mexican American students. Although I graduated from a high school with mainly Mexican American students, few Latinx men were able to excel in education. I noticed that many Latinx men were encouraged to join the military before completing high school. Also, many Latinx men were pushed to go into trade school rather than enter college. Ultimately, I was also encouraged to follow many other routes instead of higher education. During "college day," university recruiters seemed less likely to want to speak to Latinx men and especially those with a language barrier. Also, there seemed to be more military recruiters during "college day" rather than university recruiters. This may also be due to the high school having a sizeable Latinx student population and being a Title 1 school. Ultimately, Latinx students, in general, seemed to face various barriers to obtaining more education. However, there seemed to be much fewer Latinx men similar to me graduating high school and entering college.

Once I entered college, the number of Latinx men seemed to get smaller. It seemed that many students struggled to adjust to the college environment. The difficulty of adjustment may have been attributed to many Mexican American students also being first-generation college students. Also, many students were unable to afford to complete a college education. Thus, many students found employment in order to have a steady income. Others turned to enlist in the military, which would later pay for their education. Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) allowed many students to begin their education. However, many types of funding still required a social security number to apply.

Additionally, I was an instructor at a Hispanic serving university. I taught undergraduate classes that consisted of primarily first-year and second-year students. The experience allowed me to witness further that there were few Latinx men in my classes. Also, the Latinx male students seemed to have difficulty adjusting to the college setting, and many of the Latino male students were first-generation college students. I noticed that many of my male students seemed to seek further guidance from me on how they should best navigate the college setting. They seemed unaware of different expectations in their classrooms and seeking out different resources. Ultimately, I took note that many students seemed to endorse strong cultural values. The cultural and spiritual values seemed to help many of these students remain motivated to continue their education. As a school counselor, I worked primarily in high school and middle school settings. I noticed that many teenage Latinx men were influenced by gangs and machismo. These factors may have caused them difficulty in remaining in school. I noticed that many of these students were referred to me because we shared similar identities. My work as a counselor attempted to emphasize cultural values that may help them improve their behavior in the classroom setting.

My interest in understanding the influence of positive cultural values began early on as I entered the college setting. There seemed to be fewer individuals that looked like me in my classrooms. As I continued in my education, I received more questions from others in regards to how I managed to continue my education. It saddened me to witness that many of my friends from adolescence faced increased legal issues. Many family members and friends simply could not consider higher education due to issues with their

status in the country. I noticed that many of the Latinx men who did enter college seemed to discontinue their education early on. I had experienced and witnessed the messages many Latinx men receive by others. They are not typically seen as a group that can excel academically. These individuals can often be assumed to be defiant or involved in criminal activities.

Ultimately, it is essential to recognize that I have experience working and living in a setting with a large Latinx group. Also, I have experience working within higher education as a counselor and an educator. It will be important to recognize how my past roles are related to the current research and how these past roles can influence my view of the data.

Additionally, it is important to note that I am a first-generation Mexican American male. Both my parents immigrated to the United States with only a middle school education. Therefore, I am also a first-generation college student. As a Mexican American male, I have witnessed and experienced the difficulties of navigating higher education. Also, I continue to identify strongly with my Mexican culture. It is important to recognize how my cultural identities and experience may make it likely that I can overidentify with the population being studied. Further, I may make certain assumptions about their experiences based on my past. It is equally important to consider that I am now an individual with many privileges. I have benefited from having citizenship status in the country. This citizenship status has allowed me to visit my family in Mexico and return to the U.S. The citizenship status has allowed me to apply for multiple scholarships in the past. Further, I am now highly educated and have been exposed to working in

settings with primarily white individuals. Further, I have been trained and supervised by many white individuals. Thus, I should recognize that my worldview has shifted.

Although I identify as a Mexican American male, my worldview will not necessarily align completely to another Latinx male who has not been exposed to similar experiences. I need to be attuned to my biases about the importance of education and certain cultural values. It may be that many students do not find importance in higher education. These individuals may have other responsibilities, such as providing for their families. Also, individuals may have only a negative view of masculinity in their culture. They may have exposed to only aspects of machismo that have skewed their beliefs on what it means to be a Latinx man in their communities.

Participants

The 12 participants all identified as Latinx men. Participants' ages were: 20-24 years old ($n = 3$), 25-29 ($n = 6$), 30-39 ($n = 2$), and 40-50 ($n = 1$). At the time of the interviews, two were currently enrolled at a university and pursuing a degree. Nine were recent recipients of a baccalaureate degree. The majority of students were graduates from a four-year, large, primarily residential, Hispanic serving institution, university in southwest New Mexico. Other students were graduates from a four-year, large, primarily nonresidential, Hispanic serving institution, university in west Texas. Another student was a student in a four-year, large, primarily nonresidential University in Arizona. There were 2 students who were current students in four-year, large, primarily nonresidential universities in central Texas. One of the participants was a graduate of a four-year, large, primarily residential university in Colorado. The universities represented

included three of Texas’s research universities. All of the students majored in a health care or helping field. All of the students were either enrolled full-time in courses at the time of the interview or had completed their college degree in past 24 months. Of the 12 students interviewed, 10 of them had moved out of their hometown to attend a university. Some had lived in a Latin American country prior to attending college in the United States. Although the majority of the participants identified as being of Mexican heritage, there was still strong diversity in the group based on level of acculturation, age, and social status.

Of note, the participants in the study included six participants who were studying counseling. The study was advertised through colleges of education and the counseling departments of those colleges. The study was also advertised through listservs for counseling related fields such the National Latinx Psychological Association. The counseling students in the sample also tended to be older. These participants may have had prior interest or exposure to literature on masculinity during their education or life experience. Thus, the sample varied widely in their exposure to, and experience with, the phenomenon of interest.

Table 1: Participant Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Age	Ethnicity	Degree
Juan (A)	23	Mexican	Radiology Tech
Joseph (D)	24	Mexican	School Counseling

Francisco (E)	25	Mexican	School Counseling
Chuy (C)	23	Mexican	Nursing
Alex (B)	30	Mexican	Counseling
Miguel (G)	30	Mexican	Counseling
Sergio (K)	26	Mexican	Biology
Jorge (J)	30	Mexican	Counseling
Antonio (F)	40	Dominican	Counseling
Angel (I)	37	Mexican	Business
Moises (H)	26	Mexican	Psychology
Joel (L)	20	Mexican	Nursing

The 12 Latinx students/graduates were mainly from the southwest region of the united states and many from the U.S./Mexico border region. Only one participants was from a predominantly white institution (PWI). The sample size was intended to produce a large enough data set to build theory explaining caballerismo in higher education. My intention was to target Latinx men who identify with their ethnic, cultural values. It should be noted that the Latinx population is broad and consists of various ethnic groups. However, this study included participants mainly from a Mexican ethnic background. The acculturation screener was selected to determine which Latinx men are appropriate for interviewing based on acculturation level. The Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS-ZABB; Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki, 2003) will be

used to screen for acculturation. However, only two participants included their email within the Qualtrics survey in order to match them to their responses. All participants still scored similarly in regards to identification with Latino culture and only a few felt less acculturated to the U.S. culture.

Instruments

Acculturation Screener. Potential participants completed the AMAS-ZABB (Zea et al., 2003). The AMAS-ZABB was normed in English and Spanish on both Latino college students and a community sample of Central American immigrants and refugees. The measure consists of three subscales: U.S. cultural competence, English competence, and U.S. identity. Enculturation consists of three subscales: country-of-origin cultural competence, first language competence, and country-of-origin identity scores (Zea et al., 2003). The AMAS-ZABB was found to have adequate convergent and discriminant validity with the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992). The AMAS-ZABB has demonstrated convergent validity with years in the United States (Zea et al., 2003). The AMAS-ZABB has been used with both student and community samples and has demonstrated high internal consistency for scores on acculturation and enculturation ranging from .89 to .99 (Zea et al., 2003). Yoon, Jung, Lee, and Felix-Moora (2012) found alphas of .92 for acculturation and .95 for enculturation in a sample of Mexican Americans. Unfortunately, results from the measure could not fully be used due to many of the participants not adding an email to match their responses. Only two participants completed the survey completely and added their email to match them to the responses. One participant from the total 12 participants started the measure and

consented to participate but did not complete answering the responses. Of note, all the responses were still calculated and demonstrated that the majority of participants endorsed both U.S. culture and their culture of origin similarly. However, some participants slightly endorsed their culture of origin over U.S. culture. This information indicates that all participants have familiarity of U.S. culture and some endorsing their culture of origin more.

Demographic form. Participants completed a demographic questionnaire prior to being interviewed. The questionnaire included questions regarding enrollment status, year of study, gender, ethnic background and first-generation status.

Interview protocol. The goal of grounded theory research is theory development and research questions are intended to be open and focused on social processes (Kolb, 2012). A pilot interview using the preliminary interview protocol was conducted with Latinx students from New Mexico State University to test if the protocol captured rich data related to the questions and I solicited feedback from Latinx men who attended a four-year university. The interview protocol was revised based on the feedback received.

The interview protocol consisted of 16 semi-structured questions. The questions allowed for follow up, clarification, and more information as necessary to elicit rich data. The questions were ordered from most general to most specific (Turner III, 2010). The interview protocol is as follows:

1. Tell me about your decision to go to college.
 - A. What were some of your thoughts and feelings about college? (before and after college)

- B. What was your family's response to you going into college?
- C. How did your peers respond to your decision to enter college?
- 2. What does it mean to you to be in college?
 - A. What does it mean to be a Latino male and in college?
- 3. What does it mean to you to be pursuing your particular degree?
- 4. What was the transition to college like for you as a Latino man?
- 5. What sort of support did you have or wish you had as you began college?
- 6. How, if at all, does your role as a student conflict with your own values as a Latino male?
- 7. What cultural values are important to you as a Latino man?
 - A. How, if at all, have these values been in conflict during your experience in college?
- 8. Who have been the people who have influenced your decision to continue pursuing your degree?
- 9. Have there been particular men you look up to? What are the traits you admire about?
- 10. What does it mean for your family in you completing your college education?
- 11. How much do you agree with the family being more important than the individual?
- 12. How important is the value of respect in your life?
- 13. How important is the value of family in your life?
- 14. How important is it for you to maintain close relationships with others?

15. How much do you agree with showing affection to those people you have close relationships with?
16. What else might be significant to share about your experience of being a Latino male in your program/college?

Data Analysis

Data from the interviews was transcribed for open coding. The transcription process involved utilizing the Express Scribe Transcription program. The open coding process included examining the data from the interviews to identify initial themes that may relate to caballerismo (Creswell & Poth, 2018, see p.133). After identifying themes in the data set, I adjusted wording of some questions in future interviews to explore topics further. This iterative process involved moving back and forth between data collection and the analysis process. I also received additional feedback from a second auditor viewing themes and quotes from transcripts. The process involved creating multiple iterations of the theory being developed.

The process begin with asking the series of questions designed to lead to the development or generation of a theory regarding caballerismo as a protective factor in higher education.

I continued with axial coding, a method of coding that allows for the identification of the phenomenon and the creation of categories around the phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2018, see p.135). Further, selective coding connected the themes identified in a manner that allows for making predictions. Other categories were also addressed through the coding process. First, the *causal conditions* included describing the

specific incidents or occurrences in which caballerismo appears. *Context* described the conditions in which action/interaction strategies take place when noticing aspects of caballerismo (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). The *intervening strategies* described the general conditions that can influence action/interaction strategies. The intervening strategies included socioeconomic status, career, history, and individual biography (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). Also, *action or interaction* strategies were described as the process of the phenomenon. Ultimately, the data described the context in which caballerismo appears. The interaction or dynamic process described the self or identities of the individual participant as well as other interactions in the higher education setting (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). Additionally, the data identified action and interaction that are performed or are not performed as an answer to caballerismo. Also, the data described the outcome of the interactions. Grounded theory refers to these outcomes as *consequences*. Consequences can be real or hypothetical in the present or in the future (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). In addition, consequences can change their frame of reference as in one point of time they can be consequences of an action/interaction, whereas at a later point of time, they can be part of causal conditions for another phenomenon (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019).

Additionally, two separate diagrams were used to illustrate the central phenomenon and categories that influence the phenomenon. Moreover, the diagrams illustrate other interactions that result from the central phenomenon, and the outcomes of the phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2018, see p.136).

The writing structure of the study was based on May's (1986). According to May (1986), the literature review "neither provides key concepts nor suggests hypotheses" (May 1986, cited in Creswell 2007, p.190). The literature review points out information that is still missing from the research. It is not recommended by May (1986), to write the methods section early due to the possibility of changes to the methodology. Typically, the methodology will include preliminary ideas about the sample, the setting, and the data collection procedures. The results section is the presentation of the theory developed from the present study. The data collected, such as specific quotes, were presented as evidence to explain the theory. Moreover, the existing literature was utilized to support the theory. Lastly, the discussion section further elaborated on the implications of the study for future and existing research.

Initial Coding

I contacted two different administrative associates at separate universities near the U.S./Mexico border region to facilitate participant recruitment. The administrative associates responded to me with lists of students and associated email addresses at their respective universities for all the students who: (a) self-identified as Latinx men and (b) were enrolled full-time or completed a college degree in past 24 months. I sent out recruitment letters to the Chicano programs at the different universities and through the National Latinx Psychological Association email list serve. I also sent individual emails to students to advertise the study. A total of 12 eligible students responded and were interviewed. Pseudonyms have been used throughout the findings to protect participant's identities.

I initially interviewed five participants in the month of December 2020, beginning the process of collecting indicators and open coding during and after the first interview, noting concepts as they emerged in both brief notes during interviews and memos written afterward. After the first round of open coding, I conducted three additional interviews. In the first round of interviews, Juan spoke of the multiple barriers he faced as a first-generation college student. I began to note a pattern of participants having a strong sense of responsibility to meet expectations. The sense of meeting expectations related to their decision to enter college and continue their education. This concept was also an important topic discussed by the following two respondents. I began to recognize that participants seemed to be fulfilling a sense of purpose through college. I started the constant comparative process beginning within the first interview as I analyzed and compared details of Juan's interview for similarities and oppositions, for resonances in conversation, and for disparate topics with underlying connections. I continued the constant comparative process with the second interview. After taking notes and writing memos, I completed open coding again and began comparing elements of the first two interviews and noting connections between them. I completed the remaining 4 of 12 interviews in the following year and completed data collection in November 2021. Naturally, I found my own style in asking the interview questions but maintained fidelity in asking the same questions to each participant. As the interviews continued over time, concepts and meanings emerged from the data.

Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of GTM studies can be evaluated by examining the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the study. (Sikolia, Biros, Mason, & Weiser, 2013). Trustworthiness has been defined as the conceptual soundness from which the value of qualitative research may be evaluated (Bowen, 2009). There are factors examined to establish trustworthiness in grounded theory qualitative research. First, trustworthiness is established through credibility, which refers to how much the data collected accurately reflects the multiple realities of the phenomenon. Credibility can be established by prolonged engagement with participants or getting data from various sources (interviews, documents, etc.). I attempted to establish credibility with each participant by asking for clarification in their responses (Morrow, 2005). Additionally, the theory developed through the data was shared with the participants and feedback was solicited from them. However, no participants provided any additional information.

Trustworthiness was also established through transferability, which is similar to external validity (Morrow, 2005; Rolfe, 2004). Transferability was enhanced through clear descriptions of the research and the participant's diverse perspectives and experiences (Brown, Stevens, Troiano, and Schneider, 2002). Also, dependability is a trustworthiness concept that closely matches reliability (Morrow, 2005; Rolfe, 2004). Dependability refers to the data representing any changes of the phenomenon being studied (Brown et al., 2002). This is confirmed by another individual who audits and confirms that the GTM procedures are followed and verifying that they were used correctly (Brown et al., 2002). I had additional assistance from by dissertation chair to

examine the chronology of research activities, processes, or audit trail to determine the reliability of the findings (Morrow, 2005). My dissertation chair was selected because of the additional experience they have in researching marginalized student populations in the higher education setting. The dependability was also enhanced by the iterative data collection and analysis process. The confirmability tests the ‘objectivity’ of research. This was established by having an audit trail of the materials used to perform the research (Brown et al., 2002). Preliminary findings of the present study were also presented at the National Latinx Psychological Association conference in 2021 in order to gain additional feedback from other peer researchers with similar interest about the initial findings.

Interviews

All 12 interviews were done via zoom, which was most convenient in order to record the interviews and maintain safety due to COVID precautions. Interviews lasted 30 to 60 minutes and were recorded on the zoom cloud which also transcribed audio from the video recording. It should be noted that four participants completed their interview while outside of their home. Migeul talked to me outside of his car using his phone after he finished working for the day. The signal during this particular call was slower. I had to repeat questions a few times because I could not hear him clearly and his video appeared blurry. Moises completed his interview outside at a park. The signal was strong during this call, but we did pause answering questions at different points because there were people gathering near him. He simply moved to a different location at the park where he felt more comfortable answering the questions. The participants seemed eager to participate and confident of their ability to assist. I often expressed my thanks for their

participation. Also, many of the participants reported that research on Latinxs is important to them. My goal was to make the interviews collaborative conversations, as stipulated in grounded theory methods (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012).

The interviews can be described as active interviews in which the participant and I engaged in the process of creating meaning. Participants' responses to interview questions varied considerably in terms of depth and this appeared to be a function of their identity development. For example, some participants struggled to respond to questions about culture. When Chuy was asked the question, "What cultural values are important to you as a Latino?" they initially responded that they were not sure. Chuy seemed to have difficulty understanding why I was asking about cultural concepts such as Latinx values in the interview. When asking about his initial reasons for entering college, Chuy responded "to have fun." His responses seemed to be short and lack depth. Thus, I used more reflective statements and moments of silence to allow him to process questions reflect on examples from his college experience.

In contrast, Alex was willing to dig deeper and formulate ideas that gave a more complete picture of his experience. He spoke in depth about his family history and struggles he witnessed with his father. He discussed being a first-generation college student and being raised by a single father, who he described as struggling with alcoholism. Rather than following similar footsteps, Alex felt a drive to be better than the behavior he witnessed. Alex felt that college was the path to leave poverty and alcoholism, and that college would provide him the opportunity to help his father. These

examples illustrate variation in participants' capacity for self-reflection and identity development.

Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling refers to the sampling of additional incidents or participants that is directed by evolving theoretical constructs. I closely examined the transcripts and my open coding using constant comparison through the 12th interview and began to think about categories by the third interview. My collection of a heterogeneous sample allowed me to capture a wider range of differences between participants in age and level of acculturation. The initial interviews provided some information on how level of acculturation and age could be important in selecting participants to interview. For example, participants who were younger and more assimilated to American culture appeared less familiar with cultural concepts. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) argue that selecting sources of data is an “ongoing process” and “sometimes even spontaneous” (p. 74). More respondents with varied ethnic identities and from other institutional contexts would likely enrich findings from the data that I gathered. However, the sample collected for this study appeared to capture important nuances in participants' experiences that ultimately enhanced the grounded theory.

Open Coding

The process of open coding begins with collecting indicators that would later lead to developing core categories. This process involves reading each of the transcripts from the interviews and noting words, phrases, statements from the data, or observations. In

Table 2, I have provided an extensive list of the indicators collected from the 12 interviews. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), open coding is the part of data analysis that entails conceptualization and categorization of phenomena through an intensive analysis of the data. First, the data is broken down into smaller pieces. The aim of this analysis is to grasp the core ideas of the interview transcripts and to develop a code to describe them. The indicators, then, are both identified bits of data collected and data that results from the process of breaking down the data. For example, the majority of participants discussed relationships and support they received from family while in college. The participants also often talked about male family members and their influence. These different topics are important indicators and can be considered the components of a larger concept of familism. Open Coding can provide a sense of direction in data analysis (Glaser, 1978, p. 56). Further, these codes are tentative and are open to be reworded or discarded through further analysis. The process of comparing and contrasting information allows for making changes and developing clearer or more helpful concepts and categories.

Table 2: List of Initial Indicators and Concepts from Interviews

Family	Resource	Influence	Conflict
Separation	Role models	Hard-working	Providing
Success	Respect	Education	Age
Language	Barriers	Immigration	Generation status
Machismo	Stress	Affection	Relationships

Orgullo	Religion	Culpa	Responsibility
Obligation	Fear	Loneliness	Help
Dialogue	Protector	Provider	Equal
Dad	Support	Money	Finances

Memo Writing

Memo writing is also an important part of data analysis in grounded theory. Analytic memos are used to note emerging concepts as the research progresses. Memo writing can be used both during and after data collection. There was no specific structure followed when writing down a memo. I usually wrote a few sentences about my thoughts after interviews. I would focus more of my memo writing on what I saw in the data collected from the interviews. I also took note of my own skills as interviewer. I recognized there were moments in the interview where I could have explored some concepts further but did not. Further exploration of topics could have been done through follow-up interviews. Specifically, I could have further explored participant's view of masculinity in their culture. However, time constraints for many of the participants made it unfeasible at the time. Also, I felt that I was able to build rapport quickly with participants and they were forthcoming in sharing personal information during the first interview. The memo writing allowed for further describing participants nonverbal responses during interviews when discussing masculinity. This nonverbal information provides further description of participants; view of masculinity. The memo writing can generate more appropriate concepts and it generate more theoretical thinking. I continued to progress in the open coding and noticed that the concept of caballerismo may not be an

immediate connection for Latinx men in discussing their own masculinity. Instead, I noticed many men were describing different aspects of themselves that could be related to the definition of caballeros. For example, my interview with Chuy demonstrated moments in which the participant was discussing aspects of caballerismo. However, he did not label his cultural values. He initially did not know how to respond when asked about his own cultural values and requested if I could explain more what I meant by cultural values as a Latinx man. As the interview continued, I noticed that he began to share more and share aspects related to caballerismo such as providing for his family in the future. This is a memo I wrote early in the process:

My interview language or possibly the concepts are going to confuse participants at times. Either they are unfamiliar with these concepts. The other part to consider is that I am speaking to a group of men who, culturally, are not brought up to reflect on their own masculinity and emotions. They may start off with some confusion but if I am patient and give it more time they will eventually start to share more. I need to use more moments of silence or ask follow-up questions that are more open ended.

From Concepts to Categories. After the open coding process, I outlined 12 concepts for further analysis:

- Resources
- Individuation
- Role models
- Meeting expectations
- A Means to Provide

- Respeto
- Transitions
- Language
- Machismo
- Carino
- Orgullo
- Culpa

These concepts originated from the transcript data and allowed me to develop larger categories to answer the overarching research questions. Concepts were then used to develop a set of major categories that encompassed concepts, their indicators, and the relationships shared between them. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967) concepts must be both analytic and sensitizing. A concept is analytic if it is abstract enough to be analyzed into properties or characteristics; it is sensitizing if it produces a picture that facilitates an understanding accessible through personal experience.

The data analysis process involved using the list of indicators to confirm the larger concepts. By re-reading the transcripts, I was able to confirm the list of indicators and concepts that seemed to be most relevant in the interviews. The set of concepts included some of the indicators that were listed and could be grouped together. The following sections provide further information on the process of coding concepts, examining and analyzing the indicators initially clustered with each concept.

Chapter Three: Findings

The primary aim of this study was to better understand the role of caballerismo in Latinx men who are pursuing a degree in higher education. This chapter includes the findings from the semi-structured interviews along with transcript excerpts to further illustrate the themes. Contextual information is added for clarity to support interpreted themes and conclusions about the data can be drawn by a close reading of the text and commentary. This chapter illustrates the development of the research project as it unfolded from the process of interviewing, coding, and generating substantive theory and themes. The chapter begins with recognizing the researcher's experiences and/or knowledge that potentially affected analysis and interpretation of findings, followed by a discussion of the participants in the study.

The Concept of Resources

The present study was designed to develop an understanding of how the cultural value of caballerismo manifests itself in Latinx men in the college setting. It should be noted though that this population often discussed some of the major concerns they faced as a Latinx men in college. It is noted in the literature that the Latinx population has noted several barriers in higher education (family problems, not feeling smart enough, documentation status, financial barriers) (Gonzalez, Stein, & Huq, 2013). Thus, it may

have been expected for participants to express similar concerns. However, this specific group of Latinx men may give a fuller understanding of Latinx men's cultural resources.

According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), these concepts developed from data analysis can allow for dimensionality. The term "resources" covers the range of resources that Latinx men described for themselves. These may sometimes be very tangible resources such as finances or more relational support from family members. Thus, the concept of resources can cover various indicators and may overlap with other concepts at times. One respondent, Chuy, made the following comment regarding his experience of not having many tangible resources but still feeling he had the support of his family:

"Uhm, for most of my childhood that.. I would say we were lower class. It wasn't until the last years of my high school that I would say we kind of became middle class. So it does mean a lot to me when I think back and I look at where I came from and where I'm at now, I mean, I grew up in a household of a two bedroom trailer with seven of us. So it makes me proud knowing that I came from that and I don't want to blame it on me being a Latino male, but more so, maybe first generation coming from parents straight from Mexico, they did the best they could and I love them."

Alex described not having the resources to navigate the college setting. These statements seem to reflect patterns identified in past studies which suggest that Latinx students may lack an understanding of the culture of college. He expressed some of the frustrations he experienced because of a lack of knowledge: "Uh, and I didn't really, you know, being a first-generation college student, I don't really know how to access the resources on

campus.” Later, Alex expressed how his father influenced him to enter college. Wow yeah. And that sort of also helped motivate me to perform well in school, yeah, He (His father) equated a lot of college to a lot of like success either financially and even relationally right. Like you know. And so I think with that then I developed sort of a motivation that you know I need to go to college. I need to get these good grades and so I just had in the back of my mind that I was gonna go to college but I just didn't know where.”

This quote demonstrates a lack of knowledge in navigating the process of applying to college and family influence being a resource to enter college. Although Alex describes his family as a resource, he continues on to describe how there could still be gaps. Ultimately, his family had a major influence on him being in college. However, family influence and support may not completely explain the resources for Latinx men. Additional concepts can continue to provide a better picture Latinx men.

“Yeah, and also there's a sense of isolation within my family that first year. Because, you know, no one else was going to college and so every time I would go home they would ask how was college, how you doing, but you know, I would just kind of say oh it's great, you know I would lie to them. It's great, it's awesome, it's cool, I'm doing good, but I really want you know, because I knew they just wouldn't understand and I didn't really. I knew what kind of responses that would give me and I don't want to hear it.” Table 3 shows the indicators associated with the concept of Resources.

Table 3: Analysis of Concept of Resources

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Resources	Access resources Supports and encourages people They're very supportive Always motivated me to not give up Help from my family, friends Church community Their help and support Adequate amount of support. Financial support Dad supported me financially Emotional support Did the best they could	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L,

The Concept of Individuation

The term individuation refers to the process of forming a stable personality, as a person individuates, they gain a clearer sense of self that is separate from their parents and others around them (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986). I used this term to conceptualize the process of Latinx men dealing with the separation from their family members while in college. Latinx men seemed to struggle with the process of being further away from family. As time went on within the college setting, they seemed to begin to develop a balance of maintaining connectedness and focusing on their studies. Juan described his experience being away from his family while in college:

“I was becoming my own kind of having my own kind of personality and there were things that I wanted to do that maybe didn't involve them, and if I didn't, I remember if I didn't follow through and go home certain times I'd get like shunned or shamed for it. Like, oh, you didn't come like. And now it's like, oh don't you care about, you know your family like everyone wanted to see you and all this stuff. And I was very conflicted and I didn't know how to nicely say like, you know, I got other stuff I wanna try though you know? I don't wanna just be going home that not to say that. I mean, I still love you guys obviously, but I just started to take on more of an individualistic like perspective, so some of that got mixed in and then you know it caused it definitely caused some tension.”

Sergio was an interesting case because both his parents are college graduates from Mexico. Thus, he had some understanding of higher education but was educated in the U.S. and attended college in Central Texas. He identified family and community as being a major cultural value. He discussed growing up in a traditional Mexican family and being from a community that identified as mainly Latinx. Initially, he sacrificed time with family and friends to focus on schoolwork. However, this seemed to cause internal conflict for him and he found his own way of maintaining balance. Ultimately, the cultural value of family seemed important across participants. However, they also seemed to have an internal struggle with managing their cultural values. As Sergio explained:

“I mean, I didn't realize how much time it would take and all the studying that would be involved. And so you do kind of initially you kind of at least I did. You set

aside some relationships so that you could study more and do well in school. So I would say initially but my relationships kind of took a strain, but I mean throughout school I started to realize that you know, those are super important to me and if it means getting a lower score on an exam, if that means that I could hang out with my best friends at least one time a week, then you know that's fine with me as long as I'm passing and you know, moving along so.”

Sergio was asked to further elaborate on moments when he was trying to manage the conflict between his obligations at college and being there for his family. Each participant discussed having concerns with being there for family and college responsibilities. The majority of participants discuss not wanting to miss out on family events. Sergio stated:

“I think that they come up. It came up this week. Uh, my mom retired and she was having a ceremony for retirement which is very important to her. And then I had my lecture my first summer lecture for one of my classes and I was gonna have to miss pieces of it. And so it's that piece of my faculty expressing a concern of like “Oh well, if we were in person, you would not be able to go to this or you know the expectation is that you're always present.” You know this is a job, but then also choosing your job over your family and for me it's very much like I'm sorry, but I'm not going to conform to a system where it perpetuates, I guess sole individuality. That (family) is very important to me and, this will always be here. My mom's retirement experience is only a one time event in her life and so, me having to navigate that because where I'm at as a student is very much my professional sense of self.”

Francisco describes his experience of not coming from a culture background in which competitiveness or attempting to stand out was valued. Yet, he had to adjust to the college setting in which one must focus more on their own goals and compete against others:

“Like the the biggest thing for me like the the value of like you know, working together like the community and family I think that has conflicted a lot with like the college experiences because like I don't know like a lot of people or many people will try to get competitive....Just like you know, focus on themselves and like not want to like give to others....For me it's not something like I was used to doing so, like I try to help other people like you know, we're in this together kinda thing.”

Table 4: Analysis of Concept of Individuation

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Individuation	Individualistic My own personality Set aside relationships Individuality Family Relationships Sense of self Taking care of self	A, B, C, D, E, F, I, J, L

The Concept of Role Models

The concept of Role Models was mentioned by all the participants. The majority of participants mentioned male role models. However, some also mentioned female role models. There were some participants who felt they did not have healthy role models in their home. However, some found male instructors that reflected qualities that

participants wanted to model. Also, some participants found qualities from women in their families that they wanted to model instead of following similar patterns of machismo seen in their homes. Ultimately, this process reflects one of the ways participants formed a healthy sense of masculinity. It does not seem that these men are drawn to model the negative behavior they have seen before. Instead, they are able to identify and reject such behavior. The healthy role models they identified seemed to buffer socialization patterns of machismo. Jorge described finding women in his family as role models:

“There hasn't really been any, even outside of academia. I can't think of that I that I looked up to, I think I had more women in my life that I looked up to more than men. Yeah, now I definitely hear that, and I think that is one of the things that, uh, especially like in higher education in general and in the particular field that that we're in, it seems more and more rare to find like those individuals that kind of guide us or help guide us and or have some impact there.”

Alex discussed having male role models in his family. Similar to the other participants, he especially admired the work ethic of men in his family. However, he also had to find a balance of admiring certain characteristics and recognizing that other behaviors were unhealthy. His statements exemplify the process of participants finding aspects of masculinity they wish to model and aspects they reject:

“My dad unfortunately is an alcoholic, you know, and there are some behaviors I don't like about him, particularly when he's drunk, you know it takes away, sort of everything that I think positively you know about when I think of him and, uh, me, but

the one thing I will say, you know I don't wanna discredit my father, you know, but I think one thing that I can admire about my dad is also his hard work mentality. His willingness to come be resilient when it comes to finding a job you know 'cause he's gotten. He's lost jobs here and there, but he's always found that next, like he never stopped trying. And he did it because, you know he valued work like my grandfather. And he knew that he needed to support his family.”

Participants identify certain aspects of male role models they admire. These male role models seem to be described with various positive qualities. The main qualities that are described across interviews are work ethic and emotions. Joseph provides a description who is one of his male role models and supported him in going to college.

“I admire my dad’s work ethic. I admire his ability to be efficient when it comes to handling his emotions and taking care of his family. I mean, I've seen him put us like I've seen him put us first to the point or not first, but I've seen him take care of us to the point where, you know if you remove him from the equation like we don't make it through certain things you know...”

Table 5: Analysis of Concept of Role Models

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Role Models	Men that I look to My grandfather and my dad Traits Behaviors My professors Mentor worked hard	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L

	Hard working What a man should be	
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The Concept of Meeting Expectations

The concept of meeting expectations captures participants' descriptions of feeling a sense of responsibility to attend college and do well. The majority of participants rarely discussed college being a process of excitement or adventure. None of the participants discuss entering college out of boredom or to just have fun. The participants described college as providing new opportunities and dedicating their time and energy to doing well. Jorge discussed his reason for entering college:

“Alright, so the reason I came to college was one because my parents have always persuaded me to get in higher education. Guess, I for the simple fact that you know we're born into a country with many opportunities and that's one of the reasons why I got take advantage of opportunities. So I was very motivated by them. And the reason why I wanted to go was like I said I wanted to be able to have a better life than my parents did growing up. They're coming from a different country where maybe the opportunities are not as available as it is here in the states. So going to higher education was very important because it showed that I was honoring them through their struggles to come into a new country with a new language, new cultured habits and it was just honoring them and also helping me and have a better life for future for future family.”

Jorge discusses his family members explicitly stating that college is important and relates to various forms of success. Thus, participants were often encouraged to continue their education and received these messages early in their childhood. Moreover, they

received these messages from male role models such as their fathers to continue their education. This may explain the decision for participants to enter college without hesitation—they were expected to pursue a college degree. Jorge discussed the specific messages he received from his father about education:

“My specifically my dad, my dad very much encouraged me to go to college. There was kind of this expectation to go into college and growing up. My dad was very much like tell me when I was little like tuck me into bed like you know me when you get older you're going to college, you're going to become successful. You're gonna get married, have kids, buy house, etc. And so he would tell me like every night before I would go to bed and then so I think I say would that's what promoted me go to college.”

Table 6: Analysis of Concept of Meeting Expectations

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Meeting Expectations	I need to go to college Decided for me Value in education I was told We were told We needed to focus Not a choice that I could make. It was expected of me	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L,

The Concept of A Means to Provide

The concept of A Means to Provide was mentioned by the majority of the participants in regards to being a provider and caring for loved ones. Some of the participants were married and had children but the majority were single and without children at the time of the interviews. Yet, the majority of participants discussed the

importance of finances because they wanted to be providers for future families they may have. Jorge provided an example of being prepared to provide for his future children:

“I think it's just the value of also being the provider. That sense of “No babe like I'll take care of it don't worry like finances, don't worry about it. I'll make it happen. I'll hustle, I'll do it and I'll do what needs to happen to make it make it work. Don't stress.” I don't want to have it to where my family ever feels that sense of and I don't have kids yet, but that sense of you know, like “dad like.... why can't we can we get this?” I don't want my kids to have that experience. And so I think that's important to me...was having that financial stability that value of making sure I'm the provider or my family is taken care of.”

Chuy said that his education will ultimately lead to more financial stability and that financial stability would allow him to start a family. He discussed being a provider to his future family but not having any objections to having a future wife who will work as well. He said he was raised to believe that a man should be the main provider in the household but his perspective changed after college:

“And I feel like I will be able to set that foundation for a family after that. Uhm, so I guess for me, one of the things that's most important is being secure and well off before raising a family. Yeah, I think that's the biggest thing for me....Uh, I think culturally before college, I always thought that way. I always thought males the breadwinner. The male goes to work, comes back, provides food, provides shelter, etc. right and the females role was to take care of the family. The way we were brought up, you know but you go to college and that's another benefit of going away from home is the

exposure. Uhm, realize why would I settle with being the only person working when my wife could have a degree and make double the income. Let's be smart about it. No, I don't plan on being the only person working. Uhm, I am still because maybe my background. I would like for one of us to stay at home and raise the family when they're still young. I would never force my spouse to stay at home if she has a career which is important to me. Now that we're talking about values, this is marrying someone with a career that's something I want. Well, it's something I value in myself and it's something that I would value in somebody else. Someone that's career driven, you know so if my spouse has a career and she wants to continue working. By all means double the income. I think it's better for our family as a whole, you know. If it comes down to that because my wife prefers to stay at home with the family, I'm ok with that because like I said, I wanna set myself up financially well before raising a family that I'll be ok with that by then.”

Table 7: Analysis of Concept of A Means to Provide

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Finances	Finance is awesome Financial pieces Finances Financial stability Secure Success Provider Breadwinner Taking care of Stress Help with the bill Making money	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L,

The Concept of Respeto

The concept of Respeto was mentioned and emphasized by all participants. Participants described Respect as a value that influenced their relationships with others. Most emphasized that respect is related to interactions with family and that respect was valued in intergenerational homes. Juan described respect as helping him to succeed. Specifically, the manner in which he has treated others allowed for new opportunities:

“You know, but respect there's ways to do things with respect. You know, and I take that anywhere. I take it to work at school, I take it to my own house respect is very important to me. Respect could really really get you to new places. Open a lot of doors for you. Open doors for a lot more opportunities, just more effective being respectful.”

Jorge discussed how his idea of respect may have shifted after experiences in college and his acculturation. Jorge came from a multigenerational home and differed in views from family members. Although Jorge considered himself respectful, he recognized that his family many not always view his actions as respectful. Specifically, Jorge discussed being more willing to address issues with family:

“So very important. I think I'm having to also like deconstruct some of those pieces a little bit because the way I am and the way also my brother is. I have an older brother who's three years older me...both went to college. We're very much and we've always been outspoken and challenging of my parents and also like their like rules and so forth, and that's not typical you would say like in immigrant families....I'm like no, I'm gonna call you out. I can tell you how it is and it's more of this like. Individuality, maybe that's what it is, but respect is there but if you ask my mom, my mom would say to me

like that was disrespectful and I wouldn't say it would be that. But I think it's very important. I think I'm having to deconstruct the pieces of how important is respect or is it more about also control. And I think for me, that's the hard part within, like my understanding of our cultural values is that like sometimes respects means control. But this is actually just having respect so I think for me I'm still kind of learning that a little bit that balance a little bit, but I'm very much I guess to my elders very much respectful. I disagree with things. I don't say anything like that in that moment unless it's like pressing in that moment like.”

Chuy discussed how important respect is in his interactions with others and developing work relationships. Moreover, Chuy discussed showing an equal amount of respect for others despite the title they hold. The value of respect seemed to contribute to participants' ability to do well when interacting with others and maintain social connection with peers and family.

“You disrespect me then it would be difficult for me to want to interact with you. And so I like, I try my best every day to show people respect. I mean the respect they deserve from anybody you know, like the person on the street to the to the janitors in school to the highest paid cardiologist in the hospital. So like for me, you know everyone deserves a certain amount of respect, there's a good degree of respect. I try to give that to people and to a certain extent. I'm also expecting the same if our interactions were to continue. If I were to want to continue to interact with you.”

Table 8: Analysis of Concept of Respeto

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Respeto	Respecting elders I learned about respect Parents Family Generational status Intergenerational Dialogue Important Huge Immigrant Interactions	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L,

The Concept of Transitions

The concept of transitions occurred for each participant. Ultimately, attending college can be considered a life transition in general for most individuals. However, these particular interviews gave insight into the how this transition is experienced by Latinx men. These men discuss how things like generation status and time in the country can affect their transition into college. These men typically go through a period of confusion in trying to navigate the system. Angel discusses his transition to college involving being a first-generation college student and being a first-generation immigrant. He moved to the United States when he was 17 years old. He completed his high school education and began attending a university in the same city shortly after. This seems to be a common experience for many individuals who live in this border region of the United States and Mexico:

“The transition was challenging. It's always challenging and I'm going to tell you why....I had a huge emotional shock and cultural shock and the transition was hard

because my group of friends, the environment, many things were very different and then I went to high school here for two years. So those two years I worked very hard on readapting myself to a different culture here and a different way of seeing education to the American way. So when I started attending the challenging part was that the transition was not that hard because in many aspects I was going back to a lot of my friends that graduated from preparatoria and came over to the United States to attend.”

Additionally, Angel discussed the process of confusion in trying to navigate the college system. He stated that if he had the additional knowledge or resources when starting he may have been more advanced in his education:

“That's one, the other one, and I think to me that's a major one, because when I found out about that I was like first of all, you can save a lot of money. There's a lot of factors that would have been so amazing. And I'm pretty sure that probably people that is not first generation might probably already have that knowledge, and sometimes it's not to blame the advisors. They probably assume that you're aware that these things are out there and in our reality there's people like I was back then that we are very ignorant to many of the things that are available for us, the students. That is why I think that that's the major one that always hit me, that the advisors were there, kind of just guiding you on how to go about the system on trying to get registered for a class or you can reach out to the professor if the class is full and he might open a spot for you. That kind of advising that is basically what they were basing their advising on. But I think I would have wished that they could have been more informative on the truth. Actual advantage opportunities

that they had available for you as a student. I think that's something that I could have, they could have done way better, much better.”

When discussing their transition into college many participants spoke about the challenge of not having a male mentor but wishing they did. These students in particular discuss not having a male mentor from a similar cultural background who could help in navigating the system. Although these men differed in college generation status, the majority mentioned wishing they had more Latinx male mentors to help in transitioning and navigating college. Alex discussed some general mentor programs for first generation students in his college but being unsure of how to use them:

“Mentoring, my like I had a counselor. Through I forget the name of it. It's like educational opportunity program. That's what it called at my university. So kind of again, like Trio, I just wish I accessed or utilized him a lot more. I wish maybe I talked to my RA more because again, I lived on the Chicano floor that already was a Chicana and she was a third year so I feel as if I would have talked to her more about her experiences it would help me better understand mine. I mean, that would have been that would have been important for me. You know, in terms of how to navigate my subsequent years at the university.”

Jorge discusses his time in college having some difficulties including academic probation. Similar to other participants, he discusses his struggle in navigating college. Again, these experiences may be common difficulties for many college students.

Interestingly, Jorge suggested that if he was to have a Latinx male mentor, his experience might have been better:

“I think for me, I think what I would love to have had when I was an undergrad was a male Latino mentor. Very specific I've had many mentors throughout my educational track starting. Having a male mentor has been very far in a few and in between. Uhm, very limited and so I think at that time when I was going to like, I could have probation. Uhm, it was just kind of this feeling of everyone going through it, you gotta suck it up and you know it is what it is. From professors, a lot of white professors were that way. I also majored originally in undergrad as a biomedical engineer, so I was an engineer when I first started and I feel completely different now. I had a professor who wrote the textbook I went to tutoring one time and they were like “I don't understand why you don't understand because I wrote it here in the textbook. It makes so much sense.” So I think for me growing up I wish I would have had that mentor to kind of navigate those stressors, understand the financial pieces around it.”

Participants who were educated in a Latin American country prior to coming to the United States seem to have additional information to share about adapting to the college setting. Their transition involves not only adjusting to college but also American culture. Antonio gives further information on adjusting to the country and trying to make friends in college:

“In in Dominican Republic, you know when your friends you know you show up in somebody house say hey what you doing? Let's go out for a walk and stuff like that.

You know. So being that my experience, I show up at my friend in the United States House and say, hey, let's go to the movies. You know he's totally shocked that I show up in his house unannounced, you know, and so he had to and he actually was very kind, he said you. know ****, we don't do things like that over here you know you have to call, you have to check you have to see people. Right, you know so little lessons like that about, you know what is expected. You know, how do you engage with others anywhere between physical space about touching people or not touching people. You know how much physical spaces is comfortable for a person..... You know, like in a grocery store, in the hallway, right. Over here it's polite to say, excuse me as you're going by somebody right. In my country you just pass by. And so for me to get used to saying, excuse me, you know it was a little bit of a difficult transition because it wasn't something that that I was accustomed to doing one and experientially for me there was nothing to be excuse for you to go by..... You know so little things like that here and there. You know it will show me where my limits were. My comfort levels and then you know what were the rules of the group overall.”

Table 9: Analysis of Concept of Transitions

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Transitions	Mentors Friends Advisors Change Support Navigating Transition Culture shock	A, B, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L

The Concept of Language

The concept of Language was mentioned by half the respondents but highly emphasized by Moises, Miguel, and Antonio. All of the participants in the study spoke Spanish as their first language but some of them completed all of their education in the United States and spoke English well. However, participants such as Miguel had completed most of their education in Mexico and mainly spoke Spanish. He did not begin to learn English until he moved to the United States and worked at a retail store. Although these participants were attending college in the southwest region of the United States, language difficulties still existed for them in college. Angel discussed his experience of moving to the United States at the age of 17 and later attending college. He described being Latinx in college involving overcoming language barriers and extra work compared to others:

“Because I have struggled and English is not my first language and I moved to El Paso when I was 17 years old. Even though I was born here in El Paso, I was mostly raised in Juarez and then I moved to El Paso about 17 years old and it's hard. I think we (Latinos) definitely need to work a little bit. I think it's a combination of factors because we do need to work a little bit more, especially because of the language.”

Another respondent, Moises discussed having difficulties with language in college even though he has lived in the United States his whole life. He spoke both English and Spanish throughout his life. However, he was a first generation college student and unfamiliar with academic language. Although he may have been more acculturated to U.S. culture than Angel, the struggle with language still presented itself:

“But what I did find was that while going to college a lot of like textbooks and a lot of the language they used was something that I never really encountered growing up. So I know it's just a lot of like not just like a language variable, more about vocabulary barrier that I struggled with going to college, 'cause I wasn't used to it. I'm used to speaking Spanglish. And going from like Spanglish to more of a professional higher-level vocabulary, university kind of threw me off. So I think that was like my biggest challenge as a Latino going to going to a higher education community. Even so, now I still struggle with the language.”

Table 10: Analysis of Concept of Language

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Language	Not my first language Language barrier Vocabulary English Spanglish Very Latino I am brown I never really encountered Professional language Academic language	F, G, H, I

The Concept of Machismo

Although participants differed in their level of acculturation, they seemed to generally reject the negative aspects of machismo. In popular literature, the term machismo can often be defined as the negative characteristics of sexism, chauvinism, and hypermasculinity (Anders, 1993; Ingoldsby, 1991; Mosher & Tompkins, 1988). There were moments in interviews in which participants specifically mentioned the term

machismo, indicating their familiarity with the term. The participants usually associated machismo with something negative in their college experience such as hearing the term is associated with sexist behavior. They also displayed some insight into connecting hypermasculinity to their culture. Although participants described aspects of caballerosismo, none of them used or expressed familiarity with this term explicitly during interviews. This may indicate that participants rejected hypermasculinity but lacked a clear framework for positive Latinx masculinity and were more familiar with negative masculine stereotypes. The lack of familiarity with positive aspects of Latinx masculinity may explain why many participants sought out role models to help them formulate a broader conceptualization of their own masculinity.

Alex discussed having shared responsibilities with his partner. He referenced protector and provider roles in his family but simultaneously recognized his partner can also take on responsibility:

“In terms of like supporting my family financially, mentally, emotionally but also understanding that my role isn't all about that. It shouldn't be like everything that I'm doing, like you know, especially with like my wife, right or my partner like make sure it's equal I guess is what I'm trying to say. Like the responsibilities are shared I'm going to protect my family, but I'm also gonna let her protect their family too in her own way. So sort of that shared responsibility.”

Miguel describes coming from a traditional Mexican family home and being raised by his father who had views on masculinity that differed from his own. This became more evident when Miguel decided to pursue a degree in counseling. Miguel

describes how the view on masculinity differed from his father based on the experiences they had in their lives. Miguel describes growing up in a city and having the opportunity to pursue a college degree. In contrast, his father was not afforded this opportunity and interpreted his son's behavior as being feminine at times. Miguel developed a more balanced view of machismo in which he does reject aspects of machismo and has insight into where some negative aspects of machismo may stem from. This balanced view could have also afforded him the ability to do well in college but also pursue his degree in counseling, a career path heavily focused on emotions:

“My dad, my father. He's always been very supportive, but at the same time he was very hesitant that one of his male children to choose a career like that. My father was born in Durango, Mexico in a ranch and so his world, his worldview, a male that is sensitive and compassionate or that shows compassion to other people problems. It's kind of like a no go like it did not exist in his reality for him. I remember my dad asking me recently. So what is it that you really do?. You know he's respectful and his difficulties in understanding is because of his upbringing. I grew up very differently from maybe how you grew up like in Durango. It was different for him. Yeah, and you know what? One of the questions that might help people understand where it helps me understand where it comes from is one of the questions he asked often is, ‘so you also see men, you also talk to men and they talk to you about their feelings?’ And I'm like, ‘yes, men have feelings.’ Yeah and my dad thinks that oh, that only women are allowed to express emotion, you know.”

Additionally, Miguel describes a process of continuing to learn more about his own masculinity through other Latinx male mentors. Miguel described himself as being much more aware of sexist behaviors and later met a male mentor who pointed out behaviors that he may still be unaware of. Miguel admits that there are cultural aspects that he is raised with that may foster gender inequality. Miguel suggests these are areas in which one is always growing in awareness and making changes when possible.

“Yes, I sit on one end of the table. My wife sits on the other end of the table and the children. Sit each one on the side. OK, he was very good. That's a lot of equality, he said. But tell me who is closer to the stove? I started feeling like yeah he got me, he got me and he was like I'm not trying to make you feel bad but you need to understand that although you understand and you now have certain knowledge about gender equality, we have to revise constantly, our values and our actions and he asked me, why do you think she sits there? And it became very evident that it was because that marianismo value of woman serving men, and you know he said it very blatantly because it's easier for her to serve everybody there and then serve herself and he said that is not a crime. But what I'm trying to tell you is see, we grew up with these values and they're so common to us that we don't explore them anymore. So what I was like ok and then I came home and of course I was like *****, I'm gonna heat the tortillas today but yeah. So he helped me reflecting on a lot of those issues. Yes, he's a great role model and I feel blessed that I still have contact with him.”

Table 11: Analysis of Concept of Machismo

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Machismo	Machismo Equal The same My wife Shared responsibilities Different world view I would also let her My wife prefers You're a man. Deal with it on your own. You'll figure it out Being a Latino	A, B, C, D, E, F, H, I, J, K, L

The Concept of Cariño

Many of the participants ascribed to the cultural concept of caballerismo, such as looking for a sense of belonging and emotional connection. Although none of the participants knew of the term caballerismo, they seemed to identify with various aspects of the cultural value. Moreover, they identified with certain emotional expressions. These emotions provide a sense of drive to continue their education and connect with their support system. The term cariño refers to affection in Spanish.

One respondent, Angel, said initially he was not raised in a home in which his parents were continuously expressing affection to him. He noticed that his partner may be much more affectionate than he is towards his son. He also mentioned thoughts that his son will not build a strong enough character because of the type of affection he receives from his mother. Initially, it may seem that Angel struggles with displaying emotion and

that this contributed to his expression of masculinity. However, he described that he loves his son and has his own form of displaying affection. Angel describes family as an important value and source of motivation to complete his education. However, the way in which he connects with family differs as a Latinx man. This type of information can be missed or pathologized by others. Moreover, Angel himself seems to recognize that his displays of affection may be considered as insufficient to others because he does express his emotions verbally as often. However, he did mention moments of playing and hugging his son.

“I said it earlier and that's not the best word to use, but I am a little bit cold and it's funny that you're asking these questions because I have had this discussion with my wife. I honestly, even though we were very pampered, very like... I think I was very, very privileged to have a strong family environment to grow into a very, very happy childhood. I think I can't ask for anything I was very fortunate in my childhood. But in saying that, I grew up in an environment in which I was never like, my mom will never call me like amor or like my love. They were not that way, so I'm very cold and when I see my wife calling my son like my amor, my love or things like that, I sometimes honestly, I feel that might make him a little bit weaker emotionally, or I don't know. I am, uh, worried that his character is not gonna be strong. That's the thing. So I'm not against it. I don't discuss it with my wife, I just tell her that I don't do that. I expect for her to respect that I'm not. I don't call my son, yeah. I do talk to him like you do to a baby. Hey, how you doing and and with the tones and stuff but I don't know the affection it's something that I didn't grow up with so I don't feel you really need it. I don't know if I

might. It's a hard thing for me to answer because I hug my kid and I play with him, but it's weird it's just the way that we, the way that I feel I show my affection might not be the way that another person might show affection, so it's a very hard question for me to answer. I'm not against it, I think. For instance, my son might be fortunate to have both things that where my wife might be more affectionate and more than me. But still him being able to hopefully identify and understand that one is not against the other in how much we love him. You don't need to be doing those things to really love someone.”

Table 12: Analysis of Concept of Carino

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Carino	Affection Showing affection Amor Connecting Connection Emotion	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L,

The Concept of Orgullo

The concept of Orgullo or Pride was mentioned by participants across interviews. The majority of the respondents discuss feelings of pride related to family as they continue their education. However, many participants also discussed pride in their own accomplishments. Some participants struggled with language and financial barriers which delayed the graduation process. Miguel discussed his multiple concerns when arriving to the United State. Unlike other participants, Miguel arrived to the United States with his family to seek asylum from the violence in Mexico. There were many adjustments he had to make to the culture and it could be interpreted that Miguel did not desire to leave his

home country. One of his major concerns was understanding the language. He describes a sense of pride in being able to overcome his language difficulties but also in having his accent. This speaks to pride not only in accomplishing academic goals but also his cultural identity: “I self-doubted myself so much about my English and talking to people and also my fake accent (English accent) which now I feel like super proud about because it speaks of where I come from.”

Angel spoke about many difficulties he faced in achieving his degree. He described setbacks but believed he would eventually get his college degree. Initially, he described his lack of ability to navigate the college environment as ignorance. Later, he described pride in his cultural identity as a Latinx graduate:

“More and more it's gonna be closer to aim for those goals of living so very proud to be a Latino. I don't think it had anything to do with that I've always envisioned myself as someone that was going to get a college degree. It took me a while as I said then, weirdly enough I think I planned it that way. I always thought that it is a race against ignorance and not so much against time and that I always wanted to achieve it. So proud I can tell you I feel proud of being a Latino graduate.”

Additionally, Angel described feeling proud that his success could influence the actions of younger generations in his family. He and his sister both started college at the same time and were the oldest children in their family. Angel said that although not explicitly stated in their family, he is a role model for younger generations and experiences a sense of responsibility to be a role model for others. Angel also described a

sense of pride in being a role model for his cousins to complete their education and that this drove him to complete his own education:

“And I feel that is why to me, our actions and some of our successes and failures are very important when it comes to how you're leading the people that it's probably not even following you, but observing you then. Your influence on their decisions for future, so I feel that my family is very proud because through my sister and myself being the oldest cousins of the group, we really set the bar for most of them to graduate from high school and college.”

Table 13: Analysis of Concept of Orgullo

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Orgullo	Pride Feeling proud Proud of me Looking up to me First-generation Super proud I improved For my family	A, B, C, D, E, F, H, I, J, K, L

The Concept of Culpa

Cupla captured the emotional conflict participants experienced between their academic responsibilities and other duties, such as being with family. Many participants described college causing some physical and emotional distance between them and their families. The majority of the respondents moved away from home to attend college

which added to feeling distant from family. Miguel described the difficulty in not being as involved with his family and the consequences when pursuing his degree:

“Long story short, I end up going to counseling in that moment because I realized that I needed more support than I thought I needed or what I was offered and I don't want like I don't wanna sound ungrateful. At the same time, I learned very quickly and in a very evident way that I needed more support than what I've had at that at that point. So that experience made me self-doubt myself heavily I even thought about just stop going to school and just do what I did years since I got here which was working two or three jobs and try to provide for my family. I am blessed that I have a lot of support from my family from my nuclear family, my wife and my children, but I guess that's also something that I wanna talk about. We knew what we were doing. We knew it was going to be difficult but we, I guess we weren't prepared for the distance that would create in our relationship as husband and wife. My wife and I, we did consider whether to continue being married or not.”

Angel also discussed the conflict between meeting financial and academic expectations. The majority of participants agreed that higher education can lead to better financial opportunities, but noted few opportunities to make money as a student. Angel had difficulty letting go of financial opportunities in order to meet academic expectations. He valued both but experienced a sense of regret when not meeting responsibilities outside of school. Over time, he developed a sense of balance in being able to meet expectations and later described valuing his education even more:

“I wanted to make money and I wanted to like be financially successful. There was a time in college that I honestly doubted that school was the best way for me to be spending my time and I always thought you know what I have these opportunities for business and I was into the cattle industry and I remember I don't forget that day up to now. I don't forget that day. We had an accounting test and I had a potential cattle buyer from our load that wanted for me to take him to a ranch in Chihuahua to see some cattle that we were going to do an operation on. That's an operation in which I could have I was going to most likely probably make \$2200 profit in my pocket and and he calls me and then I remember thinking I'm not gonna let these go and I flunked the test. I didn't take it. I stepped out of school to go to pick him up and take him to see the cattle. That was one of the times I think that's a period of time I was doubtful that spending my time at school was the best way to be spending my time during that period of my life. I don't regret anything that I did in the way I did everything. Where it really hit me is when most of my friends ones that I would be hanging on and they started to graduate so it was funny because when I was working and just attending a few classes I was definitely making way more money than they were. I was doing way better, financially. But then as soon as they graduated, they started getting these job opportunities that were like awesome, very stable, very well paid with a lot of benefits and stuff. And I was still stressed and struggling and with no stability with no financial stability, I think that was a chapter to me and that it was a point in which I decided to turn it around and really that helped me to really value the education as I said in the beginning, I always envisioned myself as someone that was going to get the degree I did.”

Regrets and internal conflict were commonly identified by participants. However, they used their own cultural identity to reframe what education meant for them. Angel conceptualized college as a means to meet his other values but after experiencing this internal conflict.

Table 14: Analysis of Concept of Culpa

	Indicators	Transcript reference
Culpa	Doubt Regret Guilt Distance Frustrating Loneliness It's tough Family dynamics Mental health	A, B, C, D, E, F, H, I, J, K, L

Identification of Emerging Categories and Axial Coding

Axial coding involves identifying a final set of categories and relationships among them. In this study, axial coding advanced during the open coding process through analysis and identification of problems with concepts as possible categories, the clustering of concepts, and the identification of relationships among concepts—all while searching for a set of unifying categories. Categorization involves an inductive building up from facts—the data—and identifying indicators and concepts and grouping them into categories that are of greater abstraction. As I worked through axial coding, I interpreted four categories:

- Balance—Flexibility in one’s view of their Latinx Masculinity, which in turn impacts college experience and outcomes (the what).
- Connection—Familismo and male role models are major forces that impact cultural identity for men in the study (the how).
- Developing Through Emotions—Latinx men develop their own ways of connecting to others and resolving internal conflicts that impact college experience. (interaction)
- What it means to be a Latino to Me—Cultural identity as Latinx which influences understanding of being a Latinx male in college. (consequences)

Figure 2 illustrates the interplay between the different constructs developed in the study. The grounded theory from the present study is described as participants being in a constant state of balancing their development through emotions and connection with others to inform their sense of what being a Latinx man in higher education meant for them.

Developing Through Emotions

Many participants were able to identify the emotions experienced in higher education that facilitated their success. Caballerismo is often described as manifesting through emotional connectedness and these men describe their specific emotional connections towards others (Nuñez et al., 2016). The Developing Through Emotions category also captures variations in the manner in which Latinx men connect. For example, Angel initially described himself as probably being more “cold” and having difficulty with affection because he did not always verbalize his love for others. Later, he

described hugging and playing with his son. The ability to feel an emotional connection with others appeared to enhance participants' success in college. For example, many men reported a strong emotional connection with family and utilized family as a resource to pursue their degrees. In turn, a lack of emotional connection appeared to limit participants' ability to leverage cultural resources which negatively impacted their college experience. For example, Miguel described considering a divorce due to the distance created between him and his wife by his higher education pursuits.

Participants also expressed pride in their accomplishments while in college and their families. This emotion provides a sense of drive to continue their education and simultaneously maintain a sense of connection with family members. It may be also an emotion that connects participants to their community, such as Miguel who stated: "I'm tall, I'm Mexican to the core I'm brown as hell and I love it." Additionally, there seemed to be an internal emotional conflict that occurred for participants when navigating academia. Participants identified with their gender role of being a provider and protector in their families. However, being in college did not provide financial stability for participants. Thus, their academic goals were sometimes in conflict with masculine cultural values.

Connection

Participants established balance through connection with others. Specifically, they developed a sense of cultural identity and cultural knowledge through relationships. The concept of connection can seem abstract because the types of connections made with others differs for these participants. However, it does narrow on what facilitates the

development of cultural awareness and specifically, participant's masculinity. Connection is the how of balance, the condition that enables it. It is the first phase of the larger, intertwined process of establishing and sustaining cultural identity. Thus, family and role models are the sources of connection that participants leverage to make sense of themselves and higher education. Participants identify family role models who influenced their decision to enter college and a strong sense of duty to complete their education. Moreover, they identified faculty male role models and character traits they admired. Participants identified traits displayed by men in their families as influential in their college success. Participants also identified men outside of their families who helped in understanding their own masculinity and represented being a Latinx man in college for them. It is equally important to note that participants identified a lack of male role models while pursuing their college degree. Thus, participants often identified needing a Latinx male role model to assist them emotionally. Participants were able to identify male role models who displayed behavior they did not agree with. These participants were able to recognize unhealthy behaviors and adopt positive traits from other male role models.

Balance

Figure 2, illustrates the grounded theory and the category of Balance which is the what of Caballerismo in the higher education setting, the core category of the study. This category refers to how men develop their own masculinity and begin to establish traits of caballerismo. The category refers to the culmination of multiple intersections of identity, positively self-defined masculine traits, and the process of coming to terms with negative traits they identified, but also recognize and perhaps even respect as part of their culture.

Balance gives further insight into how caballerismo intersects with racial and ethnic identity, immigration status, acculturation status, social class and its impact on their educational outcomes. The endorsement of caballerismo can be highly dependent on participants acculturation status which is also influenced by immigration status and social class. For example, Miguel identified strongly with his culture and often found that his values did not align with expectations of the educational setting. Instead of attempting to assimilate, he moved towards his cultural values such as connecting with others. This led to success in his education. At the same time, he developed a sense of masculinity that is more fluid which allows him to find pride in cultural identity and not be afraid to connect with others. The positive sense of self and willingness to connect with others increased his chances of being successful. Ultimately, the participants endorsed characteristics of nurturance, social responsibility, and emotional connectedness, without identifying these traits as caballerismo, explicitly.

Participants identified male role models and the process of balancing internalized masculine traits and behaviors. Alex recognized that his father struggled with alcoholism and did not want adopt those same behaviors. However, he also described his father as hard working and supporting his family. Alex developed a more flexible view of masculinity and adopted positive traits from the men in his family to help him to succeed in his education.

Participants identified various barriers in their education. The participants were either first generation or second-generation American residents. Further, the majority of the participants were first-generation college students. The majority described financial

and language barriers when pursuing their degrees. There were moments in which participants considered discontinuing the process of completing their degrees. However, their cultural traits of social responsibility, nurturance, and emotional connectedness allowed them to persist. Simultaneously, their cultural values conflicted with academic expectations. Their ability to be flexible in meeting cultural values and academic expectations allowed them to be successful in reaching long-term goals.

What It Means to be Latino to Me

This category refers to the consequences of the previous conditions. The participants attempted to develop their own positive framework for being a Latinx man in college by anchoring themselves in cultural values important to them. This category includes cultural strengths or resources, also known as cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). Participants described resources that provided them the motivation and means to continue and complete their education. Cultural wealth can be understood dimensionally as extending from a very strong identification with cultural resources to a more distant connection with one's own culture. Masculinity can be considered a part of the cultural wealth that these men utilize.

Yosso (2005) describes six forms of capital leveraged by People of Color: aspirational, linguistic, social, familial, navigational, and resistant capital. Each participant seemed to have high aspirations for their future. Many of these participants were first-generation college students who felt they were pursuing a better future through a college education. Participants' strong sense of duty to family as a Latinx man also contributed to aspirations to do well in college. Their sense of masculinity emphasized using their

college education in order to provide a better future for their families. The participants also described strong familial connections and role models as cultural resources. The participants identified men in their families who modeled lessons of caring, coping, and work ethic, which informed their educational and occupational choices. Social capital was evident in participants seeking out other Latinx groups in higher education for mentorship. Finally, participants described navigational skills to maneuver through structures in the higher education system. Participants relied on their work ethic to resist institutional barriers and built connections with other men to form social networks that helped them to navigate higher education.

It should be noted that some men felt disconnected from their Latinx masculinity. Many of the participants referred to the term machismo and seemed to associate it with negative attributes. In this case, it may seem that these men do not identify their masculinity as a source of cultural wealth. However, many of these men seemed to identify strongly with cultural values of respect, pride, social responsibility, and emotional connectedness. Cultural wealth is a latter phase of a process—a relationship between identity development, acculturation, and age. For example, the participant's cultural identity as a Latinx man in college appeared to be influenced by their acculturation. If the participant was less assimilated to U.S. culture, they appeared to be able to identify more traditional Latinx cultural values. Their acculturation also seemed to allow them to reject aspects of masculinity they viewed as negative. Moreover, the amount of time participants had to reflect on and develop their cultural identity appeared

to be a function of age and influenced their ability to feel more secure in their cultural identity as a Latinx man in higher education.

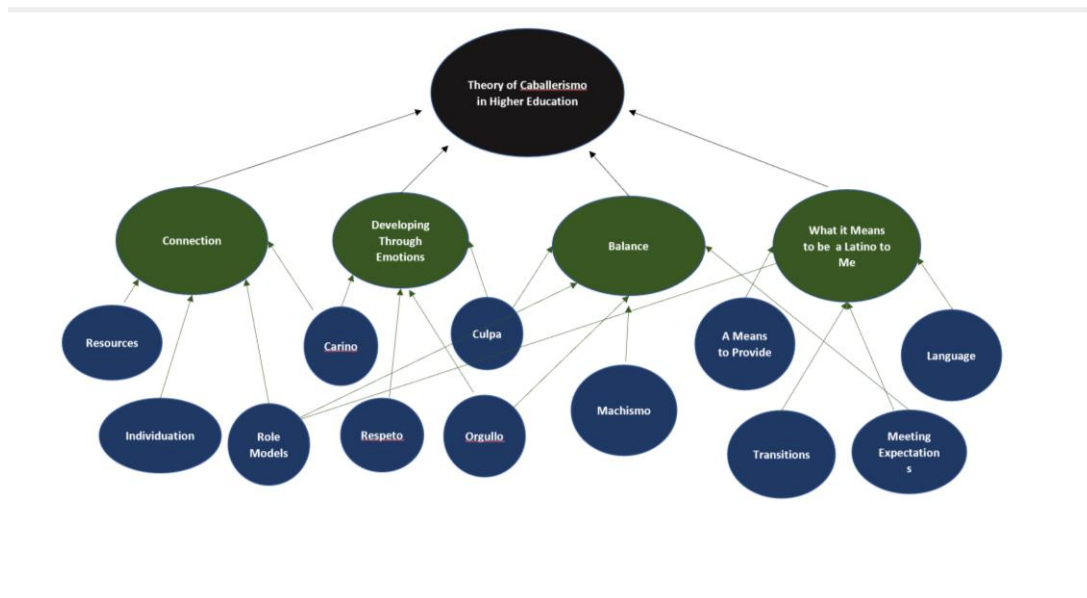


Figure 1: Concept Map of Caballerismo in Higher Education for Latinx Men.

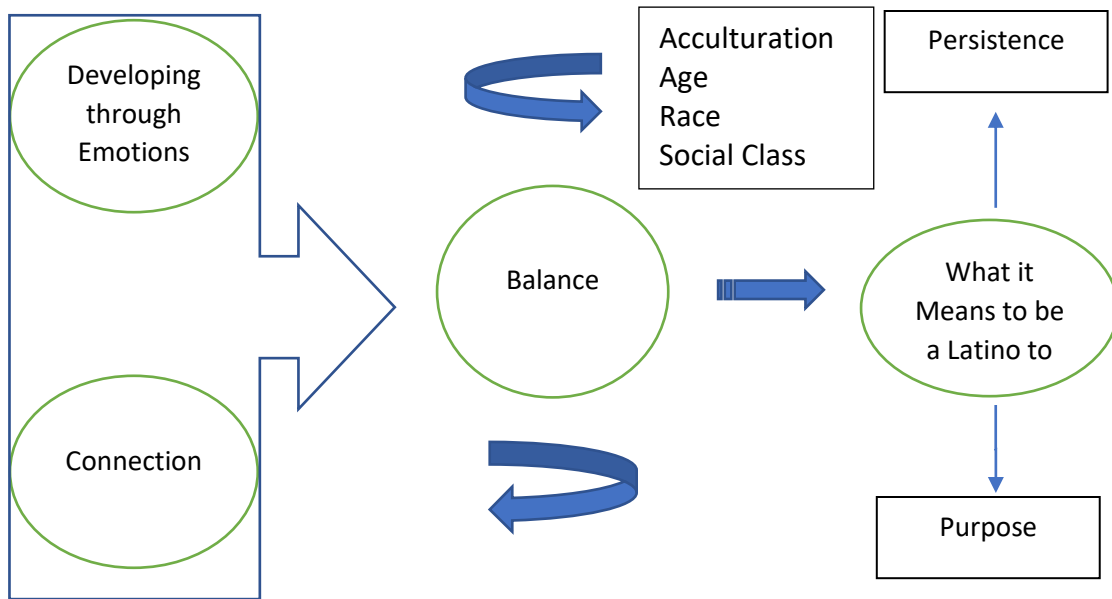


Figure 2. How Caballerismo is related to age, acculturation, race, and class, and the outcomes for students. Participants sense of caballerismo is influenced by other areas of identity such as age, acculturation, race, and class the which influences the identity development of Latinx Male College Students. This dynamic of identities results in these men identifying purpose and persistence when pursuing their college education.

Chapter Four: Discussion

The present study sought to understand the cultural value of caballerismo as it presents itself among Latinx men in higher education. A grounded theory was developed to answer the following research questions: (a) What aspects of caballerismo manifest in Latinx men in higher education?, and (b) How does caballerismo intersect with racial and ethnic identity, immigration status, acculturation status, social class, and other dimensions of privilege and oppression to (re)produce educational equity/inequity for Latinx men? Data analysis resulted in four categories, reflective of a process by which positive masculine traits inform the experiences of Latinx men in higher education. These core categories connect to the aspects of caballerismo such as nurturance, social responsibility, and emotional connectedness. The core category of *Balance* was interpreted to capture flexibility in one's cultural masculinity which in turn impacts college experiences and outcomes. Capacity to balance masculine scripts and behaviors was informed by *Connection*, or relationships fostered through familismo and male role models as well as *Developing Through Emotions*, or ways of connecting to others and internal conflicts that impact college experiences. These three categories contributed to participants' sense of *What it means to be a Latino to Me*—cultural identity, which includes the salient identities of age, acculturation, race, and class influence understanding of being a Latinx man in college.

Findings from this study align with previous research on machismo and its impact on Latinx men. It is suggested that gender operates not merely at the level of sex differences, but also in the social structures that define power relationships (Stewart and McDermott 2004). The participants' narratives suggested they had a negative view of machismo and associated machismo with traditional gender roles. If the participants did not mention machismo directly, they discouraged following any behavior that was considered sexist. Machismo and caballerismo are socio-cultural constructs founded on cultural beliefs about gender. Whereas most participants appeared to be familiar with machismo, the majority were unable to label their descriptions of positive masculinity in their culture.

Balance

This selective code refers to participants' ongoing balance of meeting cultural and family expectations of being a man while navigating the college environment. Many participants emphasized that their family encouraged and expected them to attend college from a young age. This is reflected in the experience of one participant who described going to college because his parents did not have the same opportunities he did when they were living in another country and told him he should take advantage of college. Another participant recalled his father telling him he expected him to enter college at an early age. Past research has suggested that students who adhere to traditional Latinx values may experience negative outcomes (Pantin et al., 2003; Unger et al., 2002). Past research has also shown that cultural expectations for Latinx students can include remaining close to the family, relying on family, and contributing to their family (Losada

et al., 2010). Findings from this study extend this literature by demonstrating that Latinx students attempt to balance traditional masculine norms (e.g., work ethic, providing for family) with the expectations of higher education and leverage them to succeed. Previous literature does not necessarily describe balance as a specific trait of *caballerismo*.

However, the core category of balance may be describing the experience of Latinx men who are attempting to navigate traditional cultural values while in the higher education setting. The ability to endorse more aspects of *caballerismo* may depend on role models and their own willingness to be flexible in which cultural values to endorse.

Findings from this study also demonstrate that Latinx men may experience a mix of emotions (e.g., guilt and pride) as a result of masculine norms when completing their college education. For example, the college environment does not allow Latinx men to always meet cultural expectations of spending time with family members or providing for their family. In order to find more balance, participants drew from their pride in being Latinx in college. Many of the participants in this study were also first-generation college students, which may have informed their sense of pride. These findings support research showing that Mexican-American students leverage their ethnic identity as a resource to persist in college (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013) and that Latinx students may experience family-related achievement guilt as they pursue their degrees (Covarrubius et al., 2021). This study highlights how masculine scripts and norms may inform these experiences. Also, many participants discussed being a first-generation college student and how this aspect of their identity influenced their sense of pride. This information

connects to the third research question regarding the role of intersectionality and sense of social responsibility in caballerismo.

Connection

Connection reflects participants' cultural identity and knowledge development based on interactions with others, such as family and faculty members. This finding relates to the aspect of caballerismo which is emotional connectedness. However, this can also overlap with the cultural value of familismo. Past research has found a positive relationship between familismo and perceptions of family support for academic pursuits as well as academic performance (Garriott et al., 2016). The present study further supports the finding that familismo predicts resilience for Latinx students (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013). Findings from this study also showed that participants wished to connect to cultural resources such as Latinx groups or Latinx male role models at their institution. This finding may connect more directly to caballerismo because of want to connect to other males who could be mentors. This finding connects to previous literature which indicates that mentorship and social support should emphasize culture. For example, the Promotores de Educación Program at California State University-Long Beach draws on theories of community cultural wealth and critical race theory to implement a model of peer mentorship centered on affirming and leveraging the cultural values of Latinx undergraduates (Rios-Ellis et al., 2015). The theme of connection further builds on the findings from Zalaquett & Lopez (2006) which showed informal mentorship and sponsorship opportunities significantly contribute to the academic success of Latinx students.

Developing Through Emotions

Developing Through Emotions captured participants' desire to express and display affection towards loved ones. Their ability to feel an emotional connection allowed them to stay connected to family and develop social support in college. Additionally, the identification of other emotions such as a sense of pride in being a college student influenced their self-esteem, which appeared to help them complete their education.

Past research has found that machismo is associated with higher levels of depression and stress (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000). Men who endorse higher traits of machismo have been shown to endorse more restrictive emotionality, restrictive affectionate behavior with other men, and gender role conflict in general (Liang et al., 2011). In contrast, the ability to connect emotionally, a caballerismo trait, may be essential when communicating with family—especially for students who had to leave home to pursue their education. The ability to open up emotionally and seek support can foster positive mental health (Hunt & Eisenberg, 2010). Past research has shown that endorsing caballerismo can promote Latinx men's self-esteem (Ojeda, & Piña-Watson, 2014). Participants in this study seemed open to sharing both positive and negative emotions during interviews. In addition, they identified a sense of pride despite difficulties experienced during their time in college. It was found that participants differed on some of the struggles experienced during their college experience due to other identities. For example, some participants struggled due to their citizenship status in the country or language barriers. This answered our research question related to

intersectionality. Although participants experienced various difficulties, they continued to utilize emotions to navigate their experiences. Ultimately, this expression of emotions served as away to develop their own self-esteem and connect with others. The current study extends Ojeda & Pina-Watson's findings (2014), as participants in this study also endorsed self-sacrifice and hard work ethic toward obtaining income as contributors to higher self-esteem.

What It Means to be Latino to Me

The *What It Means to be Latino to Me* category refers to participants' attempts to develop their own positive framework for being a Latinx man in college. This was developed by participants referring back to cultural values and resources that were important to them, such as maintaining high educational aspirations, drawing on their desire to help family, and leveraging the knowledge and inspiration of Latinx role models. These resources mirror Yosso's (2005) description of community cultural wealth. Cultural wealth can be understood dimensionally as extending from a very strong identification with cultural resources to a more distant connection with one's own culture (Yosso, 2005). Masculinity can be considered a part of the cultural wealth that these men utilize. Some men felt disconnected from their Latinx masculinity. Many of the participants referred to the term machismo and seemed to have some familiarity with the term as a negative form of masculine expression. In this case, it may seem that these men do not identify their masculinity as source of cultural wealth. This core category connects more directly to caballerismo because it describes the aspects of nurturance and social responsibility. Ultimately, all participants identified strongly with cultural values of

respect, pride, social responsibility, and nurturance for others. Although not named directly, developing a sense of being a caballero allowed participants to thrive in the university setting.

Previous literature has described a caballero as being interpersonally oriented, actively seeking and maintaining familial intimacy (Arciniega et al., 2008). The caballero has also been described as adhering to cultural norms like *respeto para los mayores* (respect for elders), and a value for the intergenerational wisdom of more senior and experienced persons (Arciniega et al., 2008). They also value qualities that reflect Latinx cultural pillars like family centeredness and a sense of responsibility for others, also known as *familismo* (Arredondo et al., 2014). Findings from the current study seem to reflect this definition of *caballerismo*. Participants endorsed seeking out family support during their college experience and balancing closeness to family with college responsibilities. Moreover, participants seemed to seek out Latinx men as mentors or role models. Participants respected these mentors and looked to them as healthy examples of Latinx masculinity. Participants also endorsed a sense of responsibility to family while in college and using college as a means to give back to their family members.

Implications for Counseling Psychology Practice and Training

The present study adds to a growing body of literature on Latinxs in higher education and conceptualizing the cultural identity formulation of this group within the United States. Counseling psychologist can benefit from this information in order to better serve Latinx men in university and community settings. The present study suggests that Latinx men may view *machismo* as either jeopardizing or as contributing to a

positive sense of self. Men in this study also endorsed aspects of *caballerismo*, which helped them persist and find purpose in their education. However, participants did not label this form of positive masculinity.

Educators and clinicians may use findings from this study to inform strengths-based approaches to counseling (Estrada & Arciniega, 2015; Kiselica & Englar-Carlson, 2010). Training may include information on *caballerismo* when presenting information on working with the Latinx community. This material may emphasize how *caballerismo* can be a cultural resource for clients when overcoming stressors. For example, a theme from the present study suggested that men benefited from emotional connections. Counselors can also explore Latinx men's feelings of pride and responsibility and how they inform their persistence in higher education.

This study's findings suggest that counselors can also explore Latinx men's acculturation, reasons for entering college, and male role models. Latinx men may receive negative messages about their cultural group during college. They may have also entered college with negative messages about manhood. Counselors can assist clients in exploring their own understanding of being a Latinx man through gender role analysis. This intervention can be used to support Latinx men in creating a sense of balance in the messages about Latinx masculinity they have received. The present study suggests that the process of balancing cultural messages and expectations can help Latinx men identify positive qualities of masculinity they seek to leverage while in college.

The majority of counseling students complete a multicultural counseling course as part of their curriculum (Collins, Arthur, Brown, & Kennedy, 2015). This course would

be an ideal setting for students to think more comprehensively about masculinity and the Latinx community. The present study provides information that can challenge some traditional assumptions people have about Latinx men. Frank & Cannon (2010) suggest that instructors in multicultural counseling courses question and challenge students' assumptions about gender scripts, such as machismo and increase awareness of personal biases. Latinx men are likely to benefit from counselors who view them using prosocial ideologies of manhood. Ultimately, the present study provides the information for instructors, supervisors, clinicians, and students to use in order to expand their knowledge of Latinx masculinity and better serve the community.

Most participants in this study developed a more balanced view of masculinity for themselves, which informed their overall cultural identity development. One of the major contributors to developing a more balanced view of their masculinity was access to positive male role models. However, researchers and policy experts have expressed concern regarding the lack of Latinx role models available to Latinx men in higher education (Marquez, 2006). For example, the percentage of Black faculty increased from 3.2% in 1988 to 5.5% in 2004, and the percentage of Hispanic faculty increased from 2.4% to 3.5% during the same period, the percentage of Black and Hispanic faculty obtaining tenure and becoming full professors has remained unchanged (U.S. Department of Education, 2011). In 2011, among full-time instructional faculty, including all genders, 79% were White, 6% were Black, and 4% were Hispanic (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). In four-year institutions, African American students are least likely to graduate (45.9%), followed by Hispanic students (55%) (Shapiro, Dundar, Huie, Wakhungu,

Yuan, Nathan, Hwang, 2017). White students had a graduation rate of 67.2% and Asian students had the highest at 71.7% (Shapiro et.al., 2017). In 2021, Latinx students in bachelor's programs had a graduation rate of 41.5%. In regards to gender, only 36% of Black male students completed a bachelor's degree within six years, and 52% of Latino male students completed theirs within the same time. Meanwhile, White males graduated at a rate of 63% in six years (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). However, Saenz & Ponjuan (2009) suggest that positive role models can make a difference in the lives of Latinx men. Specifically, it has been suggested that Latinx male leaders can be powerful images of success for young Latinxs. The present study adds to the growing body of literature demonstrating the need for more Latinx instructors and mentors in higher education. Counseling psychologist in schools, communities, and local and state governments can identify representation gaps in leadership roles to inform organizational change interventions.

The recommendation to increase Latinx male role models in higher education is supported by the narratives of all participants. All participants identified Latinx men who impacted them in positive ways to continue their education. Moreover, this may extend to not only having positive male role models but also painting Latinx men in a more positive framework in general. Creating a more positive and strengths-based perception of Latinx men in media and popular culture could reduce the negative sense of self they may have from prior experiences.

Limitations and Direction for Future Research

The findings from the present study are limited due to the design and nature of qualitative research. Given qualitative research does not seek to to the larger population, future research is needed to further understand how caballerismo is manifested in the higher education setting. Although the sample had some heterogeneity in terms of college degree, age, and generation status, it was primarily restricted to individuals who immigrated from Mexico and were attending a Hispanic Serving Institutions in the southwest United States. It may be difficult to extend these findings to the experiences of Latinx men who are attending a university in a different region of the United States or in another institutional setting (private or primarily white serving institutions).

Most participants were of Mexican descent. These participants' view of masculinity may differ from the experiences of participants from other ethnic backgrounds. Also, the majority of participants were first-generation U.S. citizens and may have unique experiences of acculturation. Mexican-American students with different acculturation experiences may not view their masculinity in a similar way as these participants. The participants in this study were unfamiliar with the cultural value of caballerismo. Mexican-American students who are much more assimilated to American culture may be even less familiar with Latinx cultural values.

Moreover, this study captured the experiences of men who immigrated to the U.S. more recently and face barriers such as language difficulties. This can often interfere with their ability to connect to others in the university setting. It would seem difficult for men who cannot speak the language and still be new to the country to then develop close

relationships in the university setting. It should be noted that the participant who identified as Dominican in the sample endorsed having language barriers as well that made it difficult for him to connect with others.

The sample also included undergraduate and graduate students. For the purposes of the study, the interview questions only focused on the graduate students' undergraduate experiences. The themes of the study may have differed if the sample only consisted of undergraduate students or only graduate students. The graduate students in this study were older, enrolled in counseling programs, and therefore may have been able to speak more in-depth to experiences of navigating the college system. The undergraduate students tended to be younger and reflected less on their family responsibilities.

In future research, the interaction between generation status and endorsement of caballerismo could be investigated. The level of acculturation may play a factor in how men express their masculinity. For example, past research has indicated that Mexican day laborers' masculinity is complex. These men endorsed differing levels of machismo and caballerismo, and the endorsement of one was not dependent on the endorsement of the other (Ojeda, & Piña-Watson, 2014). It may be beneficial to further investigate the younger population of men who may be developing a different view of their masculinity.

Further research can expand on the role caballerismo plays in educational outcomes. The current study suggests that participants valued aspects of caballerismo and these values have influenced their success in college to some degree. One area that was identified was the influence of a positive male role model who reflects these cultural

values. Future research may be able to identify how caballerismo is modeled in the university setting and if it has an impact on degree completion for Latinx men.

Another area of further research is the relationship between emotion and caballerismo. Past research has indicated that caballerismo is related to emotional connectedness (Arciniega, et al., 2008). However, this has been assessed quantitatively through Likert scale questions such as “I feel emotionally connected to many people.” This may not provide a full picture of how Latinx men are emotionally connecting and how caballerismo manifests itself in the university setting.

This study was also conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 with data collection beginning towards the final months of 2020. It is assumed the experiences of these participants may differ to some extent since they were completing most work remotely. However, it was not the intention of the study to investigate those experiences. Regardless, it is possible the pandemic had an impact on the salience of some of the themes (e.g., connection) interpreted for this study. The educational landscape has continued to shift to many online formats for education. The online format may bring some new challenges that Latinx students may still be trying to navigate. For example, Latinx men who speak English as a second language may have a different experience in online classes compared to other Latinx men who speak English fluently or have been in the country longer. It was noted in the present study that recently immigrated men may experienced many difficulties in adjusting the university and U.S. culture. Future research may be able to explore how these men adjust to university setting during or post

pandemic. It may be beneficial to investigate if caballerismo can still be a protective factor even during a pandemic.

Another limitation of this study is the sampling procedures used to recruit participants (i.e., snowball sampling). It is possible that participants who volunteered to participate in the study were more likely know someone with a positive view of Latinx masculinity or have one themselves. Thus, I may have captured a narrow understanding of caballerismo for men in higher education.

Researcher's Reflections

My cultural identity as a Latinx man and student can certainly impact the interactions I had with participants and interpretations of the study. It was extremely beneficial to have my advisor to guide me in this process and question my interpretations. There were many moments in which I felt comfortable with the participants and built rapport quickly. This allowed for participants to be very open and share more of their personal information including family dynamics. This level of comfort is helpful for me to gather information but may have also prevented me from exploring more information. After participants shared a lot of personal information, I wondered if it was appropriate to follow-up further. I was uncertain if the qualitative interview would lose site of exploring the research question and delve deeper into the personal relationship struggles some of these men faced. My interest in this study derived directly from my own experiences as a first-generation Latinx college student and graduate student.

My experience as a Latinx male college student and as a graduate student has been difficult to understand. Moreover, I have found very few other men with a similar

cultural identity in my classes and in positions of power that could help me in communicating my experiences. The material I read from literature suggested that there were many flaws with my identity as a Latinx man. It became more difficult to understand if I belonged in the university setting after the research highlighted that Latinx men are *machistas*. I questioned if I should be in the university environment or if I should adopt more White and feminine characteristics in order to better navigate the system. Selfishly, the stories of these men brought me some emotional comfort. They helped in becoming more comfortable with my own masculinity. They allowed me to understand that the expression of masculinity can be flexible and valued.

My findings did differ from my initial thought about cultural values. Participants did not have familiarity with the term *caballerismo* itself. This may reflect that the Latinx culture is complex and differs based on a variety of factors such as age and gender. There were moments in which younger men seemed to have more hesitation in describing their cultural values as a Latinx man. It could be that they have not reflected on their own cultural identity as much as men who were older. Another explanation may be that participants are not familiar with language to describe their masculinity in a positive framework. The majority of participants were able to identify *machismo* or have some familiarity with it.

Conclusion

This is the first study to explore how *caballerismo* manifest itself in the university setting for Latinx men and using a grounded theory approach. Moreover, the grounded theory study gives a better conceptualization of *caballerismo* in general. In spite of its

limitations, this study produced a fuller understanding of the experiences of Latinx men in a U.S. university and how their own masculinity manifests itself. The Latinx men developed a balanced understanding of their own masculinity and possibly their own culture. These men seem to strive towards connecting with others. However, there are moments in which their own culture and culture of higher education conflict with each other. The men find their way to navigate both cultures and still rely on their cultural identity to navigate the university system. One of the major influences in developing a more balanced sense of masculinity is a role model who demonstrates these positive qualities. Scholars and practitioners can utilize this information to develop interventions that highlight more positive aspects of Latinx men. This will likely emphasize student strengths that will allow them to complete their education.

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Appendix A: Demographic Questionnaire

Introduction:

Hello, my name is Victor Carrasco. Thank you for your interest in my study. The purpose of this study is to learn more about Latinx men in higher education. In order to determine if you are appropriate for the study there are some initial questions we must cover. Would you be willing to answer these?

Initial Screening Questions:

Do you identify primarily as a Latino man (yes/no)?

What is your specific ethnic background? [If no, thank participant for phone call and screen out]

Are you currently enrolled in 4-year college university? [If no, thank participant for phone call and screen out]

Are you currently enrolled in a 4-year college university full-time?

What is the major that you are pursuing in college? [If not on list of included departments, thank participant for phone call and screen out]

Background and Contact Information:

Full name: _____

Phone number: _____

E-mail address: _____ Age: _____

May I contact you regarding this study by phone (yes/no) or e-mail (yes/no)?

Degrees earned: _____

Years in academia: _____

I identify my gender as: _____

I identify my ethnic identity as:

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

1. Tell me about your decision to go to college.
 - A. What were some of your thoughts and feelings about college? (before and after college)
 - B. What was your family's response to you going into college?
 - C. How did your peers respond to your decision to enter college?
2. What does it mean to you to be in college?
 - A. What does it mean to be a Latino male and in college?
3. What does it mean to you to be pursuing your particular degree?
4. What was the transition to college like for you as a Latino man?
5. What sort of support did you have or wish you had as you began college?
6. How, if at all, does your role as a student conflict with your own values as a Latino male?
7. What cultural values are important to you as a Latino man?
 - A. How, if at all, have these values been in conflict during your experience in college?
8. Who have been the people who have influenced your decision to continue pursuing your degree?
9. Have there been particular men you look up to? What are the traits you admire about?
10. What does it mean for your family in you completing your college education?
11. How much do you agree with the family being more important than the individual?
12. How important is the value of respect in your life?
13. How important is the value of family in your life?
14. How important is it for you to maintain close relationships with others?

15. How much do you agree with showing affection to those people you have close relationships with?

16. What else might be significant to share about your experience of being a Latino male in your program/college?

**Appendix C: Emails to Participants Soliciting Interviews & Advertising Studyviews
& Advertising Study
E-mail to Participants**

Dear [insert name],

Thank you for your interest in my dissertation research on the experience of being a Latino in higher education. I am excited about the possibility of your participation and having the privilege of hearing your unique story of your decision to enter into college and your journey thus far. The purpose of this e-mail is to inform you of your rights within this study and to provide you with an informed consent for you to sign and return to me if you agree to participation in the study.

I am conducting a qualitative study whose aim is to understand the experience of Latinos, especially those who identify with their cultural heritage, in higher education and provide descriptive detail of your own experiences. My main research question is “How does caballerismo manifest itself in Latino students in higher education?” Through your potential participation, as well as several other men who share common experiences, I hope to develop a conceptual understanding of caballerismo manifesting in higher education. I will be requesting that you complete at least two semi-structured interviews with me, each lasting one hour. If you feel there is still more of your story to share after the second interview, I am happy to set up additional interviews as needed.

I will ask you to share about your experiences in regards to the process in entering a college of education and your experience thus far in pursuing a higher education degree. I am seeking vivid, accurate, and comprehensive portrayals of what these experiences were like for you which may include your thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, as well as situations, events, places, and people connected with your experience.

I will be working from a social-constructivist lens in this study and I hope to create egalitarian relationships in our work together where you can feel safe, heard, and valued. Throughout this study, I will refer to you as a co-researcher, rather than a participant, and strive to work with you in a collaborative and empowering manner. I will need to follow-up with you at times to make sure I accurately capture your experience as I begin to analyze data. It is important to me to be able to share your story using your words and to be able to convey your experiences in a manner that feels genuine and true to you. If you have additional thoughts or ideas beyond our interviews, I encourage you to contact me so I can fully capture your experience. You can also decide at any point in this study to withdraw your consent and participation.

I very much value your interest and the time and energy that it will take to be a part of this study. Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. If you have any further questions before signing the consent form attached, please

feel free to reach out to me via e-mail (victor.carrasco@du.edu) or telephone (575-973-1285).

Best,
Victor Carrasco

**Appendix D: Email to Department Chair Soliciting Interviews
Recruitment E-mail to Department Chairs**

Dear Dr. _____ (Department Chair of Program),

My name is Victor Carrasco and I am a Ph.D. student in Counseling Psychology at the University of Denver. I am currently seeking participants for my dissertation which is a qualitative study aimed at understanding the experiences Latino males pursuing a higher education degree within the college of education. I was hoping you would be able to share my participation request with the graduate and undergraduate students in your program. I am seeking male students who are (a) currently enrolled in a program within the college of education (which can include being on internship) or (b) currently pursuing a degree in a major within the college of education, and (c) identify as Latino male.

For those qualified and interested in taking part in this study, I am requesting that they follow the below Qualtrics link that will allow me to collect further demographic information and contact information for me to follow-up with participants individually. Involvement in the study will include audio-recorded in-person or Skype/phone interviews in which the participant will describe their experiences of being a Latino male in higher education, as well as reviewing transcripts of said interviews and of data analysis to ensure accuracy of participants' experiences.

If you or your students have any further questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me at victor.carrasoc@du.edu.

For those interested in the study, please follow the link below:
(Qualtrics link)

Best,
Victor Carrasco

Appendix E: The Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale

Caballerismo and Latinos in Higher Education

The following section contains questions about your culture of origin and your native language. By culture of origin we are referring to the culture of the country either you or your parents came from (e.g., Puerto Rico, Cuba, China). By native language we refer to the language of that country, spoken by you or your parents in that country (e.g., Spanish, Quechua, Mandarin).

If you come from a multicultural family, please choose the culture you relate to the most. Instructions: Please mark the number from the scale that best corresponds to your answer.

1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree somewhat 3 Agree somewhat 4 Strongly agree

Q1 I think of myself as being U.S. American.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q2 I feel good about being U.S. American.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q4 Being U.S. American plays an important part in my life.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q5 I feel that I am part of U.S. American culture.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q6 I have a strong sense of being U.S. American.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q7 I am proud of being U.S. American.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q8 I think of myself as being _____ (a member of my culture of origin).

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q9 I feel good about being _____ (a member of my culture of origin).

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q10 Being _____ (a member of my culture of origin) plays an important part in my life.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q11 I feel that I am part of culture _____ (culture of origin).

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q12 I have a strong sense of being _____ (culture of origin).

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Somewhat agree (3)
 - Strongly agree (4)
-

Q13 I am proud of being _____ (culture of origin).

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Somewhat disagree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Strongly agree (4)

Please answer the questions below using the following responses:

1 Not at all 2 A little 3 Pretty well 4 Extremely well

Q15 How well do you speak English at school or work

- Not at all (1)
 - A Little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q16 How well do you speak English with American friends

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q17 How well do you speak English on the phone

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q18 How well do you speak English with strangers

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q19 How well do you speak English in general

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q20 How well do you understand English on television or in movies

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q21 How well do you understand English in newspapers and magazines

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q22 How well do you understand English words in songs

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q23 How well do understand English in general

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Please answer the questions below using the following responses:

1 Not at all 2 A little 3 Pretty well 4 Extremely well

Q24 How well do you speak your native language with family

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q25 How well do you speak your native language with friends from the same country as you

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q26 How well do you speak your native language on the phone

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q27 How well do you speak your native language with strangers

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q28 How well do you speak your native language on the phone

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q29 How well do you understand your native language on television or in movies

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q30 How well do you understand your native language in newspapers and magazines

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q31 How well do you understand your native language words in songs

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q32 How well do you understand your native language in general

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q33 How well do you know American national heroes

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q34 How well do you know popular American television shows

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q35 How well do you know popular American newspapers and magazines

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q36 How well do you know popular American actors and actresses

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q37 How well do you know American history

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q38 How well do you know American political leaders

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q39 How well do you know national heroes from your native culture

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q40 How well do you know popular television shows in your native language

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q41 How well do you know popular newspapers and magazines in your native language

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q42 How well do you know popular actors and actresses from your native culture

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q43 How well do you know history of your native culture

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-

Q44 How well do you know political leaders from your native culture

- Not at all (1)
 - A little (2)
 - Pretty well (3)
 - Extremely well (4)
-