CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

Between Class & Friendship:
Homosociality in an All-Male Residence Hall in the U.S.

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BY

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This dissertation contains no materials accepted for any other degrees in any other institution, and contains no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of bibliographic reference.

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Abstract:

Based on extensive residential fieldwork, this dissertation aims to present a more rounded perspective on men's homosocial relations than current literature in Critical Studies of Men & Masculinities and demonstrate the importance of these relations in these men's lives, within the context of an all-male residence hall at a midsized, private university in the USA. It aims to showcase the cross-disciplinary lacuna that exists on this topic in both anthropological studies of men and their relations, as well as within the field of Higher Education and its understanding of the way that men socialize and orient themselves during their first year at university. In this way the dissertation hopes to open up a discussion not just about these specific men and their relations, but also to locate the role that the university itself as a primary socialization institution has in the creation of these roles, production of gender subjectivities, and positions; in particular as universities take on greater and greater importance for wider and wider groupings of people within the United States. I argue that these homosocial relationships provide an insight into the institutional mechanisms of the university, as well as opening up a more rounded understanding of the role that these relationships play in these guys' lives during their time at university. Further, I argue that university sets up a particular heteronormative framework for students and in so doing it positions the campus in spatial and temporal ways that are aligned with this, to which the guys' homosocial relations act as a form of resisting these spatio-temporal constructions and pursuing a vision of space and time that is constituted through enactments of homosociality. Throughout the dissertation, the overarching research question is: what is the role of homosociality in these men's lives, and how do these homosocial relationships guide their relationship to the university through connections with time, space, geography, and sociality/sexuality?

To do this I will bring to bear not just empirical data from my year long fieldwork but will also tackle theoretical issues surrounding ideas about liminality, sociality, intimacy, and the role of higher education in the US in the 21st Century. Running throughout the dissertation is a question of the configuration of masculinity in the United States presently, which argues for a questioning of the position that universities play in shaping and forming class hierarchies and gender relations, and, further, demonstrates the importance of the university as a site of symbolic as well as cultural capital. The thesis takes as its theoretical grounding a neo-Bourdieusian framework, utilizing both his conceptual tools as well as his work directly on education (and higher education). This work will be augmented with more recent writings on higher education, masculinity, and anthropological inquiries.

My thesis is that the university holds a crucial place in the US in the way that it sets up classed and gendered (as well as raced) hierarchies and produces specific forms of relations that students work through and around, building their own worlds under the watchful eye of the administration; particular to this is the way that men mobilize their homosocial relations producing relationships that alter the meaning of 'friendship' and intimacy while simultaneously conjuring positions of liminality, community, and nostalgia as part of their social milieu and through this challenging simplistic notions of 'university life' or the meaning of men's friendships.

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Acknowledgements

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A Dissertation and a PhD is no small feat, and certainly not one that is accomplished singularly or as a solitary process or endeavor. Throughout the course of this project I have had three supervisors. The first part of the project was guided by Allaine Cerwonka and Anna Loutfi, whose deep theoretical engages and work – particularly Allaine's work reflecting on fieldwork and theory (and supervision) with Liisa Malkki (Cerwonka & Malkki 2007) – directed the initial thinking on and development of this project. I have had the distinct pleasure to have as my supervisor Daniel Monterescu, who also worked with me in the beginning phase of the project. Daniel has set an amazing example for ethnographic work and thinking, particularly in his thoughtful monograph *Jaffa Shared and Shattered: Contrived Coexistence in Israel/Palestine* (Monterscu 2015).

Extending from my supervisors, I have had the true privilege of having an amazing group of scholars, academics, and colleagues to which this dissertation owes much of its form and shape. Endless quantities of appreciation go to Andrea Cornwall who graciously served as my MA thesis supervisor, employed me as a researcher for a year while I was unemployed otherwise, and has been – above and beyond – the best mentor one could ever ask for. With Andrea, I have had the true honor of co-editing a book that I think is a worthwhile and serious contribution to the literature (Cornwall, Lindisfarne & Karioris 2016) with Nancy Lindisfarne. Nancy is a stalwart human being whose humorously, humane, and prescient comments have assisted me in staying the course. She has, very graciously, read and commented on various chapters, in whole and part. Each and everything she has read is improved, sharper, and more potent for her keen editorial, political, and theoretical eye. Similarly, Jonathan Neale provided insightful comments on multiple drafts of a publication that extended its range and depth of analysis significantly (Karioris 2016).

At various points throughout this process I have had the great pleasure of working with – on various projects – Mairtin Mac an Ghaill and Chris Haywood. They are a demonstration of the power and practice of collaboration, generosity, and rigor. Each of them has assisted this project individually, and as a duo they not only provided an example that one can only hope to emulate, but have served as paradigms of scholastic prowess. Similarly, I have been fortunate to have the honor of working with Michael Kimmel. As the top scholar in the field, his work has provided the foundations for this work – as well as many others. His work in founding the *Journal of Men & Masculinities* and the Center for the Study of Men & Masculinities has provided the field a stable and concrete place to study, think, and develop. In person he has been nothing but humble and giving. It is worth recounting that at a conference for the Center – for which he is director – rather than seek out attention or aloof, he sat at the check-in table for the good part of two of the days handing out conference programs, name tags, and bags.

One of the most important academic influences in the past years has been my relationship with Jonathan A. Allan. As a young scholar himself, he not only is able to empathize, but through his own work has and is forging a trail! Beyond his support, editing, comments, and guidance, Jonathan has become a close friend and collaborator. His background in psychoanalysis, literature, and the humanities challenges and pushes me to think deeply and carefully about my own positions, thoughts, and disciplinary background. It is this dynamic that has propelled us in our efforts and work together, and which – rather than merely titularly 'interdisciplinary' – provides deeply thought through and nuanced takes on concepts and ideas.

I would like to extend my warm appreciation to the two members who served on my Comprehensive Exam Committee: Denis Gainty and Miklos Hadas. Denis has gone above and beyond his requirement as a Reader for the exam, and has been someone who I have remained in contact with on a regular basis. Miklos, an eminent and respected scholar, has served as a root for me in Hungary, for which I am deeply grateful.

Throughout the period of this degree, I have been given a plethora of lovely colleagues to work with. My PhD Cohort: Eva Zekany, Maria Temmes, Fani Cettl, Emily Hertz, and Calvin Koegh – the unique projects and backgrounds of each of these amazing scholars has opened me to thoughts and topics I didn't even know existed. Other PhD peers at CEU: Matthew Baxendale, Adriana Qubaia, Rik Adriaans, Claudia Manta, Heather Tucker, Petra Bakos-Jarrett, Irina Cheresheva, Katrine Smiet, and Stanimir Panayotov – these, along with many others at CEU, have provided a safe space for discussion, laughter, and thinking.

I would like to thank all of the students who I've had the pleasure of learning with throughout my time at CEU – those in 'Foundations I' and 'Comparative Masculinities.' Special thanks go to the students who worked with me and taught me in my course 'Sociology of Gender & Sexuality' at the honors collegium at ELTE.

In addition to all of my colleagues and peers, I would like to thank my friends, without whom this project certainly would not have been possible. I am unable to thank all of those friends who have lightened my load over the past four years. Importantly, I would like to thank for all their time and discussion, Marc R. Loustau, Veronika Lapina, Harmony Siganporia, Karoly Varga, Amanda Winter, Dorian Kocijan, Hyejin Bak, and Ben Dahlberg – each of them have shown me something about friendship and the practice of being a friend. To my friends who I've known through thick and thin, Dan Muething, Mark Szulczewski, and Josh Radomski. Two men who I consider my brothers have enlivened my own homosocial world: Dan Hamilton and Ron Blue. Together we have traveled thousands of miles, had endless discussions of every sort, discussed large chunks of this research, dealt with heartbreak, worked through failures & depressions, congratulated each other on successes, and drank more beer than is certainly healthy! Their companionship, camaraderie, and fraternity have provided more than its fair share of insights into homosociality, education & pedagogy, and into masculinities's forms and shapes.

More than in many other PhD projects, I have my parents and family to thank for their support and encouragement. They have offered not only their love and motivation, but also supported me during fieldwork by housing me and with homemade meals. Through her persistent and loving spirit, my mother has shown me ways of interacting that have provided me with grit and vigor, and compassion and kindness. As a teacher herself – and a nurse – she knows and shows the value of determination and a helping hand. My Grandma and Grandpa have both been strong supporters of this project. As a union worker, my Grandfather made sure that each of his children understood the value of education and that they had the opportunity to attend university. His hard work, strength of character, and affection provided for my mother and her siblings, and for me and mine. My Nona's go-get-it attitude and strong will have shown me light in dark times. As a teacher for adult education, she made sure we all knew the importance of learning and knowledge. My Papua, whom I am named after, worked for 45 years as a Physics professor at Marquette University before passing away. An award in his honor seeks to "to keep the memory of Professor Karioris' friendship and collaboration alive among his students and coworkers." On one of my first days at Marquette, I was told by a professor

that he knew my Papau, and that when he was on campus they used to call him 'Fat Frank the Faultless Friar.' These collegial and collaboration – as well as humorous – legacies speak to the power of his presence and the depth of his character. This strength shines through in my father. As stubborn as I am – and as I am certain his father was – we have not always agreed on everything, but that has never stopped him from supporting me in each of my endeavors. With a wealth of knowledge, he is both an exemplar for the importance of knowledge and an advocate of learning.

I want to thank each and every person I came into contact while doing fieldwork. From Deans, Vice-Presidents, Residence Hall Directors, Resident Assistants, and Faculty. So many individuals at the university provided me with support and encouragement throughout a year of fieldwork. Even more importantly, I want to thank all of the guys of Regan Hall. They let me into their lives, told me their stories, and shared their hall with me. It is unfortunate that I cannot thank them by name, for they are what make this project what it is, and what makes it so rich and full. They gave to me in ways that were unexpected and uninhibited. We shared laughter, tears, pain, joy, accomplishments, and failures. As they shared with me, I shared my life with them. They supported me through a year away from friends and loved ones, and through difficulties with fieldwork, relationships, money, and academics. For all of this I thank them from the bottom of my heart.

It should come as no surprise that a project so focused on relations and education takes an extended amount of time to appreciate, remember, and note the relationships that went into the making of this PhD. Not only did they assist in the making, they helped in the surviving of it! Each of these individuals thanked have provided an arm (to carry), a shoulder (to cry on), a leg (to stand on), a hand (up), an ear (to listen), a mouth (for words), and a heart (of gold).

Pieces and ideas from this dissertation have been presented at various conferences around the world: USA, UK, Croatia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Serbia, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Turkey. I have received extremely valuable comments from scholars at multiple meetings of the American Men's Studies Association (AMSA), the 'Undressing Patriarchy' Symposium hosted by the Institute of Development Studies, the 16th Annual Chicago Ethnography Conference, and the 'Masculinity and Mobility: Ethnographic Approaches to Men and Change' workshop at Goldsmiths. Further, I'd like to thank all those who participated in the 'Dislocating Masculinity Revisited' Symposium (July 2014, University of Sussex) that I helped organize with Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne – particular thanks to Raewyn Connell and Mairtin Mac an Ghaill for their engaging and exciting keynotes. As well as those who participated in the 'Queer & Postcolonial Approaches to Anthropology' Symposium (November 2014, CEU) – including the keynote panelists Paul Boyce, Sofian Merabet, Prem Kumar Rajaram, and Elissa Helms. Further my thanks to the panelists of the two sessions of 'The Neoliberal University; Gender, Class & Sexuality' (October 2015, University of Amsterdam) and 'Reading from Behind: New Directions in Male Sexuality' (March 2016, AMSA) for their provocative and insightful presentations.

Parts of this dissertation have been published in various forms. Chapter 1 has been submitted to *Men & Masculinities Journal* for publication. Part of Chapter 2 is published in a different format in *Masculinities Under Neoliberalism* (Karioris 2016; Cornwall, Lindisfarne, and Karioris 2016), while Chapter 3 is published in *Culture Unbound* journal (Karioris 2016).

Abbreviations

RA – Resident Assistant
HD – Hall Director
HM – Hall Minister
DR – Desk Receptionist
USJ – University of St. Jerome
PS – Public Safety
RH – Regan Hall
ORL - Office of Residence Life

Preface

Introduction

This preface is meant to act as an opening space for insights into the work can begin. It is not, in this vein, filtered with analysis or exposition or citations. It is like the picture (below), providing a glimpse into a world rather than a formal introduction. Much like the picture, showing three men in suits, most likely taken sometime in the beginning half of the 20th Century, these two pieces below are vague and pointed simultaneously. They are also meant to give voice, at the beginning of the story, to the men themselves, and to their own telling.

Vignette: The End of the Year

Towards the end of the year, May begins to warm up and students start taking their final exams and leaving. In the middle of finals week walking up to the building I come upon 'Chicago' Ed, Aaron Kane, and Felix Drew who are standing and sitting on the stoop of the building. Aaron is sitting on the stoop with Chicago and Felix standing behind him. Felix smoking a cigarette, as the other guys chat with him. Chicago smiles to me as I come up to the stairs and greet them. He tells me, "We're trying to soak up the last of the step." They all laugh and start talking about the fact that they won't be coming to the step soon. The guys start talking about the year, and the various stories from the year. Chicago almost announces "I basically don't remember any of the nights themselves." They all laugh as we move around on the stoop. "I mean, I remember the stories from the day after way more than I remember the nights themselves. That's probably the only way I really remember the nights themselves." It is these stories from Saturday and Sunday mornings that are the basis not only of their memories from the year but also for their friendships

and their relation to the stoop. Aaron jokingly plays on this idea and says that he only remembers things from his classes. Its a striking joke, playing off the fact that he then reminds us he doesn't really remember much from his classes. We all laugh at it, knowing just how funny the joke is, and wanting to soak in the nostalgia of the memories.

As the conversation rolls to a close and the guys start putting out the ends of their cigarettes and heading inside, Chicago says to the group, "All these kids leaving made me want to cry." In an effort to distance the reality of the affect of sadness, Aaron deflects it, "That's soft man." Refuting and refusing this affectual drama, Chicago continues, "I wouldn't want to have left early in the week. It'd be awful to leave everyone still here." The statement is seconded by both Aaron and Felix as we all head inside; not for the last time for any one individual, but it may be the last time all of them enter at the same time (and leaves the step at the same time), a moment of importance therefore for a strongly connected group.

That evening, as I walk out of the building, four guys are sitting on the grass next to the front steps of the building. I don't know any of them, but they remind me of many of the guys from the building that I do know. They're smoking a cigar and passing it between them. They are laughing and chatting loudly, having an exuberant time. As I walk past them, one of them stands up and walks over to me. Politely, and with a big smile, he asks me "Can you take a picture of us man?" I agree, and he hands me a disposable camera. As I set up to take the picture he tells me, "Make sure you get the building name [sign] in the picture." They sit back, lean into each other, with hands wrapped tightly around each

other's shoulders, smiling at the moment they're sharing together. I push the small plastic

button and the shutter makes a mechanical 'click' as it takes the picture; I wind the

camera and take a second one to make sure. As it clicks, I wind the camera again and it

keeps spinning. The camera is out of film.

Photo of three friends smoking. (Vintage, unmarked)

Watching them sit there, I hand back the camera and am greeted with a slightly rowdy

"Thanks!" as I turn to walk away. They continue smoking their cigar, the air perfumed

with its billowous smoke; memories and a temporary moment, impermanent as the haze surrounding them. It is most likely the last picture of them together as a group, as most of they are all leaving tomorrow or the next day.

A Year On, A Year Gone: In His Own Words

With fieldwork over, I have tried to stay in touch with many of the guys, and found a facebook post from 'Chicago' Ed, one of my close friends from fieldwork. He had published a piece in the university newspaper not only about Regan Hall, but shined light so clearly on the importance of the building itself over a year after he had moved out, as he was starting his third year. It is reproduced in full in the below section.

Ed: Declassified survival guide: 11 tips to coping with Regan

Ed 'Chicago' Lynch

I remember telling my mom I wasn't going to University of St. Jerome anymore. With my first update, I learned my freshman year of college would be spent in the all-male freshman residence hall: Regan Hall. As an ignorant and party-hungry 18-year old, questions raced through my head: What would this same-gender residence hall do to me socially? Will girls even talk to me? Did my dad secretly change my list of preferred residence hall while I wasn't looking?

After listening to my mother continuously say "it won't be that bad," and my little brother laugh hysterically at my misery, I set out for USJ, and reluctantly moved into room 308 of "Bro-Hall."

It wasn't until leaving Regan in May of 2014 that I realized living there was the greatest thing that had ever happened to me. I met my best friends there in that hall. Two years later, we are still roommates. Although I didn't know it as an incoming freshman, my friendship with those people was thanks to Regan.

The key with Regan — as with all things in life — is to appreciate it for what it is, not what it isn't.

For those of you who may currently be sharing my disbelief in your first few weeks at USJ, here is a declassified survival guide to help you cope with Regan Hall:

1. **Utilize the "Mancave."** Although right now it may seem lame to watch a baseball game instead talking to girls in Herald, you won't have a projection screen like that again until you are a CEO. Enjoy it now.

2. **Get to know the desk receptionists and resident assistants.** Contrary to popular belief, they are not "out to get you." They are really nice and genuinely enjoy getting to know you. They might just let it slide if your guest checks out a few minutes late on the weekends.

3. **Go to Kemp for food.** It is worth the walk across campus. Don't avoid this dining hall because it's "too far away." You will regret it as a junior with no meal plan.

4. **Use the field next to the hall.** That grassy area is practically as big as the green in front of the Union. Bring every last piece of sporting equipment you have from home and get out there.

5. **Go to Gene's Diner.** You are among the closest people on campus to this diner — take advantage of it. Located on the corner, Gene's serves a breakfast that will make any man feel better. You can even be productive — there's free Wi-Fi.

6. **Throw your trash out.** People say Regan smells bad. It does. Half of it is man-pit, and half is overfilled trash bins. Guys are too lazy to take trash out. Leave 30 seconds early for class and just do it. Sleeping will be easier.

7. **Put the toilet seat up before you go.** For those of you who don't know, there are no urinals in Regan. No one wants to deal with that half asleep at 3 a.m., gents.

8. **Don't leave your toiletries in the bathroom.** They will be gone tomorrow.

9. **Move the room around more than once.** My roommate and I didn't find a setup we enjoyed until the last month of school. Try everything.

10. **Be friendly.** Everyone in Regan is in the same boat. Say hello to the people you live next to. You will be living here for an entire year, whether you like it or not. Life is what you make of it; don't make it miserable.

11. **Utilize the "step."** Whether you are coming back from the library or a Friday night out, the front steps are a fun place to sit and chill with "the boys." Some of

your most memorable nights could be spent out on that stoop, especially if the weather is nice. We were out there so often that we affectionately called (and still call) ourselves "The Step Kids."

If there's one thing that the "Reeg" taught me, it's to have an open mind. I walked into that hall my freshman year, head hung low with embarrassment, but left with my best friends.

Take it all in. Freshman year comes and goes quickly, but "step kids never leave the step."[1]

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[1] This section is authored and published by someone else. It is not written by me. Due to reasons of anonymization, I have changed some of the words and have not cited the text.

Introduction - Educating Masculinity: Class, Friendship, and the University

Introduction

A ruddy drop of manly blood
The surging sea outweighs,
The world uncertain comes and goes,
The lover rooted stays.
I fancied he was fled,
And, after many a year,
Glowed unexhausted kindliness
Like daily sunrise there.
My careful heart was free again, —
O friend, my bosom said,
Through thee alone the sky is arched,
Through thee the rose is red,
All things through thee take nobler form,
And look beyond the earth,
And is the mill-round of our fate
A sun-path in thy worth.
Me too thy nobleness has taught
To master my despair;
The fountains of my hidden life
Are through thy friendship fair.
-Ralph Waldo Emerson 'Friendship

While it might seem strange to begin the dissertation at the end of the year (and then a year later), it is critical to see this maneuver as one which is predicated upon a recognition of the temporal and limited nature of the sets of relations, experiences, practices, and people that this ethnography discusses. Not only are they contextual in the grand sense – 21st Century U.S. – but also personally: for these guys this experience is a part of their lives, one that – more likely than not – will not be repeated. One is able to see this in the reference that Ed makes, "step kids never leave the step." It is an acknowledgement of a shared continuation in spirit, coming from the knowledge that the step is no longer where his life revolves around – an *esprit de corps*.

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This dissertation is built on extensive ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the University of St. Jerome (USJ), a private, Catholic, 4-year university; and, in particular, at the all-male residence Regan Hall. This fieldwork focused on the social lives of the guys in the hall. Throughout the year I spent time with guys inside the building, in house parties, in dining halls, at restaurants, on car trips, in church, in lectures, and they even visited me at the restaurant on campus that I worked at and attended a lecture I gave near campus.

To build this argument I will bring to bear not just empirical data from my fieldwork but will also tackle theoretical issues surrounding ideas about liminality, sociality, intimacy, and the role of higher education in the U.S. in the 21st Century. Running throughout the dissertation is a question of the shape of masculinity in the United States presently, but also a powerful questioning of the role that universities play in shaping and forming class hierarchies and gender relations, and, further, the importance of the university as a site of symbolic capital. I argue that the university holds a particular place of importance in the US in the way that it sets up classed and gendered (as well as raced) hierarchies and produces specific forms of relations that students work through and around, building their own worlds under the watchful eye of the administration; particular to this is the way that men mobilize their homosocial relations producing relationships that alter the meaning of 'friendship' and intimacy while simultaneously conjuring positions of liminality, community, and nostalgia as part of their social milieu. Through a form of pedagogic engagement with each other, these guys formed learning communities that are distinct from those found within classrooms. Therefore, I argue that the liminal positions of these guys is one that is both created by a university system that seeks to establish and

perpetuate a heteronormative ordering system, and which positions homosociality as necessarily counter to this goal. Further, I assert that homosociality is a form of resistance to this ordering process, and argue that the dramatic changes taking place in the U.S. are intimately linked with specific iterations of young men's homosocial relationships and the ways that these are temporally contructed and constituted as temporary. I argue that through a particular set of spatio-temporal dispositions – that are intricately linked to homosociality – these guys are calling into question the heteronormative order that not only gives precedence to heterosexuality, but does so specifically through the a utilization of space and time that are constituted in the heteronormative ordering process. This homosociality is interlinked with middle-class ideologies present and enlisted at the university, and is pushing for a specific set of relations that are classed and link these guys through conceptions of space, work, and time. These guys, through their lived relations, showcase and complicate simplistic ideas of what social relations mean for middle-class men in the 21st century, neoliberal U.S. Throughout the dissertation, the undergirding research question is: what is the role of these homosocial relations in these men's lives and how are they connected with their relationship to the university, space, time, and sociality/sexuality? In each of the chapters that follows, this question – and the attendant complexities, nuances, and challenges of various aspects and elements of it – comes to the fore in specific ways. At root, the dissertation demonstrates the complex relations that men have to the university (and vice verso), and the way that their homosocial relations are both more complex and more important than much of the literature would suggest; while noting the specific ways that these relationships work through the standardized narratives of 'campus life' and challenge dichotomous versions

of the campus as the guys work through challenges to time and space on campus. At the core, the dissertation shows the interconnected Janus of sociality/sexuality and elucidates the complex ways the university itself plays on this, and the means that these men's homosocial relations work through, against, and opposed to these simplistic narratives.

Focusing on their social relations, this dissertation seeks to give light and voice to the intricate and complex formations of homosocial relationships within this space, and the way that these relationships are – themselves – able to create new spaces and places; able to enact, redact, and raze social groups, intimacy, and connection; and the role that the university plays in setting up, situating, and limiting (seeking to limit) the importance of these relationships, while pushing forms of relationality that are bounded by marital heteronormative orderings. Through looking at these relationships as the primary focus, it re-reads them as spaces not simply of relation but of learning and holding pedagogic merit as a form and practice of teaching. Building on the notion that men often learn masculinity from each other (Kimmel 1994; Flood 2007), this dissertation sees this learning – particularly as rooted outside of formalized rites of passage (Raphel 1988; Gilmore 1990; van Gennep 1960) – as a formulation of not simply ways of being, or ways of being "a man," but as strongly connected to broader conceptions and structures of masculinity, class, gender, race, and the (economic & social) market. In this, it positions these homosocial relations within the broader context of 21st Century United States, changes in inter- and intra- gender relations, reshaping of sexualities and beginning of acceptance of alternative sexualities, and – especially – the refashioning of

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Higher Education in the United States as a singular and sole instrument of business strategy over education.

One should, though, be careful not to suggest a rosy picture of university education, purpose, or life or suggest that in previous generations it was the pristine and unfettered place of rebellion, resistance, or 'progress.' This was shown strongly in the protests across the globe in 1968 and the role of university students in this and the difficulties that existed in Higher Education's recent past (Kaufman 2009; Witcover 1997). We should never forget protests and the killings at places like Kent State, that fall in this line as well. 1968 proved to be an important year also for specifically Catholic universities in the U.S., where faculty at the Catholic University of America (in Washington D.C.) protested and pushed for academic freedom from the Catholic church – particularly in regards to contraception – and revealed the struggle between the church and faculty's needs to address student concerns (Mitchell 2015).

In the following sections, I will showcase the connections and underpinnings for the dissertation as a whole, and will set up the basis of the arguments that will be expounded and expanded on in each of the chapters following. In doing this I will give specific context about Higher Education in the U.S. and the campus and residence hall where the fieldwork took place. I will move from that to addressing some initial important theoretical points, and then address methods briefly. Following this I will give a brief overview of each chapter.

Education & Higher Education in the U.S.

The state of Higher Education has, for the past fifty or more years, moved in a direction that sees students as consumers, education as training for business, and the 'university' as a host and home for business interests rather than a public good or critical institution of critical thinking and critique (Blacker 2013). The publication of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis' now canonical *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* (1976), while overly structuralist, sets up the scene of Higher Education in the U.S., and has taken on more force now than it was when was written, as it described the trend that was beginning to move in the direction education is traveling. It provides a large-scale overview of the institution of the university, and the attendant role that higher education plays in the broader society.

Beyond the simplistic narratives of higher education institutions as business stooges, the trend in the U.S. – and more and more beyond its borders as neoliberalism takes deeper hold in greater amounts of countries – is towards a version of schooling that stems back from the older forms of liberal education which incorporated the school (in this case, elementary and – later – secondary) in the process of educating workers. During the industrial revolution, with the expansion of industry, there was a need for greater amounts of workers educated to such a degree that they could operate and manage processes. These tasks and jobs, not more complex than agricultural ones but distinct, required – it was supposed – greater amounts of education. From this came the push towards 'universal education' that suggested that all peoples ("people" here still limited, frequently, to men or white) should be able to obtain a basic level of education such that

they could be productive members of society. This understanding of education came to similar ends but ran in distinction to other progressive educational philosophies which suggested – more broadly and more fundamentally – that education was required for all to be good civic individuals and members of the *polis*. While somewhat distinct, these two ideas of education are often conflated under the banner of universal education.

Around the turn of the 20th Century, with expansions of attendance of primary and secondary schools and increases in literacy rates, came an expansion of the university system. Earlier forms of university revolved around and were primarily for wealthy men study law or theology. The increases in educated individuals led to increasing demands for universities and education beyond these courses. The boom of higher education institutions comprised large "land-grant" universities set up as state universities around the countries, in tandem with private institutions. The foundation of the expansion of private universities was part of a process of, not education simply, but creative and entrepreneurial acts by the wealthiest. Howard Zinn states that Rockefeller "helped found the University of Chicago… John Hopkins [University] was founded by a millionaire merchant, and millionaires Cornelius Vanderbilt, Ezra Cornell, James Duke, and Leland Stanford created universities in their own names" (Zinn 1980, 256). Zinn continues, "These educational institutions did not encourage dissent; they trained the middlemen in the American system – the teachers, doctors, lawyers, administrators, engineers, technicians, politicians – those who would be paid to keep the system going, to be loyal buffers against trouble" (Ibid., 257). It should be noted that these schools – University of Chicago, John Hopkins, Vanderbilt, Cornell, Duke, and Stanford – are still, to this day,

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some of the most elite and prestigious institutions in the U.S. – Cornell being one of the

'elite 8' of the Ivy League, whose current endowment stands at roughly $6.2 billion.[2]

While Zinn is talking about the foundations of the U.S. university systems, and therefore

generally the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th Century, his description bears a

striking resemblance to the modern institution – particularly with the rebirth of

philanthropic gifts. One can look at, for example, the Thiel Fellowship which actually

offers students $100,000 to stop attending university and become entrepreneurs in their

own right see (Thiel 2016). The push in the Thiel Fellowship away from university is part

of the new iterations and formations of training that seek to outsource learning and

prioritize the goals of industry; and, in this way, while the Thiel Fellowship is pushing

people away from universities it is still part of the philanthropic measures being instituted

to prioritize business goals as individual aims and cut away the supposed chaff of civic

good/duty or broad education.

With the prominent role of universities in the project, it is important to see these

institutions in their historical context and to bring a comparative element to bear upon the

field of American higher education. To this end, this section will attempt to briefly

outline a history of higher education and its relation to gender in the U.S., comparing this

to that of the U.K.,[3] and, in conjunction with this, aiming to shed some light on the

connection of this with gender segregation practices and their relation to education. In

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[2] For reference, Central European University's endowment (one of the, if not the, largest in Europe) is $330 million. On the other side of that, Harvard's (the oldest higher education institution in the U.S., set up off of a donation from a minister) sits at $37.6 billion (Harvard 2015). As a note about the hierarchy of universities, Harvard boasts of having educated "47 Nobel Laureates, 32 heads of state, [and] 48 Pulitzer Prize Winners" (Ibid.).

[3] For a broader comparison between the U.S. and U.K., see: Michael Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays on the History of American and British Masculinities* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005).

comparing these two contexts, it recognizes the influence that each has had upon the other, at different points, and the shared commonalities, and the differences, that have structured the larger Anglo-American relations for centuries.[4]

Higher education has played a large role in determining social and power structures in both the U.S. and U.K., due in part to a large amount of trust that is granted to academics. This is more true for the British system, which assumed its academics to be 'gentlemen' (and women) who "governed their own behavior according to the dictates of conscience, or considerations of honor, or professional norms, depending on their social origins."[5] This stemmed from a university system which was first and foremost primarily for elites, and due to more distant relationship with the market. U.S. universities on the other have, though not entirely, been far more defined by market forces.[6] In a similar sense, British universities have aimed to provide a more unified system, which one could attribute both to geographic and population differences with the U.S. while simultaneously seeing a possible stronger hold upon class demarkations.

In the U.S., at the end of the 19th Century, education was seen as the evolutionary tool par excellence. "'In the vision of the super-man, if it is ever to be realized, it will be because the school, the college and university will succeed in bringing childhood to more

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[4] For an extended history of education, and a historical view to the process, see: Ellwood P. Cubberley, *The History of Education* (Whitefish, MT, USA: Kessinger Publishing, 2004).

[5] Martin Trow, 'Trust, Markets and Accountability in Higher Education: A Comparative Perspective', *Research and Occasional Papers Series, Center for Studies in Higher Education, UC Berkeley* (1996), 9.

[6] Trow, 'Trust, Markets and Accountability', 11.

complete maturity.'"[7] In this, there are elements of class, notions of evolution, and strong racial beliefs determining who could succeed in the system of schooling.

In England in the 19th Century, a debate raged about the purpose of the university. Whether it was for a liberal education, contained within the classics;[8] or whether it was necessary for these universities to incorporate to a greater degree science and a broader range of subjects.[9] The 1950s saw a demand for specific kinds of trained personnel, while the English university system expanded in the 60s with the emergence of 'plate glass' universities.[10] This expansion brought greater amounts of students into the universities, changing the way they were set up, who they were for, how they were funded, and a wide variety of other aspects that had dominated collegiate life in England.[11] These expansions eventually led to expanded student numbers, the adoption of a modular system, seeking non-governmental funding, and a centralizing of administration and bureaucracy.[12]

In similar fashion, the American system expanded drastically after WWII.[13] The story of American higher education in the second half of the 20th century, in a similar fashion to

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[7] Hall quoted by Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 106.

[8] Put briefly, 'classics' here stated means Romand and Greek literature and history.

[9] Harold Silver, Higher Education and Opinion Making in Twentieth-Century England (London: Woburn Press, 2003), 4. In an interesting note, a similar debate (though Dewey took a distinctly different side than T.H. Huxley did when he talked about broadening the curriculum) occurred in American universities in the middle of the 20th Century, with a very public confrontation between John Dewey and Robert Maynard Hutchins.

[10] Ibid., 6. These universities were named this primarily on their architecture, which, having attended one myself, is markedly different from many older universities.

[11] For a wider survey of the change to 'mass higher education' in England, see: Peter Scott, *The Meanings of Mass Higher Education* (Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, 1995). See specifically chapter 2.

[12] Silver, *Higher Education*, 7.

[13] McGeorge Bundy, one time dean of arts and sciences at Harvard, JFK cabinet member and Ford Foundation member said about this step rise that "'A rising tide lifts all boats.'" McGeorge Bundy quoted

that in England, is one of expanding business interests, shrinking funding, growing enrollment, and a drive towards market conditions.[14] While conditions have changed, and drastically so in many ways, the higher education system in both the U.S. and U.K. has gone further towards a business model which sees money above students, and funding above pedagogy.

These universities, which in the 20th century turned towards the business model, stretch roots back much further. Higher education played an important role for a small part of the population during the American colonial period. This group was formed of wealthy land owners sons. "The colleges, with their concentration of strong male adults - ministers, alumni, government officials, and tutors - were charged with transforming little boys into little men."[15] Intertwined with this, one can view the prominence of athletics on college and university campuses, which Miklós Hadas brilliantly writes about in relation to athletics in Hungary, serving as a demarkation of class and a tool for which upper and middle class masculinity could perform and compete.[16] This speaks to a long standing 'tradition' of most education being single-sex, and mostly male.

Hailing in this tradition, one can see in the building blocks of higher education elements of single-sex institutions which came before. It should be noted though that higher

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in John R. Thelin, A History of American Higher Education (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 317.

[14] This is expanded on, for the American context in Ibid., 317-344. It is interesting to note that even in setting up his history, the author takes strong consideration of the business model that was itself part of the problem.

[15] Ibid., 25. For expansion on this, see the chapter 'Academic Man' in Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens, GA, USA: University of Georgia Press, 1990).

[16] Miklós Hadas, 'Gentleman in Competition', in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24:4 (2007), 480-500.

education's connection with masculinity in its current form is fairly new; up through the end of the 19th century university's connection with labour market success and professionalism was fairly weak.[17] In the late 19th Century in the U.S. universities began admitting women, creating mixed-sex institutions, while around the same time women's single-sex institutions began appearing. In the 20th century, single-sex institutions became more rare; in 1960 twenty-five percent of universities and colleges in the were single-sex, while by 1970 this number dropped to fourteen percent.[18] Public single-sex higher education became illegal in 1996 with the Supreme Court ruling in United States v. Virginia,[19] though there are still three four-year universities which are all male.[20]

With this ruling, the large majority of remaining single-sex male higher education institutions became coed, though the fraternity and sorority system maintained a semblance of the single-sex university.[21] Fraternities developed out of college literary societies, and were, much like the colleges themselves, premised on race, religion and class; and have always been about the maintenance of social capital.[22] Fraternities have since their origin, and even in their origin, been posed in opposition to the academy,

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[17] E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 60.

[18] Arthur M. Cohen and Carrie B. Kisker, The Shaping of American Higher Education: Emergence and Growth of the Contemporary System (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2010), 199. This trend continued in the mid 70s with a shift away from small institutions. [Ibid., 207.] During the 1990s as liberal arts colleges sought to maintain or boost enrollment, they used any number of factors, including their single-sex status, to lure prospective students and garner greater prestige. [Ibid., 319.]

[19] United States v. Virginia - 518 U.S. 515 (1996). Available at http://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/518/515/case.html. [Accessed May 2013.]

[20] It should, in conjunction with this, be stated that there are a large number of all female schools in the U.S. as well; in fact, far more than there are all male schools. Most all male schools are seminaries and rabbinical schools rather than four year universities or colleges, and a few are what could be termed 'trade-schools'.

[21] Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1997), 170-171.

[22] Nicholas L. Syrett, The Company He Keeps: A history of White College Fraternities (Chapel Hill, NC, USA: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 4.

though one must be clear not to conclude they were thusly against education, and provided students a means of asserting independence - from both the university and thusly notions of in loco parentis, and therefore their parents as well.[23]

All of this, when seen in the light of comparison to higher education in England, shines new light upon the subject of American higher education, and specifically single-sex educational practices. These two systems, while distinct, share a large common history; much of which relates to the fact that the university has and was used as a system of social capital through which a certain grouping of men vied for power and capital. In this then one sees a unified purpose, where the traits themselves may vary.

In looking, more broadly, at higher education Simon Marginson gives a good overview of the state of universities and their current state:

> "It is an imperfectly integrated arrangement, characterised by uneven and changing patterns of engagement and communication; many zones of autonomy and separation; and stable and unstable hierarchies. Relationships are structured by cooperation and competition; and there are fecund mutual influences, doggedly persistent differences, and often surprising similarities of approach within and across borders. This bounded, complex, hierarchical, fragmented, contested, product-making, subject-forming, continually transforming world-wide

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[23] Ibid., 24.

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arrangement; with its specific rules, discourses and exchanges; recalls Bourdieu's (1996) notion of a 'field of power'."[24]

This in many ways sums up the complexity of higher education in its current format and incarnation;[25] expressing the difficulty with which the institution of higher education interacts with other sites and systems, and the ways that users interact with it. To this, it is crucial to tie notions of the academy with masculinity and its history of being solely for men.

From programs like the Thiel Fellowship pushing small groups, to the grandiosely large MOOCS (massive open, online classes) the 21st Century is seeing large changes in the ways that university education is enacted, and for whom it is available, realistic, practical, and affordable. While university education has almost exclusively been a way to push white-collar positions and maintaining middle-class positioning upwards – simultaneously creating an elite network to ensure, more importantly, the continuation of the upper class (note, for example, the clumping of the Ivy Leagues colleagues on the upper east coast) – it has, in the past twenty to thirty years, become less of an optional continuation and instead has become a necessity for most jobs above minimum wage. At the same time, we have seen tuition rates at universities skyrocket – above wage

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[24] Simon Marginson, 'Dynamics of national and global competition in higher education', in *Higher Education* Vol 52 (2006), 1-2. His reference here to Pierre Bourdieu is crucial, and his book *Reproduction* will be crucial for the project. Pierre Bourdieu & Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1990). For a different take on the current state of affairs in higher education, see: Evan Schofer and John W. Meyer, 'The Worldwide Expansion of Higher Education in the Twentieth Century', in American Sociological Review Vol 70 No 6 (2005), 898-920.
[25] For a bit of polemical on the topic, both dealing closer with the UK system, see: Stefan Collini, *What are Universities For?* (London: Penguin Books, 2012) or Michael Bailey and Des Freedman, editors, *The Assault on Universities: A Manifesto for Resistance* (London: Pluto Press, 2011). Or: Mike Molesworth, Richard Scullion and Elizabeth Nixon, editors, *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer* (London: Routledge, 2010).

increases, inflation, and above price increases for almost any item, good, or service. As one online artist put it: "Higher education is viewed as a necessity, yet priced as a luxury" (Kat Bonkers 2015).

Education is one of the key social institutions that guide and determine individuals' position as well as serve as a primary instrument in the implementation of ideological underpinnings (whether called interpellation, habitus, or otherwise). In this way, education can be a formative site, or a site of resistance to specific forms of order.[26] It is into this formation that it is important to add the modern university, and its present incarnation in the United States in the 21st Century, and its confluence and consumption by neoliberal policies. Higher Education now takes up a greater role in most every aspect of life for a greater and greater grouping of the population. Student Loan debt in the US is now larger than credit card debt, with the average student's debt sitting at roughly $33,000.[27] Universities enroll more students each year (though which types of institutions students choose to attend is changing), as well as graduating higher numbers of students.[28]

This, in turn, has an impact on the market – and specifically the job market, in that jobs, which once required only a high school diploma, now are "college degree required." This, paired with a shrinking industrial sector, has created a job market overloaded with

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[26] The radical potentiality of education should not be disputed; which can be seen in the writings on critical pedagogy by authors such as Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren, and Stanley Aronowitz.
[27] This figure includes students who leave university after only one year (and without a degree). It is therefore not a fully accurate representation of what a college graduate's average student loan debt would be.
[28] For a more in-depth discussion of the modern issues, history, and challenges of universities, see: Readings 1996; Giroux, 2014; Cohen & Kisker, 2010; and Bok, 2013.

college graduates and too few jobs.[29] In turn, this has perpetuated a system by which university education is not just required for the job itself, but is symbolically linked to success in life. The situation is made intolerable by the system of tuition that universities in the US use. The average rates for tuition, fees, room & board have almost quadrupled since 1981 (using adjusted figures for the dollar). When using real dollar amounts it has jumped to 9.4 times in that time period – going from $3,489 per year to $33,047 in 2011-2012 (IES 2015; USDE 2015). This hike in tuition makes the risk for attending college – through taking on higher amounts of debt – larger, while the reward (a job afterwards) becomes a slimmer possibility. The end result of which is that this generation is predicted to be the first to not be better off than their parents.

In the confluence of the university than there are any number of struggles for identity, class, race, financial security, social mobility, and issues of social and symbolic capital. When combined with a rapidly declining public sector - positions which were majority held by women - it thusly leaves further gaps between provisions within society, and, in the creation of an almost requirement (due to 'job skill needs', job availability, and social legitimacy) to attend college, it has created what could be called a Nouveau Precariat. The middle class is, supposedly, shrinking while the gap between the ultra rich and everyone else is growing. The further concentration of wealth is occurring - at different points, places, positions, and spaces - in a variety of different fashions. On Wall Street the highest paid employees are single (mostly white) women, while at the same time women have lost statistically greater amounts of jobs during the recession and are still at a serious pay disadvantage. In Detroit, Milwaukee, and Chicago old union industry men

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[29] Not surprisingly, this has hit working class and marginalized youth hardest.

now fight for low level, short-term contract jobs as the steady machining and industrial workforces are no longer necessary. The necessity for a university degree is not decreasing, but the results of employment are no longer as attached to the singular marker of a university degree, and yet unemployment for those without an undergraduate degree are few and far between.

Amidst all of this is greater percentage of Americans, of all colors, genders, classes attending university - and more and more also attending graduate school. A 2010 study found that 70% of graduating high school seniors went on to enroll in college, the highest number since statistics were taken on this in 1959 (Rampell 2010).

 A 2013 report says that "A total of 10.3 million people were enrolled in four-year colleges in 2012, according to the new Census Bureau numbers. Another 3.8 million were enrolled in graduate schools, and nearly 6 million were enrolled in two-year colleges" (Deluca 2013). While another 2013 report said that "Newly-released analysis of U.S. Education Department data shows that from 2009 to 2011, the rate at which Black and Latino students entered four-year colleges and universities considerably outpaced that of Whites…", with the undergraduate black student population jumping 8.5% and the Latino population 22% (Roach 2013).

 With the gender dynamics at colleges shifting dramatically from twenty years ago, women now attend university at higher rates than men - though when this data is disaggregated one realizes that middle class white men and women attend at fairly similar

rates, while black women attend at nearly twice the rate of black men. What once was the traditional domain of men has now turned into a supposedly 'feminized system of education'. This change in gender dynamics has not been proceeded by change in attitudes about standardized gender roles frequently, with rigid gender norms holding sway in many ways both socially and in individual beliefs. It is crucial then to seek to understand the way that men and women at universities are facing the changing social landscape while working with the gender norms present, and whether these two are changing at the same pace if gender norms are falling behind the employment rate of women, the education rate of women, and the way that racialized and classed dynamics play into each of these.

Into this particular context, it is crucial to understand further the particularly American idea(l) of the "Self Made Man." This imaginary figure imposed onto bodies perpetuates and exacerbates a specific form of masculinity that originates from a public sphere form of 'open intimacy' and which, in its 'meritocratic' emphasis, disregards and buries notions of race and class. One can, to some degree, glimpse under the surface of these intersections and their workings in the homosocial relationships between men, and their particular articulations that showcase the undoing of the mask.

Beyond the gendered dynamics and changes, it is critical to note the fact that – as mentioned earlier – the university's role in class relationships is changing dramatically as well. Historically a place solely for upper classes and the rising merchant middle-class, the university in the U.S. is now home to students from all class backgrounds. This is not

to suggest that the university is now open to all, open in the same way, or accessible on the same terms. The number of first generation, minority, and working and lower class students has increased significantly in the past forty to fifty years, but the university still remains on the outskirts of many people's lives. Further, the overarching statistics of enrollment in the U.S. fail to adequately address and give light to the fact that elite schools, while setting aside grants, scholarships, and places for minority, first-generation, and working & lower class students, are still bastions of elite culture and prioritize and cater to students from upper class background.

The Role of the Residence Hall

As part of the changes that have taken place in Higher Education in the past fifty years, one of the most prominent – which ties in with the broader changes described above – is the increase in administrative positions at the university. This increase in administrative positions dramatically changes and challenges the notion of what university is, down to students' experiences on campus. Displacing faculty's management and control of the university, the Deans and Directors mount and create the Administrative University. The Administrative University is comprised of staff members – including Faculty that become Administrators – that's primary aim is the administering of the university, rather than the education of students. As part of this change, an emphasis was put on appeasing students rather than challenging them, the supposed task of faculty. It should be noted that historically the origins of fraternities are in Literary Societies that were created to challenge, augment, and push back against the power of the faculty (Syrett 2011; Torbenson 2010). Though fraternities are now often little more than nationwide organizations geared towards partying, their origin as student organizations of residence is important to remember, particularly when discussing the role of the residence hall in the modern university. As Deans multiplied, new departments emerged and took on weight in the management of students' lives. Under the auspice of Student Affairs a cornucopia of offices appeared, including the strengthening of Residence Life departments. Residence Life programs, and the attendant residence halls, are not new in the U.S. – nor is it uncommon internationally to have university-owned halls for students to live in. The traditional version of university life in the U.S., following boarding schools, often included a residential component. The changes that took place beginning in

the 1970s began seeing the residence halls taking on greater stricture imposed by the university, re-invoking the notion of *in loco parentis*. "In care of the parents" had previously been rejected by universities, and is still to this day. Yet, the imposition of greater and more invasive rules as part of the project of Residence Life are merely the new form of *in loco parentis* that allows the university to maintain distance, legal responsibility, and yet not seeming to impose its own morals.

At the University of St. Jerome (USJ), as at many universities, there is a separate and distinct department with its own Dean, Associate Deans, and Assistant Deans. The Dean of Residence Life is also a Associate Vice President for Student Life. Sitting Under the Dean are two Associate Deans – one primarily managing the facilities and the other managing the staff. The Associate Dean managing staff manages a number of staff positions, but the majority of the staff members they manage are comprised of Residence Hall Directors (HD). Each Hall Director is in charge of one residence hall. These positions are considered 'entry level' positions in Student Affairs, though require a Masters degree in Student Affairs Higher Education. Hall Directors can be in their position for three years or less, and after their third year are either moved upwards in the university or they move on. Each HD is provided with an apartment in the building they manage and a meal plan, and are required to serve on-call duty multiple week nights or weekend nights throughout a month. Hall Directors are the lowest rung of the 'professional staff' in the department.

The HDs each manage of team of Resident Assistants (RA) that is comprised of 'student leaders.' The RA position is considered a fairly respected position; as it is a leadership role, a means of employment & earning money, as well as a springboard to greater opportunities within the department or the field of Students Affairs post college. RAs are provided room and board as well as a small stipend. For this money they serve on 'duty' days, where they are required to patrol the entire residence hall multiple times throughout an evening, and to document and manage any issues, problems, or concerns. Duty goes from 8pm till 1am on weekdays and 2am on weekends. The average night is comprised of a duty tour at just after 8pm – after receiving a call from the HD on duty; another tour around 10pm; and a final tour at either 1am (week days) or 2am (weekends). Throughout the other portions of the evening the RAs are stationed in the duty room with the duty phone. If there are problems on a floor residents can come get the RAs, the front desk can call the duty phone, or Public Safety (PS)[30] can contact them. The RAs thus serve as a micro-level police force, or, as Moffatt calls them, the 'lowest ring of the Deans' (Moffatt 1989).

Different RAs manage this process differently. RAs straddle a difficult line as they are not simply police, but live on the floor and simultaneously act as mentors, pastoral carers, leaders, programmers, friends, and informational sources about the university, university life, academics, and any of a variety of other topics. Each wing in each building is assigned its own RA. The RA is responsible for beautifying their wing with posters, informational signs, and bulletin boards – all of these are changed throughout each semester, often multiple times. Further, RAs are responsible for 'door decs,' individual

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[30] Public Safety is the privatized police force on campus. I discuss this at a later point.

signs for each resident that is affixed to their door. This is meant to assist students in getting to know each other's name and getting the floor to feel a sense of unity. The multiplicity of RA duties leads to each RA emphasizing different blends of police, pal, and pastor.

At USJ all students are required to live on campus for the first two years of their time at university. The only exceptions to this are if one is a 'non-traditional students' (starting university more than two years after the end of high school) or if one is living with family less than twenty miles away. This requirement to live on campus can be seen as a pragmatic and programmatic effort to give students a unified university experience and to allow students to focus their efforts on university rather than be distracted by outside influences. It can also be seen as a management strategy to corral and cordon off students into forms of 'community' and an economic means of furthering profit off students. This practice is not unique to USJ by any means, and is fairly common – even at some large state universities.

Though there is a two year "on campus" residence requirement, for most people they live in different halls their first and second years on campus – with different halls designated as a 'first year' or 'second year' hall. This turnover in students each year allows the university and staff to more easier set the terms, conditions, and traditions of each hall, rather than these being guided directed by students themselves.

Myths of Community

Modern American universities thrive on, symbolically and economically, a mythological vision of 'community', both within its walls and in the post-college world. Universities set as their goal the creation of a unified campus to some degree, aiming to build a grouping of students (and then alumni/alumna), which share a specific ethos. At the University of St. Jerome, this ethos is put forward in its mission statement that focuses on leadership, faith, community, and social justice. While USJ has its own particular mission statement, it fits well within the standard genre of mission statements for universities throughout the U.S., with a slight Catholic bent. These apply not only to how they expect students to begin acting themselves, but also towards the way the university will act towards the students. This is wrapped up in the Latin phrase 'Cura Personalis', roughly meaning 'care for the entire person'. This is then implemented through various departments and offices, such as the Student Life Office and the Residence Life Office. These offices, staffed by 'professional' higher education staffers – many of whom have a MA/MSc in Higher Education (or similar) - act as what could be seen as a secondary educational faculty, in the believe that most learning on campus happens outside of the classroom (and therefore outside of the realm of the faculty).

The purpose of these apparatuses of the Administrative University, as will be shown throughout the following chapters, is to foster a sense of community between all members of the study body (as well as, supposedly, faculty and staff). It is important to note though that this is done at the expense of those outside the bounds of the university, creating (and perpetuating) a middle-class distinction and behavior. It also entails leaving

behind cultural and racial signifiers in many cases, with the whitewashing (and class presentation neutralization) of displays. Along with this, universities have aimed to display – simultaneously – their 'diversity', most frequently through demonstrations of racial make-up of the university.

Within Regan Hall, the Hall Director and Resident Assistants take this to the ground level. These agents of the Residence Life Office not only enforce policy, but also plan community development programs. These programs range from movie nights to faith-based conversations. Their intent is to build up community upon a shared set of experiences, beliefs, and behaviors. The staff are therefore active agents of a productive developmental positioning that sets its sights on the transformation of individuals into a more cohesive community.

This sense of community plays out beyond the walls of the college itself, tinting the experiences of all alumni/alumna. The resultant set of reflections upon their experience and the college itself is draped in a thick veil of nostalgia. This nostalgia is itself part of the university's desired aim for its self-continuation. Students themselves easily take up the mantle of nostalgia in their relationships, talking about the time at college in the past, present, and future tenses – creating a non-continuous and non-contiguous form of temporality that plays out as nostalgia for the now, past, and future nows yet to be created. It is through this that this dissertation argues that the relations between individuals (and agency), institutions (the university), and masculine homosociality are

mediated and contested scales, which the complex and nuanced narratives and relations of the guys described throughout this dissertation showcase.

I use the term 'myth' to preface the word 'community' to indicate the falsity of both the drive for the staff, as well as the incompleteness with which it is brought into fruition. This myth also belies the reality of divides between residents, based on large structural identities (class, race, sexuality, etc) as well as more personal and nuanced forms of identity.

In thinking through the 'residence hall' as a space controlled and founded as part of the Administrative University, I argue that one is able to see through this particular case study the way that students in these halls contest, work around, and co-construct pieces and parts of the ethos of the hall, community, and their relationship with each other and the university. In the following section, I will give more explicit information about the case study that this dissertation is based on.

The City, the University, and the Hall

The University of St. Jerome (USJ), like many Catholic universities is set amongst an urban city center, one need look no further for examples, than the Catholic University of American in Washington D.C., Fordham University in NYC, or Loyola University Maryland in Baltimore. Each of these universities, like USJ, is situated in the heart of an urban city center, with its own well-defined borders and boundaries. USJ stretches roughly eight city blocks running North and South, and three East to West. Though in the

middle of the city, the campus itself is comprised of almost entirely university owned buildings, apartment complexes, or restaurants and shops. In the past fifteen years, USJ has slowly been expanding the reach of the campus as well as the completeness with which it owns or controls the activities within the borders of the campus proper. These borders are, like all borders, patrolled by the campus security (Public Safety) – more to keep out certain elements of the city than to keep in the students.

University tuition – as mentioned above – has skyrocketed in the past decades, and USJ is no different. Its tuition is roughly $35,000 per year. In addition to this, room and board (a package deal, as one can not live in the residence halls and not get a meal plan) is on average about $12,000. With these costs, plus the administrative costs, fees, books, and other additions, the total cost for attending USJ for one year is about $50,000. With all degrees taking at least four years – and some taking five – the cost of attending USJ for a Bachelor's degree nears $200,000 (depending on rent and food for years three and four). While USJ gives out grants and scholarships, most students need to – at some point during their studies – need to take out student loans. Formerly government loans, students loans are now privatized in a strange fashion, to organizations like Sallie Mae. These student loans are given out with interest rates of up to 7%.

On each side of campus sit dilapidated buildings and houses, empty shop fronts, and boarded up windows. Like many inner cities settings, the area around the university has suffered economic depression and is a primarily African American neighborhood. For both these reasons, the area around the campus is heavily patrolled by the city police,

who are assisted in their duty by the campus Public Safety who spend large amounts of time stopping 'suspicious characters' and contacting ambulances for homeless men in need of medical assistance.

The campus itself is littered with trees of all kinds and sizes, with rolling patches of well-watered grass in between the buildings and on the 'quad' – a stereotypical name for a main space on campus that is insulated from the outside world by buildings on each side. The buildings on campus are each accompanied by a large brand-new sign stating the name of the building, the name of the university, and the university's seal. Riding down the main street into the heart of the city, for eight blocks on either side of the street one sees these signs on almost every building.

With a mix of old ivy-covered building to modern brand-new buildings with mirrored glass, the campus is an eclectic mix of architectural styles and tones, bespeaking new money being spent and a history that can't be bought. It is a modern-American adage that a college is either working on new buildings or struggling financially. USJ is in the middle of multiple multiple-million dollar building projects, at varying stages of completion.

Regan Hall, sitting on the West side of campus, is one of the older residence halls on campus, having been opened in the 1950s. It was originally an all-women's hall, moving to being co-ed and then changing into the all-male hall on campus. It sits near the edge of campus, both geographically and socially. The building holds just over 300 students,

almost all of whom are first year students.[31] Comprised of 3 floors, each of which have 4 wings, the building looks small compared to many of the other residence halls, some of which tower into the campus skyline at 12 stories tall. Regan's position on campus puts it far away from the heart of campus and the academic building, as well as away from the union and other residence halls.
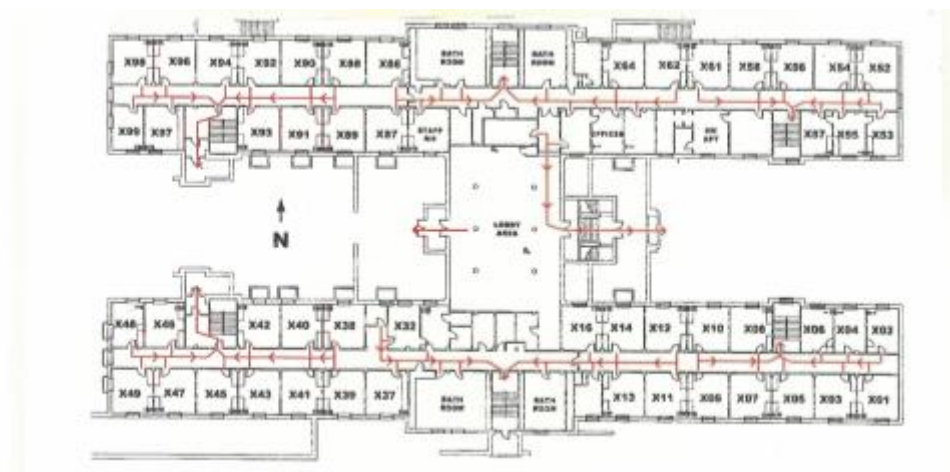
Figure 1: Regan Hall Floor Layout

The building is in very rough shape, with the university not having updated much of the furniture and amenities in the building for multiple decades. The rooms' furniture is old and worn, and is mostly attached to the wall, limiting options for the way students can set the rooms up. The only thing that is not firmly in place are the beds, which can be sat on the ground, bunked, or lofted. The rooms are almost exclusively double occupancy rooms, with a few single rooms on each floor. In Figure 2 one can see, on the far left of the diagram, the immobile wardrobes – one for each resident. Underneath the window, running the full length of the wall is a desk unit. This unit has seating spaces for two desk

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[31] Throughout the dissertation I primarily use the term 'first year' rather than the more commonly used term in the U.S. 'freshman' to avoid unnecessary gendering.

chairs, as well as two sets of desk drawers and two sets of drawers meant for clothes. These items are all firmly set in place. Each floor has two sets of common bathrooms that are each shared by two wings, with a common shower room as well on each side. This style of building and room is considered to be the 'traditional' residence hall model, which is going out of fashion as new halls are built on more suite style setups, giving students more privacy and individual space. The suite style setup, which has become more popular recently, is where pairs of rooms (each room with two residents) share a bathroom and shower between them. It is common practice for the residents to talk about the dismal conditions of the building, using this as another reason why no one would actively choose to live in there.[32]

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[32] It is interesting to note that Kimmel, in his book *Guyland*, gives very limited description of what men's dorm rooms look like, except to say: "College guys post pornography everywhere in their dorm rooms; indeed, pornographic pictures are among the most popular screen savers on male college students' computers" (2008, 9; he repeats this image on page 171 as well, and further describing men sitting around dorm lounges watching porn together on page 186). The only other real discussion of what happens in the dorm is: "Every weekend, dorm bathrooms are clogged with students worshipping at the porcelain God" (107).
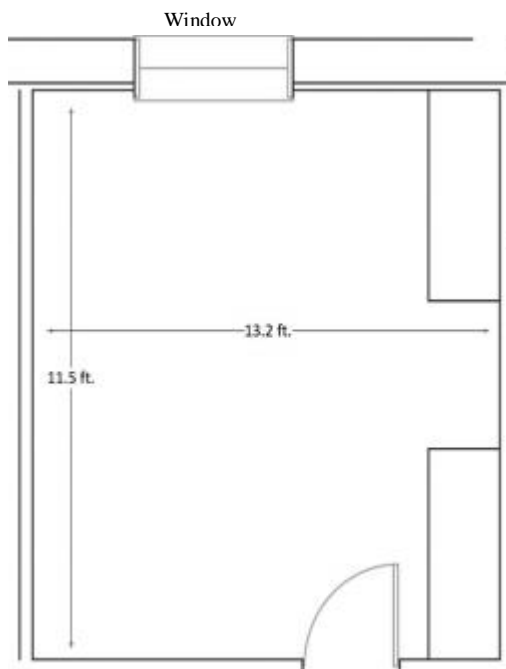
Figure 2: Regan Double Room

The students in attendance are largely from surrounding states, with roughly 84% of the first year students coming from the Midwest. The student body is primarily white – with 22% of the first year students being marked as 'ethnic minority students' – and has just fewer than 20% first generation students. Though the university is a Catholic school, only 66% of first year students denote that they are Catholic, and a far smaller number who actively participate in the campus's ministry programs. The university is, in many ways, the place where many upper middle class parents from the area send their kids; as well as the place where middle class and lower middle class students seek to find career prospects.

The University of St. Jerome, much like the university more broadly in the US in the 21st century, disrupts – to a greater degree than ever before - a sense of 'locale', as most

students come from beyond the area. While the majority are 'local' in the sense that they are broadly American, the campus should be seen as highly attuned to regional dynamics rather than primarily local (the city). This allows for students – as well as the university - to further create their own sense of the local(e), conceived as part of a process of place making (Gupta and Ferguson 2001:6). While a large number of students come from outside the local, this does not mean that there is not a regional locus of students who attend; from which they are able to better understand the institutional mechanisms of the university and gain advantage within the specific field of a particular university (this is especially true of children of alumni). Students' position is impacted by the position of their family. Bourdieu says:

> In channeling toward each educational institution the students richest in the dispositions that the institution is supposed inculcate, a high proportion of whom have been brought up in families located in the very region of the field power fed by the institutions… perpetuate the differences constitutive of social space and… the differences according to the structure of inherited capital between students who are themselves originally from the different regions of social space and the field of power (Bourdieu 1998, 139-140).

The French university system, embodied in its elite *Ecole Normale,* is not far removed from the elite system of *Ivy League* universities and the structured divides between Harvard and Midwestern middle range universities like USJ. This is a beginning of an understanding of the way that capitals are formed both prior to and through university as a process as well as a locale/location. What is missing from this, though, is the sense of peoples, individuals. So while it is true that institutions are continued and constituted by

actors knowingly acting in accordance with institutional regimes of power, the situation is complicated by the adaptable and contestable social space. Bourdieu, further, omits extensive discussion of the impact of residences on university life or the circulation and formulation of capital(s) and networks (Bourdieu 1988; Bourdieu 1990; 1998).[33]

While the building's physical condition and 'traditional' rooms are not the most appealing, it is the fact that it is all-male that often puts people off. Once incoming students have accepted their offer to attend the University of St. Jerome, there are asked to give their preferences for which residence hall they would like to live in. Most incoming students choose either Herald Hall or Celery Hall as their top choices. Only a small number of the students who end up in Regan put Regan as one of their choices, which means that almost all of the residents feel unhappy about their room situation before they even arrive on campus.

Part of the residential system at USJ is a closed-system, where to get into the residence hall one needs to be a resident and swipe in to the building each time upon entering the building. Inside each building is a desk with one or two Desk Receptionists (DR) sitting at it swiping cards for each person coming in. To enter the building one must either be a resident or have a resident check you in. Each resident is able to check in up to three non-residents. Residents are only able to check in people from 8am till 1am on weekdays and 2am on weekends. If one is having visitors overnight, one may have two people stay over

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[33] It is fascinating to note this omission; particularly for how much time Bourdieu spends discussing dwellings in Kabyle society (Bourdieu 1977), and the weight that is given to these spaces, as well as the extensive discussion he has about housing in relation to the state and the way that the state is able to control housing as part of its control of the market (Bourdieu 2005).

after filling out the appropriate forms. Overnight guests must be either family members (for the most part siblings) or of the same sex/gender as the resident. In co-ed buildings, floors are divided by sex/gender – so that there are floors of men and floors of women. After 1 or 2am residents are not allowed on floors of the opposite sex/gender. If residents are found by RAs on duty on the floor of the opposite sex after hours they can be written up (which means they must discuss the incident with the Hall Director) for this – though, again, the reality of following through on this is both hugely differentiated between RAs, as well as difficult to enforce. There are no 'bed checks,' so unless the person is making a lot of noise, it would be nearly impossible to know that someone was breaking this rule.

These rules are part of and due to both the strictures and (supposed) desires of parents, tradition, as well as the fact that USJ is a Catholic university. The Catholics elements of the university are not to be dismissed entirely, nor should one take from them that these rules are a byproduct solely of this. Other universities in the U.S. that are not Catholic based – or tied to any religion - have similar rules about sex/gender segregation. Further, some Catholic universities in the U.S. have far more flexible rules on this account. That said, it should not be suggested that the religio perspective of the university plays no role in its students' lives – students are required to take two to three courses in Theology as part of their 'Core Curriculum' – this also includes classes in literature, social sciences, philosophy, math, science, and language. The impact of the 'Catholic identity' of the university has, for most, very little impact. While roughly 75% of the students state that they are Catholic while filling out the admission form, we should be conscious that this is also frequently a marker that relates to parental or familial religious beliefs rather than

simply personal religious beliefs of practices. Almost none of the guys that I studied with actively attended church with any regularity. One or two the guys said that they were trying to attend church more regularly but that they were failing considerably at this effort. When I asked the guys what impact USJ's Catholic identity had on their education and their experiences, they – almost to the last – said that it had almost no impact, or that it had an impact only if you wanted it to. As will be seen throughout the dissertation, this is not exactly the case, but that the impact on students is both subtle and connected with broader societal tendencies towards specific forms of relationality that are marked by patriarchal, neoliberal, and heteronormative orderings.

Masculinity, Youth, and Liminality

This thesis features groups of guys who sit at the crossroads – they are neither, in many ways, exactly falling under the category 'boys' nor do they sit firmly under the created cloud of 'man' as of yet. Throughout the dissertation I therefore refer to them often simply as 'guys' as a way to pull away from and out of the binary distinction between these two stages/identities, and to suggest that, in fact, these guys are often seeking to be both at the same time. In doing this I push at the way that studies of young men create a special category for 'boys' that does not fit the guys I studied, nor do they believe or take on fully the mantle piece of manhood. This movement between 'boys' and 'men' is at the same time a move between stages of life – between being an 'adult' on the one hand and being a 'child' on the other. Does research/work on these guys make more sense to be publishing in the *Journal of Men's Studies* or *Boyhood: An Interdisciplinary Journal*? It is a question that neither journal – nor category – gives answer to, though the silo effect

seems clear. In this way, I alternate between my usage of terms, moving between 'men' and 'guys'. In doing this, I am simultaneously recognizing the status of these men as legally adult males.

I do not seek to present these men as demonstrating new categories of masculinities or suggesting that they represent 'hybrid masculinity' or 'inclusive masculinity' as single iterations, but to showcase the way that a move away from categorical groupings can demonstrate the complex confluence of compacted categories and practices. In this way, I argue that through a multifaceted blurring of categoricals one exposes both the transitory nature of individual identificatory take-up along with the broader relation to conceptions of sex/gender which are rooted in and are at root in structural systems of gender/sex/sexuality which prioritize masculinity over femininity and male over female.

In working through these categories, it is crucial to note and recognize the differences between the emic and etic when discussing these ideas and terms. All of the guys who took part in the fieldwork identified themselves – without too much problem – as men and as seeking out, in search of, or holding onto masculinity. This emic understanding – and recognizing how they thought – is crucial to give importance to, without necessarily forgoing the etic of the author and observer.

Discussions of masculinity frequently begin from the way that masculinity is formed in relation to other men, as – it is presumed – other men are the ones who are able to grant acceptance of one's masculinity. This is not always true, but stands as a starting place for

discussing masculinity as relational. Rather than discuss men's friendships as a primary starting place, this dissertation utilizes the concept of homosociality to work through many of these discussions.

Through looking at men's homosocial interactions one can begin to grasp some of both the underpinnings of the system and the systemic beliefs, while simultaneously gaining insight into the changing and fluid nature of men and their relations in the 21st Century. These relationships, which bridge the border between what is considered 'friend' and 'stranger' rely on various markations of gender, class, and race to bring them together and which they are forged with. These relations within a US university provide a large opportunity to engage with the ways that these relations are shaped, the way the men see these relations, and the role that these relationships can have in shaping dimensions of identity both in the present and in the future - through the use of comparative interviews with alumni and the way that their relations with men have changed, altered, and morphed to fit life after college. While these alumni interviews are not used extensively throughout this text, they provided deeper insights into some of the stories told by the current residents, and showcased some of the ways that these relations are temporarily bound. Living in a college residence hall requires one to interact with others in specific ways, fashioning a certain forms of relationships. In looking at these relations it means to open up a discussion about the role that intersectionality plays in these men's lives and the changing role of both the university and, in conjunction partially with that, of men's homosociality itself.

Homosociality, in this case, then provides a good starting place for investigating these relationships, because, while these men do interact with women outside of their residence (in class, on the street, at parties, etc), their primary base for socializing stems from the residence hall[34] which is made up entirely of men. [35] Theorizing on homosociality has focused, in large part, on men's relations with other men; and in particular has focused on the aspects of these relations which are violent, perpetuate violence towards women, or are pragmatic relationships based on hierarchies of capital (Flood, 2003; Flood, 2007; Flood, 2008; Sedgwick, 1984). Part, and parcel, of this project is to interrogate the simplistic vision of men's homosocial relations being presented, and open up a discussion about the way that these relationships are not solely, or primarily, fostered and founded on violence or violence towards women, and that more often than not they are costly rather than productive economically or socially.

The relations must always be discussed as particular elements of a period of time in these men's lives, as the relationships are only made possible by the fact that college is treated as a period of time outside of the bounds of adulthood; yet they sit outside of the restraints of purely childhood. In this way, these homosocial relations are not purely then aged, but are also made into a liminal phase in their lives – acting as jumping off grounds for adulthood, which could be seen as either minimal or as a sub-cultural unstructured

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[34] This presumption itself will be called into question at a later juncture in the dissertation, specifically looking at the way that while this is most frequently true it does not hold entirely. What does stay constant in most cases is the residence hall as a starting place for socializing and a home base of sorts for them.
[35] The category of 'men' or 'man' is an open one, but in this case is used from the standpoint of the university and its regulation on this through determining its own categories and implementing them putting only what they deem 'men' into the building.

and normed vision of rites of passage.[36] Michael Kimmel talks about this period as the furtherance and perpetuation of what he calls 'Guyland', a space where guys do not need to give in to the demands of adulthood or co-exist with the regulations of women (Kimmel, 2008). While Kimmel points out the reality that more men are spending larger periods of their lives in strong connection with their male friends, he does not adequately recognize the full set of implications of this; focusing on the 'reasoning' of these men's doing this as a way of avoiding adulthood and responsibility.[37] It is important though to see the other side of this Janus, to understand the anti-heteronormative stance that is, consciously or otherwise, being taken up when men gather together in this fashion. They are undoing a notion of path towards adulthood, a concept of 'proper' life style, and complicating a vision of sociality, which hinges upon heterosexual coupling as the basis for the modern system of social relationships. Therefore, the furtherance and continuation of the liminal period is not merely an escape or avoidance of adult responsibilities, but can also be seen as a rebuttal of normatives or socializing.

This is, similarly, true in relation to these men's relationships with their male friends during their time at university. They are told, very explicitly at times, that their goal and end-result of their time at university should be to find a romantic "partner" (here, 'partner' is always heterosexual, so can simply be swapped for 'wife' in the case of these men). By dedicating themselves to their male friendships, rather than advancing their heterosexual relations or prospective relations, these men are running counter to the

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[36] There is extensive writings on writes of passage, as well as some which deals with American men and rites of passage. Which is to say that this period does not, in the author's opinion, exist explicitly as a rite of passage but can be perceived and treated – both by the men themselves and others – as such.

[37] Kimmel's analysis is, it must be noted, premised upon heteronormative beliefs about what 'adulthood' should look like. For fuller discussion, see Karioris, 2014.

university's aims as well as contrary to the expected results of their time. In some senses then, this period of their lives is not merely liminal – as outside of the normalized life (and space) – but is also liminal secondarily in the goals with which they are approaching the period (which is counter to both 'normal' life as well as the expectations of the liminal period itself). Therefore, the continuation of this liminal period, extending it or aiming to make it permanent, is an alternative act of rebellion against a social system that suggests level of appropriateness for sociality within the confines of a heterosexual framework.[38] Building off of work on permanent liminality, my argument pushes forward thinking on this thinking through arguing not simply about liminality's temporal place in these guys' relationship but by simultaneously situating in relation to individual understandings of the liminal period that runs counter to a relational frame that seek to push heteronormativity as it is driven by homosociality.

This is not to dismiss the exclusionary elements or principles upon which these homosocial relations are built, and the sexist ideology which sponsors the belief that women are secondary in 'nature' and therefore secondary in socializing. The foundation root of a great many homosocial structurations is the patriarchal notion of women as secondary. It should not, then, be taken as an uncomplicated set of resistances to underlying structural divides. These men's relations, rather, are inscriptively rooted in this divide, but put into disarray the easy relational outcomes resulting from the sexual divide. In this way, one can see these relations as both perpetuating a sexual division while simultaneously undermining many of its symptoms and prescriptive behaviors.

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[38] One can see an interesting fashioning of how men work through heterosexual framings to maintain socializing with their male friends – in other words seeking to maintain the liminal period – in the fad for 'Man Caves' in people's houses.

This set of conceptual issues will be further tackled and addressed throughout the dissertation at various points, providing deep grounding for this analysis through the fieldwork.

I argue that homosociality is part of a process of relations that is distinctly related to the forms of male intimacy that exist between men in their social relations, neither negating the supposed erotic – and therefore intimate – without conflating that into either homosexuality or a notion of homoerotic which is suppressed or repressed homosexuality. It is critical to recognize that men are creating intimate bonds with each other, which range in depth, content, and formation. These intimacies play a strong role in their social life as these men are away from family – many for the first time – and therefore find themselves outside of networks of familial connection, creating instead fraternal bonds. These fraternal bonds, in this case meant to signify 'brotherhood' rather than a relation to fraternities as a specific form of social hierarchical relations and groupings,[39] encompass a wide breadth and scope of the emotional life of these men.

The expression of this intimacy will be delved into, as its specific iterations are crucial to understand the connection this has to the broader position each man sees himself playing within the relationships and the hall. Intimacy, often connected with sexuality (or sexualized), will be discussed as something that exists outside of sexual desire, but will also be used to discuss these men's bonding over sexuality directed outwards

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[39] So while this project studies an all-male residence hall, it specifically distances itself from the studies on fraternities. This is not to say that there are not similarities between them, but one should not conflate the two; as the means of congregation, formation, relation, and organization are so different as to make them almost impossible to overlay onto one another.

heterosexually, and the way that this can be linked to the intimacy between the men themselves; without, as Flood and Kimmel suggest, necessitating the intimacy between men to be based upon an inequitable sexual relation with women, and in fact pointing to examples where the intimacy between the men is used as a way of compensating for a lack of intimacy with women. In this sense, while I recognize the erotic triangle that Sedgwick sets up (between two men and a woman), I do not believe this adequately explores the fullness of the way that these relationships work in connection with intimacy or the sexual life of these men.

Philosophy of Sociality & Friendship

Throughout this dissertation, rather than focusing on 'friendship' or 'friends' as concepts, I utilize the concept of 'homosociality.' This is both purposeful and necessary. There has been extensive work on men's friendships done (see: Nardi 1992, 1999; Houston 2012; Gutmann 1997; Flood 2003, 2007, 2008), which situates and contextualizes the way that men's friendships – for the most part – with other men play specific roles in continuing, containing, and creating relationships that perpetuate inequality, misogyny, classism, race, and other forms of oppression. Oftentimes, when we speak of men's friendships, we have seemed to think – or suggest – that men's friendships and social relations fall under the auspices of useful, rather than good or pleasant. As Peter Nardi says, these useful friendships "are easily dissolved, are impermanent, and are typical of the elderly and of young men in the prime of their lives" (Nardi 1999, 4). For Aristotle – from his *Nicomachean Ethics* (2009) - there are three types of friendship: good; pleasant; and useful. Nardi describes above the 'useful' friendships, taking from Aristotle, who says

that these friendships dissolve: "for if the one party is no longer pleasant or useful the other ceases to love him" (Aristotle 2009, 144). This description of friendship as based on use is similar to the way we frequently talk about men's friendships today: that they are unemotional, based on power/resources, and that they are primarily linked to the early parts of men's lives. Aristotle himself comments on this phenomenon. "The friendship of young people seems to aim at pleasure, for they live under guidance of emotion, and pursue above all what is pleasant to themselves and what is immediately before them" (Ibid., 145). This pursuit of pleasure falls under the 'pleasant' friendships rather than 'good' friendships that stem from the friends being "alike in virtue; for these wish well alike to each other *qua* good, and they are good in themselves" (Ibid.). Though Aristotle is talking about friendships broadly, the use of masculine gendered pronouns is both historically a point of contention – that he is suggesting these are *qua universal* rather than *qua men* – but are also a signifier in the discussion for discussing men's friendships as men's friendships, as they give insight into the foundations of friendships in the Western world in many ways.

Aristotle's friendships of virtue (good) are those that act as the fiber connecting men of similar virtue, which is part and parcel of the connection that these friendships have to the *polis* and the attendant notions of the beginning of the public. Jacques Derrida, in addressing and playing with Aristotle's writing on friendship – in combination with Carl Schmidt – further emphasizes that friendship is all but inherently linked with notions of the public and citizenship (Derrida 2005). In this, for further connection to the state/polis

and friendship, one can see the connections made between virtue & justice and the state and assisting friends in Plato's *Republic* (1992).

Peter Nardi, writing specifically about gay men's friendships, reminds us "friendship is also [besides being emotional and psychological] a social process, embedded in a society's institutions, cultural norms, and structural opportunities" (Nardi 1999, 2). In this, he points us to recognize that "given its elusive nature, friendship is a difficult concept to grasp. Our language conspires to make it hard to understand; the word 'friend is thrown around quite loosely and requires layers of explanation for coherent communication" (Nardi 1999, 2). While Nardi provides valuable and unique insights into friendships – both between gay men, and between gay and straight men – it is important to see what social relations exist outside of friendships, and the ways that in using the starting point of 'friendship' we are limiting the scope of social relations under study in such a way as to divorce them from the hostile, the ambiguous, and the conflictive.

It is for this reason that this study situates itself not as a study of men's friendships, but of men's homosocial relations. It sees the term 'homosocial' as a way to open up distinct and differentiated understandings of the social relations that occur between men, which include – but are not limited to – men's friendships with other men. It also allows for us to see as distinct the possibilities at play in men's social relations with women. These inter-gender relations bear unique marks that homosocial relations, by virtue of the assumptives that come from masculinity's hierarchical position over femininity. For this reason, Chapter 1 is dedicated to an analysis and overview of the ways that homosociality

has been conceptualized and suggestions for ways that we might conceive of it such as to make it both more analytically useful and descriptive of the lived realities of the social worlds of men and masculinities.

Feminism(s), Intersectionality, and Power

This dissertation is rooted in a feminist ethics – both towards those who I encountered and worked with during fieldwork, as well as to the form, format, and presentation and space given to these guys throughout the dissertation. As I have stated at other points, I have specifically and intentionally given the voices of my informants extensive primacy throughout the dissertation; a decision that is rooted in feminist practices of giving and sharing voice. I take as my foundational root of both my fieldwork and methodology (described below) and my writing process, bell hooks' call towards notions of 'teaching to transgress' (hooks 1994). In her work and practice, hooks reminds us, referring to the Critical Pedagogue Paolo Freire, that "Freire's work affirmed that education can only be liberatory when everyone claims knowledge as a field in which we all labor" (hooks 1994, 14). So while I am still identified as the sole author, I have sought, where possible, to be including of my informants and to put forward the dissertation in such a fashion that it prioritizes a pedagogy of connection rather than simply a praxis of academic-individualism.

As I lay out in Chapter 1, this dissertation aims to explore the interconnections between gendered lives, structural normatives & requisites, and the intertangled and intertwining ways that individual lives work through, with, against, and in-between positions of

dominance, oppression, power, powerlessness, youth, and 'adulthood'. In this, it is important to note that power is not simply one thing, loaded onto or given (freely) – particularly in the case of gender; but that it is, instead, something that is ultimately happening always and in expansive surroundings – as Bourdieu reminds us: relations are never, besides on the surface, ever simply between two people in a moment. Relations, and, in this sense, power, is always ultimately the that which is in-between and which can not be contained or utilized as whim or will. It is my belief, which is validated through the theoretical positions taken throughout the dissertation and the empirical data from the fieldwork, that we must relegate the "all powerful man" to the dustbin of thinking. Its unnuanced conceptualizations of power as solidified and singular relies, as Judith Butler (a celebrated feminist) reminds us in *Gender Trouble*, on the simultaneous creation of a vulnerable and powerless character (or caricature) of 'woman'/'women'; as the creation of a singular enemy ('Man') implies and implicates a necessitated, then, version of victim ('Woman'). Butler states that "the effort to identify the enemy as singular in form is a reverse-discourse that uncritically mimics the strategy of the oppressor instead of offering a different set of terms" (Butler 1999, 19). For Butler, she is calling into question not simply tactics or methods, per se, but is suggesting that the feminist strategy – utilized by some feminists, not all – necessitates a singular epistemological standpoint "understood as the articulated consciousness or shared structures of oppression or in the ostensibly transcultural structures of femininity, maternity, sexuality, and/or *écriture feminine*" (Butler 1999, 19).

Taking from Butler, in this sense, the dissertation situates itself in relation not only to gender and anthropology scholars (Ortner 1974; Strathyrn 2016) but similarly to the task of unmasking and unreifying the complexity and affective state(s) of men throughout this dissertation.

This brings us to recognize that oppression is not simply one over another, but that gender relations are "dynamic forms of regulation and control, both excluding and including social inequalities" (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill 2003, 12). Continuing from this, Haywood and Mac an Ghaill state that "An important aspect of this more complex view of power is a critical focus on the multidimensional social subject, involving an exploration of the interactions and the interactions within and between different sets of social relations" (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill 2003, 12). It is in this way that this dissertation focuses explicitly on social relations between individuals – in particular between men – and between the various groupings of individuals who are each interacting within their own group and within the broader context. Through the focus on (inter)relations, the dissertation thusly adds to our grasp and grappling with the power(ed) dynamic(s) at play not only in the interactions and relations themselves but also beyond them as well.

This dissertation recognizes, and focuses on, not simply the power-over, but the power-between, and the power-amongst. Any serious understanding of power is necessarily connected with situated situations and experiences; as well as part of a system of relations and relationality. While some might wish for this dissertation to go into a discussion

about the relation between gender and women as a class and conceptions of the market, this dissertation does not see a full discussion of this as a fruitful or productive endeavor to get to the root of the empirical material presented.

In putting forward this version of power – and, therefore, of particular notions of (a) feminism(s) – I do not mean to discredit others, but seek to put forward, rather, these notions for intellectual debate. I empathize with the notions of various strands of feminisms, and seek to put forward – in research, teaching, and collegiality – a sense of feminist pluralism (a lovely, and brilliant, notion that I was reminded of recently by the acclaimed feminist Nina Lykke) that allows for and opens up debate rather than close it down.

Through the suggestion that I am opening up rather than closing, I simultaneously need to negotiate the that-which-is-not-done of the dissertation. Limitations are exactly that, limits, not failures or blind spots from which to create straw men (a wonderfully gendered phrase). In this I would like to explicitly state and situate that this dissertation is in no way oppositional to notions of intersectionality and, at points, seeks to build on the work done by this field by recognizing the complicated and nuanced means of exploring the lived practices and realities of individuals. With that said, this dissertation is unable to do justice to the fullness of intersectionality – a field of thought that is frequently watered down for a variety of practices. I will come back to this topic related to those I worked with in the section below.

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Methods & Methodology

As stated above, this dissertation is based on extensive fieldwork at the University of St. Jerome in Regan Hall. I spent a full academic year (9 months) plus the orientation weeks for both the students themselves and the Residence Life staff. Further, I spent the summer after the primary fieldwork finalizing work with many of the guys in the area, as well as conducting interviews with alumni of Regan Hall. In this way, the fieldwork comprises almost 12 months in total, and produced over 1,000 single-spaced pages of fieldnotes. In addition to this, I conducted 75 interviews with current residents, RAs, former residents, and DRs from the building. I conducted follow-up interviews during the year following the primary fieldwork with a number of the guys – choosing these interviews in such a way as to give insight into each of the groups of guys that I spent time with throughout the year. Interviews were conducted as semi-structured to allow for the guys to lead the discussion and provide the details and stories that they felt most strongly about. These interviews are each between one and four hours long, and provide deep insights.

Throughout the fieldwork itself, I acted – following Wacquant (2011) – far more as an observant participant than simply a participant observer. When they went to basketball games and cheered till they were hoarse, I went with them. When they went for hamburgers, I went for hamburgers (with cheese, for me). The suggestion that the fieldwork pushed forward as an observant participant rather than an participant observer, not only do I mean to suggest a different relationship between myself and the guys who I studied with, but that I treat the fieldwork and fieldnotes as distinctly influenced by myself in ways that put me not just at the heart of the description, but as part of the action

itself. In this way, I seek to avoid referring to the guys with whom I studied as 'informants' or 'participants' or other standardized anthropological markers for those whom we study with. Not only this, but I also make clear, through this that I am neither objective as an observer, nor that I am disconnected from participation in the activities.

This research, like all ethnographic research, provided scenes and scenarios of messiness that complicated simple idea(l)s about what an ethnographer/researcher was meant to do, should do, could do, or must do. At various points throughout the year I was forced to encounter my own self in the fieldwork – and its attendant processes – and to seek to understand and work through this. Sometimes this was a simple question: should I drink with them or not? Other times it was a far more serious, far-reaching, and ethical issue; such as when one of my guys informed me that he had been accused of sexual harassment and didn't know what he had done that had caused this. I was torn between the supposed necessity of 'objectivity' and 'non-involvement' that many anthropologists hold dearly as part of fieldwork, and the moral imperative to assist this young man in seeking to make sense of what had happened to him, what he might have done wrong, and why he felt this way – as well as wider ethical need to seek to make sure that the woman who had accused him of sexual harassment was understood. Rather than see this as a break away or off of a fixed 'ethnography' or 'anthropology', this research and dissertation situates itself at the interstice of new forms of research. Rodolfo Maggio says that "The existential solution to the methodological impossibility of ethnographic representation consists of being aware of the inter-subjective dimension of knowledge production. In other words, ethnography should be an autobiography about the other, the confession of a

representation, the story written by an 'author', i.e. the story of a relationship" (Maggio, 2014a, 41). Furthering this, we can look at anthropologist Michael Jackson who states that ethnography is a form of narration, and that stories must be told and listened to (Jackson 2002, 18), and, at the same time, "storytelling activity is coherent with a definition of anthropology that does not objectify its focus of interest but rather conceives of itself as embedded not just in the process of knowledge production, but also in the process of creation of what it is to be known" (Maggio 2014b, 92). At another point I was directly confronted by one of the DRs who I was friends with that my behavior allowed one of the guys to continue to say sexist jokes, and that by doing so I was showing him – as the older man – that this was acceptable. In each of these cases and many others, I reflected on my position as part of the field being studied, and as part of the creation of the field. Through this, it is my belief that one needs to take a reflexive position while doing fieldwork. Here, by 'reflexive', I do not mean 'objective' or even 'distant'. As I stated just above, I sought to move away from a version of ethnography that is tied explicitly to scientism and objectivity as the gold standard. This change in ethnographic fieldwork has been well documented by a variety of authors, such as Emily Billo & Nancy Hiemstra (2013) and Samantha Punch (2012), as well as by renowned figures such as Wacquant (2004) and Blackhawk Hancock (2013).

At the same time, it is important to recognize my role – as researcher, ethnographer, man – in the production of knowledge, both on campus during fieldwork (as an element and participant in the action) and through the writing of this dissertation. The above distinguishing between observant participant – from participant observer – begins to

tackle this very process and problem of epistemological connectivity and continuity. As the dissertation does not seek, nor make claims to, objectivity – particularly not an objectivity in the observation of the fieldwork – it allows for not only the nuance of the individual to be involved, but necessitates it as so (Ackerly and True 2008). This work builds on the critique laid by Rose on the necessity of reflexivity, particularly for feminist inspired fieldwork (Rose 1997, 305). While I do not necessarily agree that a dissertation's epistemology (as Ackerly and True define it: "system of thought that we use to distinguish fact from belief" [Ibid., 695]) holds the sway that they might suggest – though one might question the role of the university that produces the dissertation, the committee that approves it, or (even more critically) the committee that refutes it, and the epistemic play with power that might include – it is critical to note that the dissertation seeks to elaborate rather than explain, to contribute rather than contest, and to collaborate rather than conflict with other's ways of thinking, doing, being, and seeing. In this, the ethnographic data is itself open to further interpretation – as all data is, and as this data has already been a part of.

As we recognize these importances between epistemic authority and the messiness of research, it is critical to further state, once again, my connection/relation with them. Being almost a decade older than them, there was clearly a divide and difference in my relationship to them from their relations to each other. I was, therefore, not simply "another" but "an other" and yet simultaneously the "Other" granted authority in a multiplicity of ways. Many of the stories have me there, sitting just an the outskirts of the action. This was an epistemic choice and a practical means to not exert authority,

expertise, or various forms of strength and power over the guys. I seek, throughout the text, to be reflexive of my position(s) without falling into the trap of turning the lens back upon myself as the primary subject of investigation. In this way, I seek to – while telling stories – situate them beginning with an "I" or contextualizing to recognize and reorder the situation from a standalone to one that is involved.

All names, identities, place names, and the university's name have been changed to protect the identity of those involved in this project. Though this may seem unnecessary or over-the-top, I have made this choice consciously – not out of a request by the university or university officials, I have signed no agreement to anonymize anything but the names and identities of the men involved. As Michael Herzfeld similarly states in the beginning of *The Poetics of Manhood,* I trust that the informed reader who could make clear the reality of place respect and recognize the importance of the anonymization process rather than reveal these, for fear of in the process putting at risk any individuals and their lives.

During the fieldwork I introduced myself as a 'Doctoral Researcher' and informed all residents – briefly – of what I was seeking to study and asking if they would mind chatting with me. It is, to me, of political importance that those involved in the study are informed directly, concretely, and as much as possible about the study that they are involved in. I offered all involved access to my proposal, and most frequently introduced myself initially with my business card in hand. In this way, the study contains no convert elements. Written approval for interviews was obtained, and oral approval for recordings

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outside of formal interviews. As an interesting issue, this project did not fall under the departmental or university Institutional Review Board (IRB) processes. When I contacted USJ about doing the study, I filled out USJ's IRB paperwork – including having it approved and signed off on by a member of the faculty at USJ. This faculty and I turned in the IRB paperwork to the appropriate department at USJ, but were told that the project did not need the university's IRB approval and that they, in fact, could not give approval on that for that reason. They, thusly, granted a formal letter stating the project did not need IRB approval from USJ – stating "your project will not require USJ IRB approval as USJ is not 'engaged' in research related activities."

I seek to give voice primarily to the men I interacted with, aiming to allow them to speak as loudly as possible, opening up a chasm of the reality and complications of their own lives. Their voices are still, though, mediated through not just my voice as author, but also my particular lens. I seek to maintain a reflexive relation to the events, my participation, as well as to the ways that they themselves understand it.[40] In setting the various chapters up as ethnographic I aim to showcase the dictum: "what may appear as futile detail is in fact a condensation of principles" (Mauss, quoted in Wacquant 1998, ix). This is not to suggest that each detail is itself a principle, but that the details are themselves elements of principles and therefore constitutive of a world, theory, practice, and life.

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[40] At another juncture I will be working on a piece that is explicitly about what it means to do reflexive ethnography as a man with younger men; how this relationship is particularly prone to certain types of interaction and what this means for doing ethnography and speaking of the material.

It is important to make a note, and mark explicitly, the fact that throughout the fieldwork my primary group of guys that I interacted with where white and lower-middle to middle class. Most of these guys also identified as straight. That said, there were a number of guys whom I spent time with that were black, or lower class, or homosexual. Throughout the text I seek to mark off those who are white, rather than leave it as an unmarked category. In putting this forward, I mean to explicitly recognize the intersectional limitations (as intersectionality is not simply a marking tool or conceptual drive) that this dissertation has, and state firmly the reasons for not exploring the topics of race or homosexuality (and trans*) further. Taking from Kimberly Crenshaw, I see intersectionality as speaking to the "intersecting patterns" (Crenshaw 1991, 1243) of various elements of any individual or group that society utilizes to privilege or devalue individuals. Crenshaw's claims are further by Leslie McCall who opens up further the complexity of thinking through intersectionality and suggests that rather than merely a tool for exploring data, this also necessitates a change and challenge to methods as well (McCall 2005, 1771-1772). While I worked with individuals from all of these group(ing)s, the data I had felt too thin to truly be able to provide a worthwhile and full picture of these individuals and their stories. Rather than seek to do an unjustice to the topic of race, masculinity, and university life – which is covered beautifully by others (Bass 2016; Dancy li 2012; Ross 2016) – I decided to focus specifically on the ways that primarily white, middle-class men experienced college. This does not mean that race does not appear throughout, as it does at various points, but is meant to recognize a limitation to the study and to the ability that I – as a white man – have in speaking for and about African-American/black/minority men's experience on college campus.

Throughout the dissertation, vignettes, events, and interviews are discussed at length. Rather than choose a singular tense to address all of these in, I have fluctuated tenses – from present to past, and the other way around. This is due, in part, to two reasons. Firstly, it stems from the tense that I choose while writing field notes, frequently the past tense. This means that stories derived primarily from field notes are often in the past tense, while those coming from interviews are more likely to be in the present tense. Secondly, it is because I reject the notion that presenting ethnographies in the present tense positions the informants in stasis and a state of perpetualness – thereby concretizing this as firm and unchanging. Taking from Kirsten Hatrup's brilliant analysis, I believe that "We are now in a position to reassess our assumptions and to reinvent the ethnographic present without the previous connotations, however" (1990, 45). By presenting these stories, people, events, and feelings as both present and past I refute simplistic notions of static existence and reinforce the belief that these lives are lived both in the present and the past, and that they are constantly moving, shifting, and swaying between these tenses.

It is crucial to understand and think about the methodological tool of 'ethnography' and its particular placement within colonial discourses and as tied tightly with anthropology as a discipline. This project sees ethnography not as a disciplinary technique - in either sense of 'disciplinary' - but sees it holding the potential to act as an agent of education. In this regard, one must note that education is not meant to be conflated with 'teaching' - where one person stands at the front of the room writing on a chalkboard and talking down to

the 'empty receptacles' that are students. Education is here meant as a model of engagement that holds as its praxis a powerful notion that education is a co-constructive process which aims - on its best days - to fulfill and position each person as 'Educator' rather than reproducing a singular educator with multiple 'students'. By seeing ethnography as a process of education, which extolls the virtue of engaged praxis, we are better able to grasp at the realities of the inter-relations occurring as well as comment back on the pedagogic matters that are entangled in the process, rather than falling into a shallow methodological critique.

Literature Review

This section represents an overview of a number of the literatures that this dissertation will engage with. More specifically, it is a review of the literature that addresses homosociality as a concept, and to which this dissertation seeks to add. Throughout the section, therefore, I engage with a variety of core texts and a number of other sources to paint a picture of the current state of research and theorizing on homosociality. This literature review will be taken further – and with more depth – in the next chapter, that will concentrate on specific texts to build a substantiated outline of theorizing on the concept and which suggests, towards the end of the chapter, some possible ways to move forward with thinking. These possible directions for future theorizing are picked up at various points in the dissertation; but the primary theoretical move for the dissertation regarding homosociality is a move away from simplistic visions of capital-exchange, dominance, or hierarchy.

Though there has been a good amount of writing about homosociality, there has also been some which has focused exclusively on the violent elements of these relations. Michael Flood states that "male homosociality plays a crucial role in many contexts in perpetuating gender inequalities and the dominance of particular hegemonic masculinities."[41] He says at one point that "male bonding feeds sexual violence against women, and sexual violence against women feeds male bonding."[42] In looking at this intersection, this proposal seeks to build upon the knowledge about male-to-male homosocial relations, hoping to gain further understanding of these relations and the power dynamics within them.

Though male homosociality as a concept is a rather new one, it has taken on varied meanings, some of which have been discussed above. It is crucial though to dig deeper and begin to grasp the way that this concept has been, and is, utilized. To do this, I would first like to begin by exploring the way this idea is discussed in two recent encyclopedias about men and masculinities: the *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* (IEMM);[43] and *Men and Masculinities Encyclopedia* (MME).[44] While these should not be taken as the sole method or theory, they can be used as crucial building blocks - together

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[41] Michael Flood, 'Men, Sex, and Homosociality: How Bonds between Men Shape Their Sexual Relations with Women'. *Men and Masculinities* Vol 10 No 3 (2008): p.342.
[42] Michael Flood, 'Men, Sex and Mateship: How homosociality shapes men's heterosexual relations'. Paper to (Other) Feminisms: An International Women's and Gender Studies Conference, University of Queensland, 12-16 July, 2003. p.8.
[43] Michael Flood et al, editors. *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*. (London: Routledge, 2007).
[44] Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson, editors. *Men and Masculinities Encyclopedia*. (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2003).

these two encyclopedias are edited and written by some of the most prominent authors discussing masculinities.

Each of these encyclopedias addresses the concept of homosociality, though do so to varying degrees and in distinct ways. Interestingly, while the MME has a section titled 'homosociality', the IEMM does not, but instead has a section titled 'Men's relations with men'. In the MME, homosociality is portrayed in a slightly simplified fashion. One of the unique things that it says though, is that:

> "On the other hand, a group of men can fail to constitute a homosocial sphere if, despite the physical absence of women, women and their expectations are (omni-)present on a symbolic level. This is (or was) the case in some types of (profeminist) men's consciousness-raising groups, whose discourses are centered on the demands and expectations of women."[45]

Through this we can see that homosociality is not then merely men together, but is determined, in part, by the discourse that is occurring. In other words, it links homosociality, in some ways, with an opposition towards 'feminism' and women.

Similar to what the MME says, that homosociality is dependent not just upon the presence of only men but upon other factors, the IEMM recognizes the connection between homosociality and the attitudes of men within these settings. It defines homosociality as:

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[45] Michael Meuser, 'Homosociality'. In *Men and Masculinities Encyclopedia*, editors Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson. (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2003): 396.

"Homosociality refers to social bonds between persons of the same sex, and more broadly to same-sex-focused social relations… Dynamics of bonding and solidarity, as well as hierarchies of power and status, characterise male–male relations in many social contexts. Men's homosocial bonds are central to the organisation and maintenance of women's subordination. However, male homosociality does not necessarily involve the subordination of women or of particular groups of men."[46]

This definition, from Michael Flood provides balanced and nuanced perspective on male homosocial relations. He continues, stating that "Male collectivities, especially informal male peer groups among boys and young men, police and reward or punish males' performances of gender."[47] It is thusly through these informal groups where much of the construction of masculinity occurs in relational fashion as each individual constructs his masculinity in connection with those around him.

While understanding that these homosocial groupings can provide the policing necessary to maintain hegemonic masculine norms, Flood also moves forward from this seeing the positioning of these relations as far more complex than this. "Intimate male friendships, secret male societies and brotherly bonds have posed various challenges to established social orders, by undermining the patriarchal authority of fathers or rulers or destabilising the traditional solidarities and processes of kinship."[48] These relations, thusly, can be not

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[46] Michael Flood, 'Men's relations with men', In *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, editors Michael Flood et al. (London: Routledge 2007): 424.
[47] Michael Flood, 'Men's relations with men', 424.
[48] Ibid, 425.

only a breeding ground for hegemonic (or as Anderson calls it 'orthodox masculinity'[49])

masculinity, but can also be a setting for counter, or rebellious, masculinity which push

the boundaries of social normatives and work against the system as a whole.

This, though, does not answer, explicitly, the question of whether homosociality is

strictly a measure to maintain the oppression and subordination of women and and

homosexuals. Flood says that "Homosocial bonding can support or oppose homosexual

sex. Anthropological research notes examples where homosociality and homosexuality

overlap, in which sexual practices between older and younger men or boys establish

masculinity."[50] Furthermore, "Men may bond as friends, comrades, family members or

lovers in ways that do not subordinate women or other men. Indeed, intimate friendships

between men are valuable correctives to men's emotional stoicism and reliance on

women's emotional labour."[51]

All of this starts to build a vision of homosociality which is intricate - recognizing the

complicating complexities of relations - and starts to get to the true lived realities of men

and the homosocial relations that they have throughout their lives. Another author from

the IEMM continues the discussion, connecting homosociality not merely with men's

interactions, but links it to intimacy, saying:

> "In the 'study of gender and men's practices' the concept of homosociality is
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> frequently used when discussing men's attitudes towards and relation to intimacy

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[49] Anderson, 2011, *Inclusive Masculinity*.
[50] Michael Flood, 'Men's relations with men', 425.
[51] Ibid, 426.

and closeness. This concept has largely been used to point out the connection between male friendship, intimacy and power. When men seek out other men, the motive is often to establish alliances, form associations and make pacts. But such an interpretation of male friendship, intimacy and closeness excludes the possibility that men may actually seek out other men in order to cultivate real friendship relations, not necessarily tied to a longing for power. It is reasonable, therefore, that the concept be broadened to include the complexity and inconsistency that characterise men's desire for intimacy."[52]

Through this connection with intimacy, he aims to further complicate men's relations with each other, and seeks to see them as more than mere relations of utility or pragmatics.

In understanding the inclusion of intimacy in homosocial relations, they distinguish their position, in some ways, from that of others who, rather, see homosociality and homosexuality as a continuum. Sedgwick poses this position,[53] as does the author of the 'homoeroticism' section from the IEMM. They say that:

"Relations between men can be placed on a hypothetical scale ranging from the purely homosocial (non-sexual but nonetheless strong emotional bonds between men) to the purely homosexual (involving sexual attraction, arousal and genital activity). Within modern Western societies homosocial and homosexual are meant

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[52] Thomas Johansson, 'Intimacy'. In *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities,* editors Michael Flood et al. (London: Routledge 2007): 346.
[53] Sedgwick, *Between Men*.

to be kept strictly separate, a separation enforced by homophobic policing of any

signs of sexual interest between men."[54]

While this is not exactly the same as Sedgwick's position - calling the spectrum as a

whole 'homosocial desire'[55] - it leans towards a similar positioning of homosociality as

something which is distinct from sexuality, desire, or intimacy.

Up to this point, I have sought to present a narrative discussion about some of the issues

that surround the concept of homosociality, rather than a standard literature review of the

topic. I have done this in an effort to outline not merely the notions about this specific

concept, but also to demonstrate the amount of literature that exists about what it entails,

explains, or discusses. The reliance on these encyclopedias also hopes to point to the

process of defining itself, and the concept that these seek to have an authority not merely

describe, but to define, delimit, and set the concepts held within.

As I pointed to earlier (and will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 1), one of the core

texts that brought homosociality into the discourse and gave it an initial definition was

Lipman-Blumen's 'Towards a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Exploration of the

Sex Segregation of Social Institutions'. In it, Lipman-Blumen defines homosocial, very

basically, as the "seeking, enjoyment, and/or preference for the company of the same

sex."[56] For her, while it is distinct from 'homosexual' in that it not premised on nor

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[54] Mark Graham, 'Homoeroticism', in Michael Flood et al edited *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*. (London: Routledge, 2007): 306-307.
[55] Sedgwick, (1985) *Between Men*, 2.
[56] Lipman-Blumen, Jeam. 'Towards a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Exploration of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions'. *Signs* Vol 1 No 3 (1976): 16.

necessitates an "explicitly erotic sexual interaction", it, at the same time, does not exclude the possibility of a sexualized intimacy or desire.[57] In a way, it locates men's relations with each other through the notion that one identifies with an individual who they perceive as controllers of resources. Furthering this idea, she states explicitly - in a move that will be emulated by Sedgwick - that "the acquisition of a beautiful woman is a resource that heightens the status claims of a man vis-à-vis other men…"[58]

Continuing onward from this, the next prominent discussion of homosociality occurs in Sedgwick's *Between Men.* In the *Epistemology of the Closet*, she says that *Between Men* sought to "demonstrate the immanence of men's same-sex bonds, and their prohibitive structuration, to male-female bonds in nineteenth-century English literature."[59] For Sedgwick, "to draw the 'homosocial' back into the orbit of 'desire,' of the potentially erotic, then, is to hypothesize the potential unbrokenness of a continuum between homosocial and homosexual - a continuum whose visibility, for men, in our society, is radically disrupted."[60] Though seeing the continuum as currently a product of patriarchy and homophobia, she believes that homophobia (and, therefore, the separation between homosocial and homosexual) is not a necessary component for the maintenance of patriarchy, giving the examples of both the ancient Greeks and the 'Sambia' from New Guinea.[61] Sedgwick ends her book as the 20th Century is starting to dawn, discussing

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[57] Ibid, 16.

[58] Ibid, 16-17.

[59] Sedgwick, Eve K. *Epistemology of the Closet.* (London: University of California Press, 2008): 15.

[60] Sedgwick, *Between Men*, 1-2.

[61] Ibid, 4-5. The example of the 'Sambia' from Gilbert H. Herdt's anthropological writings.

Walt Whitman and the expansion of the range of homosocial bonds, and their new connections with homosexuality.[62]

Building on, and critiquing, Lipman-Blumen, Britton says that homosociality's is connected with homophobia through the maintenance of a boundary "between social and sexual interactions in a homosocially stratified society."[63] Britton posits that "homosociality increases homophobia" and that "homosociality should explain a significant degree of the relationship between religious and sex-role conservatism and homophobia because this conservatism maintains all-male institutions."[64] The link (or boundary) between homosociality and homophobia perpetuates the boundary between homosexuality and heterosexuality, and thusly maintains larger homophobia (and sexist) structures and institutions.

Since Sedgwick's Between Men, there have been a number of discussions surrounding homosociality, none in the thorough fashion - or giving the concept itself prominence - as Sedgwick does. Many of these discussions have taken place in the fields of masculinity studies, while many follow in Sedgwick's footsteps discussing the issue in relation to a variety of literary works, periods, or authors.

In this vein, one can, of course, begin with Sedgwick herself, who discusses, what she sees, as the triadic nature of homosocial relations in early English literature- spanning

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[62] Ibid, 207.

[63] Britton, D.M. 'Homophobia and Homosociality: An Analysis of Boundary Maintenance'. In *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol 31 No 3 (1990): 425.

[64] Ibid, 427-428.

from Shakespeare through Dickens Victorian novels. Moving forward from this, David Greven discusses the politics of homosocial bonding in the 'Legend of Sleepy Hollow'.[65] For him, Ichabod Crane provides a figure who articulates the "intense anxieties that surround contested sites of American manhood," and one which pushes against both heterosexuality and fraternal notions of the importance of homosocial bonds.[66] Greven also sees homosocial (or homoaffectional, as he calls them) bonds as something which, in its compulsory nature, pushes forward competitive relations and isolating 'outsiders' who have not been "assimilated into male collectives."[67] The author looks to understand the two inviolable, mythic American demands (community and individualism) which, in their simultaneous demanding, create and "informs the response of inviolate manhood."[68]

One can see homosociality working its way through the readings - of both literature and films - in David Savran's Taking it Like a Man: White Masculinity, Masochism, and Contemporary American Culture.[69] Though it is not the primary aim of the book, he sees homosociality playing an important role in the construction of American masculinity, saying that "the real scandal of the Beats was their production of an unprecedented kind

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[65] David Greven, 'Troubling Our Heads about Ichabod: 'The Legend of Sleepy Hollow', Literature, and the Sexual Politics of Homosocial Brotherhood', in *American Quarterly*, Vol 56, No 1, (2004).

[66] Ibid, 83-84.

[67] Ibid, 84.

[68] Ibid, 84.

[69] David Savran, *Taking it Like a Man: White Masculinity, Masochism, and Contemporary American Culture* (1998, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press). Savran gives a very interesting description of Norman Mailer's discussion of, what he terms, the 'white negro' in the form of the 'hipster'. Mailer sees both the revolutionary and reactionary potentiality of the hipster. In this, Savran sets his goal to understand this contradiction, and find out why the revolutionary potential has, for him, been extinguished. Ibid, 4.

of masculinity and with it a novel - and rather queer - redefinition of male

homosociality."[70] A recent study that bears inspection is the case of Japan and Japanese

literature, which portrays a shift away from homosocial practices as a step in the direction

of supposed 'modernity'.[71]

Moving away from the literary studies on this topic, one can look to the studies of

homosociality that take place in the realms of sociology, psychoanalysis, history, and

sports that give unique perspectives on this issue. Examples of this are Eric Anderson's

Inclusive Masculinity,[72] E. Anthony Rotundo's *American Manhood*,[73] Donald Moss's

Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Man,[74] and Michael Kimmel's *Manhood in America* and

Guyland.[75] Rotundo's book paints a very different picture than Sedgwick, seeing a large

amount of intimacy amongst American men, and seeing male homosocial relations

serving a unique function within men's lives; while Kimmel sees male homosocial

relations as primarily negative, and as a signifier of youth - something which hampers

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[70] Ibid, 65.

[71] J. Keith Vincent, *Two-Timing Modernity: Homosocial Narrative in Modern Japanese Fiction* (2012, London: Harvard University Press).

[72] Investigates the changing nature of masculinities through an investigation of a number of sports teams (and one fraternity). Anderson, E. Inclusive Masculinity.

[73] Discussing the historical elements in American masculinity. E. Anthony Rotundo, American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era. (New York: BasicBooks, 1993).

[74] Donald Moss, *Thirteen Ways of Looking at Man*. (London: Routledge, 2012). Moss provides a possible beginning viewing of the way that psychoanalysis envisions and theorizes masculinity and male homosocial relations.

[75] Kimmel, Michael S. *Guyland: The Perilous World Where Boys Become Men.* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009). Kimmel, Michael S. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

'mature' relationships and is contrary to adulthood.[76] Moss creates what he calls 'my guy', saying that this figure is made up of elements constitutive of elements taken from culture, and is, in some ways, thusly 'our guy' rather than just 'my guy'. It is here that, for him, one sees the intersection, and convergence, between - using Freud's "Group psychology and the analysis of the ego" - the group ego in the 'our' (or 'we') and the individual of 'my'. "The 'we' that 'I' becomes is constituted by that set of men who share an attachment to the same leader [or idealized notion of 'our guy']."[77]

Anderson presents a unique situation: that of sports teams (rugby, football - soccer -, and cheerleading) and a fraternity. All of these situations present a challenge to the notion of 'hegemonic masculinity', and for Anderson showcase a new, inclusive version of masculinity which isn't premised on homophobia. Though Anderson showcases this inclusive masculinity, he still believes that any gender-segregated group promotes, in some way, patriarchy.[78] He says though, that "[increasingly] gender is the business of decreasing polarization for university-attending men. This is particularly true for gender between and among men."[79] It is into this beginning which the concept of homosociality must begin to be shown, to not be merely a statement of homophobia, or the negative structural segregation, but one that can include the changing gender relations between men, and in doing so, sees how these homosocial relations are changing along with them.

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[76] Kimmel, Guyland. See also Frank G. Karioris, 'Problematic (Male) Homosociality: Youth, Marriage, and 'Adulthood''. Paper will be presented at 3rd Annual Femininities & Masculinities held in Prague, May 2013.
[77] Moss, *Thirteen Ways*, 11-12.
[78] Anderson, *Inclusive Masculinity*, 135-136.
[79] Ibid, 155.

In understanding homosociality, it is important first to gain an idea about the way individuals relate and interact with one another. To do, one can look to John Guillory who says that "if we think of mediation as a process whereby two different realms, persons, objects, or terms are brought into relation, the necessity for mediation implies that these realms, persons, objects, or terms resist a direct relation and perhaps have come into conflict."[80] In a similar sense, Bourdieu says "… that 'interpersonal' relations are never, except in appearance, individual-to-individual relationships and that the truth of the interaction is never entirely contained in the interaction."[81] Through both of these statements, one sees the sense that interactions or relations are neither simple, unified, nor are they singular. By understanding the mediated nature of relations, whether through objects and events, or through the structured structures laid in place by habitus and doxa, one must then come to recognize the crucial role that these intermediaries play in any given interaction.

Further to this, one must not "forget that the interaction itself owes its form to the objective structures which have produced the dispositions of the interacting agents and which allot them their relative positions in the interaction and elsewhere."[82] It is here where one begins to see not just the mediated nature of relations, but also the inflected nature of any interaction and its reliance on previous interactions, dispositions, and relations; specifically the levels of various capital(s) that each person brings to the encounter.

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[80] John Guillory, 'Genesis of the Media Concept', *Critical Inquiry* Vol 36 (2010), 332.
[81] Bourdieu, *Outline*, 81.
[82] Bourdieu, Outline, 81.

Through a conception of relations which builds upon these two premises, one can turn to notions of performance and performativity; seeking from this to recognize an idea of the performance of gender, and particularly masculinity. Judith Butler says that "gender is performative in the sense that it constitutes as an effect the very subject it appears to express."[83] For her, it is crucial to see that our self-hood is premised upon "a discourse we never chose but that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our agency."[84] When seen in conjunction with the notions of relations presented previously, it allows for a theorizing which sees the structures and institutions without negating or relegating the individual to a secondary station lacking agency.

Furthering this, an investigation of Erving Goffman's theorizing related to groups and group interactions allows for a way of viewing the individual relations within a broader schema of relations that surround, include, and produce the individual relations themselves. Goffman states that individuals can be brought together into an "action group in order to further like or collective ends by any means available to them. In so far as they co-operate in maintaining a given impression, using this device as a means of achieving their ends, they constitute what has here been called a team."[85] Continuing from this he says that groups can form 'cliques' within them that form not to "further the interests of those with whom the individual stages a show but rather to protect him from an unwanted

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[83] Judith Butler, 'Imitation and Gender Insubordination', in *inside/out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories,* ed. Diana Fuss (London: Routledge, 1991), 24.

[84] Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 2.

[85] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959, Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd), 92.

identification with them. Cliques, then, often function to protect the individual not from persons of other ranks but from persons of his own rank."[86]

In this way one can bring together these various parts and can then apply them to an analysis of male homosocial relations. This, as discussed earlier, must be related to issues of male domination, oppression, and violence. These homosocial relations must also be seen as constructed and constrained by competing, contesting, and contradictory modes of masculinity.

Through all of this the importance of, and theorizing of, relations comes to the fore. It is quintessential then to see the specificity with which homosocial relations play in this broader set of ideas about relations. Through this theorizing one can see the importance of what is brought into any given interaction, related specifically to power and positionality. So in relations between two men their masculinity which they bring with them to the encounter shapes and determines the type of interaction and the relation itself. In other words, the masculinity in these relations is plays a large role in the production of the relation, owing especially to the forms of capital which go along with and are granted to masculine identified individuals. These capitals are formed, as stated earlier, in relation to various sets of practice related to an individual's habitus and which shape all interactions through these habitus, hexis, and the doxic beliefs that provide the girders for this set of practice.

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[86] Goffman, *Presentation*, 52.

In explicating, in previous sections, some of the history surrounding the field of masculinity studies, as well as a partial genealogy between education, specifically single-sex education, and masculinity, it has sought to show masculinity as a unit of social analysis rather than a singular exceptional element. Continuing this, this section will briefly discuss an intersectional approach towards viewing and analyzing masculinity in conjunction with sexuality, 'race', and class.

As stated previously, the lenses of race and class allow one to see the interstices which separate men and which give complexity to the lived realities of men whom exist in these spaces, between power, privilege, and dispossession. It disaggregates an idea of men from a masculinity, and displaces a complacent abutment and coupling of individuals with a system of patriarchal structures. Through this disentangling of men (as individuals) with patriarchy (as a system) one can see more clearly a set of powered relations which are not so clear cut as dominant and subordinate, nor do they fit neatly into a model of hegemonic masculinity and relations.

In viewing masculinities from this perspective, it does much what feminism(s) did for women in theorizing, and which various theorists have in relation to a philosophy of the body - rather than viewing and leaving the male, or masculinity, as the qua universal it begins to treat it as an element which to be regarded.[87] Kimmel tackles this issue in

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[87] Hearn tackles this subject in relation to social theory in: Jeff Hearn, 'Theorizing men and men's theorizing: Varieties of discursive practices in men's theorizing of men', in *Theory & Society* Vol 27 (1998), 781-816.

relation to male sexuality in his volume *The Gender of Desire*,[88] while bell hooks works through issues of race and masculinity in *We Real Cool*.[89] The frequently updated and revised book *Men's Lives* provides a large berth of chapters which address all of these issues, leading the volume to have, even when specific chapters do not, an intersectional perspective on the state of men and masculinities.[90]

In taking a Bourdieuian approach, one sees that "differences which are the effect of class are effectively misrecognised as natural causes of inequality and thus function to legitimate the very class structure which produces them."[91] Bourdieu, in this way, allows for a strong analysis of the doxic nature of many beliefs about sexuality, race, and class which masquerade as naturalized facts rather than socially created realities.[92] Through a similar social process, often (and currently) specifically related to a period of transition (included university), heterosexuality has come to be seen as natural; masculinity and men's interactions have played a large role in universalizing and enforcing a compulsory

[88] Michael Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire: Essays on Male Sexuality* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005).
[89] bell hooks, *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity* (London: Routledge, 2004).
[90] Michael Kimmel and Michael Messner, editors, *Men's Lives* (London: Allyn & Bacon, 2012). It is currently in its 9th incarnation, with its first coming out in 1989. Each addition has added numerous chapters, and it has grown to include and work through issues of sexuality, race, class, youth, and a wide variety of other topics. In the beginning, the book bridged a gap between academic and popular culture (for example, the first edition has a cartoon by Matt Groening, creator of the Simpson), between pro-feminism and other ideas about masculinities and men (the first edition included a chapter by Robert Bly and Joseph Pleck), while simultaneously included women feminist authors such as bell hooks and Betty Friedan (the current edition does include a chapter by Gloria Steinem).
[91] Crossley, *The Social Body*, 95.
[92] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinctions* (London: Routledge, 2013); Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups', in *Theory & Society* Vol 14 No 6 (1985), 723-744.

heterosexuality through explicit homophobia as well as through subtle shifting of affection away from other men and imposing rigidly detached norms.

One can, in seeking an intersectional approach, put to view Klaus Theweleit's *Male Fantasies Vol 1 and 2*, in which Theweleit aims to see the way that a specific masculinity works within a discourse built on a specific racialized and sexuality context. He does this through a reading of Freikorps literature, pushing on the linkages between the interplay of these identities and their relation with Nazism and from a psychoanalytical stance, coming together into the identity of fascism.[93] For Theweleit, the links between the creation of a fascistic masculinity was not solely linked to one previous axis of identity, but was intertwined with various elements.

Through this push for intersectionality, and the accompanying fragmentation of masculinity and the male identity, one sees the famous quote by Erving Goffman:

> "There is only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual Protestant father of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record of sports. Every American male tends to look out upon the world from this perspective…

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[93] Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies Vol 1 and 2* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989). One can relate this to notions of body as well: "Male Fantasies is interested in how the body both organizes and expresses the politics of division between gender as a totalizing framework." [Jessica Benjamin and Anson Rabinbach, 'Forward', in *Male Fantasies Vol 2*, xix.]. Theweleit's investigation and analysis provides a detailed account of masculinities and homosociality within the context of fascism, and the extent that these relations can impact upon the lived of those involved.

Any male who fails to qualify in any of these ways is likely to view himself -

during moments at least - as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior…"[94]

While the exact markers may have changed since Goffman wrote this in the early 60s,

what has not changed is the complex nature of identity and the multiple axes which each

individual sees and understands the world through.

In investigating the relations of men in a university setting, one must also look at the

university setting not merely as a place, but also in relation to life-stages. These men are,

for most of them, leaving their home for the first time; the process of beginning college is

for many the time when they rebuild and build their identity along a variety of axes, a

primary one being gender. This project situates itself amongst a literature which tackles a

variety of these issues.[95] Included in this must be literature which situates itself not in

Social Sciences, but under the auspices of Higher Education, or Student Affairs studies.[96]

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[94] Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identities* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963), 128.

[95] See: Michael Kimmel, *Guyland* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008); Michael Moffatt, *Coming of Age in New Jersey* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1997); Shaun R. Harper and Frank Harris III editors, *College Men and Masculinities: Theory, Research, and Implications for Practice* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2010); and Jason A. Laker and Tracey Davis editors, *Masculinities in Higher Education: Theoretical and Practical* Considerations (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2011).

[96] Such as: Frank Harris III and Laure E. Struve, 'Gents, Jerks, and Jocks: What Men Learn about Masculinity in College', *About Campus*, Vol 14 No 3 (2009), 2-9. [Accessed March 2013.] Available at: : http://works.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1004&context=fharris; K.E. Edwards and S.R. Jones, '"Putting my man face on": A grounded theory of college men's gender identity development,' *Journal of College Student Development*, Vol 50 No2 (2009), 210-228; Frank Harris III, 'College men's meanings of masculinities and contextual influences: Toward a conceptual model,' *Journal of College Student Development*, Vol 51 No 3 (2010), 297-318; J. Laker, 'Bad dogs: Rethinking our engagement of male students,' *ACPA's Standing Committee for Men Newsletter* March 2003; NASPA and ACPA, 'Stories from Ourselves: Personal Musings from Students,

In choosing this period in their life, it sees this as a crucial point as they work through various identity markers and changes. It sees 'college', the idea rather than merely the place, as not just a life-period, but one which has taken on a specific importance in many Americans lives. This is, of course, classed, raced, and gendered, each in different fashions. College in this way allocates a different spacial and time-oriented allowance for students in their determinants of how they spend their time, and it is here where homosocial relations can take shape and, sometimes, priority in these men's lives. By investigating them at this point in their lives, it seeks to work through the existing literature to understand their own accounts of the importance this period plays on their homosocial relations, as well as the role their homosocial relations play in defining this period itself.

In moving from a broad overview regarding the literature surrounding the concept of homosociality (which will be further complimented in Chapter 1), it is important to discuss Michael Kimmel's groundbreaking book *Guyland* (2008). Building on much of his previous work (Kimmel 1994, 2006), the book explores the specific phase and space of what Kimmel terms 'guyland'. Kimmel defines it, saying

> "Guyland is the world in which young men live. It is both a stage of life, a liminal undefined time span between adolescence and adulthood that can often stretch for a decade or more, and a place, or, rather, a bunch of places where guys gather to

be guys with each other, unhassled by the demands of parents, girlfriends, jobs,

kids, and the other nuisances of adult life" (Kimmel 2008, 4).

Continuing, Kimmel relates *guyland* explicitly to the character of Peter Pan, stating that these men both shirk the responisibilities of adulthood while they "struggle heroically to prove that they are real men despite all evidence to the contrary" (Kimmel 2008, 4). Aside from the paradoxical statement ending to the sentence – which states that they aren't "real men" – one is struck by both the normative vision that is being suggested and the simplistic vision of yes/no, adult/child. Kimmel lets us in on a partial vision of his understanding of what constitutes an 'adult', suggesting – following demographers – that there are "five life-stage events to mark the transition to adulthood: leaving home, completing one's education, starting work, getting married, and becoming a parent" (Kimmel 2008, 24). It is here where Kimmel sets up not simply a normative binary between adult/child, but where he re-constitutes norms of adulthood that are exclusionary and reaffirming of the heteronormative ordering system. It is important to note that Kimmel does not leave these steps completely unquestioned, but their position as root leaves the clarifications thusly to be minor addendums rather than challenges to. Beyond the spectre of 'adulthood' that Kimmel works through, *Guyland* refers more to a place where, in a sense, 'men can be men' without having to deal with women. This space outside of women – rather than simply the space outside of 'adulthood' – is not a new place exactly. Kimmel points to this as an elongation of the space outside of women. For Kimmel, this takes the form of a new stage of life. For Kimmel, "most guys actually do become men – eventually" (Kimmel 2008, 267). He recounts the way that one guy, Dan (26 years old) "weened" himself off partying and drinking and that he then devoted

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himself to a job – "'Now I even bring my work home with me. And, oh, P.S., I got a raise'" (Kimmel 2008, 268).

Even when recognizing the steps towards 'adulthood' of some of his respondents, Kimmel suggests that these are temporary. "Matt [a graduate student] is paving the way for his career, but he can't wait to regress; adulthood is a burden" (Kimmel 2008, 27). He then quotes Matt, who says "'My grandfather died at 66… and he was already working at supporting his family at 23. I expect to live to my nineties – so what's the rush? I got 30 more years than he had!'" (Kimmel 2008, 27). It is here where Kimmel's thesis for *Guyland* sits most heavily: no matter what other factors are at play (for Kimmel well recognizes the economic concerns, the lack of jobs, the increases in student loans, the lack of ability to buy a house, and various others) it is still, for Kimmel, most simply about these young men refusing to be adults.

It is important to recognize that *Guyland,* for any of its weaknesses, bridges a gap in the literature and opens up a discussion not only of the ways that young men are segregating themselves off from women in various ways (for a different example, one could look to Japan's issues with young men [Ansari with Klinenberg 2016]) but the dire ramifications that this can have for women. Kimmel sheds penetrating light onto the ways that *guyland* perpetuates binge drinking and a system of hooking-up which positions women in dangerous positions. In this way, *Guyland* has provided a much needed call to arms regarding various issues of masculinity on college campuses. The issue specifically of the

university campus will be addressed more throughout the following chapters, elucidating specific elements that are critical to the study.

The aim of this section has been to situate the dissertation more deeply into a particular field of literatures regarding homosociality and suggest the need for further reflection on the topic. While much of the literature has provided for significant insights into men's homosocial relations, they often forgo a deep exploration of the more affective elements of these relations. To put it another way, they do not do justice to the complexity of these relationships, and prioritize specific forms or understandings of homosociality. Ralph Waldo Emerson stated: "I hate the prostitution of the name of friendship to signify modish and worldly alliances. I much prefer the company of ploughboys and tin-peddlers to the silken and perfumed amity which celebrates its days of encounter by frivolous display, by rides in a curricle and dinners and the best taverns" (Emerson 1969, 47-48). The "modish and worldly alliances" are too often what the researchers above focus on, forgetting that one is also able to suggest that love is only the reflection of a man's own worthiness from other men" (Emerson 1969, 56).

Theoretical Framework: The Body, Capital, and Gender

This section will seek to lay out a few of the primary, foundational elements of theoretical and conceptual importance for the dissertation. This section is primarily meant as a root rather than the branches theoretically. In this, much of the theory that the dissertation works through will be dealt with and addressed throughout each individual chapter. As such, this section will focus on – building on previous discussion both above

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in this Introduction and in Chapter 1 – a number of key concepts rather than seeking to elucidate each and every concept discussed in the dissertation. Building on the discussion in the previous section, it is important firstly to discuss the role of the body – the embodied bodied actor involved in the action. After a brief discussion of the literatures surrounding this, it moves to a discussion it then connects this with the work of Pierre Bourdieu. With this, it will thusly discuss the interconnected concepts of capital and gender; treated as interconnected here not for formality or simplicity, but to recognize the related relation these two concerns have to each other. This discussion of gender will integrate and build off of the explicit discussion of gender order found above.

In understanding the male body, it is crucial to understand the sense with which the body is not just a body, but as a body qua male. One must begin then from an understanding, or a viewing, of phenomenologists conceptions of the body - to which will be added, for its relevance to the project, a look into Pierre Bourdieu's conceptions of the body as well. Terrance MacMullan, in his introduction to *Revealing Male Bodies*, says very clearly that while the body that phenomenologists examine is male, it is a male body qua universal rather than qua male, or particular to that of being male.[97] Ideas surrounding the male body have, to a large extent, been just such a silent topic. Simone de Beauvoir said that "Man superbly ignores the fact that his own anatomy [also includes genitals]… He thinks of his body as a direct and normal connection with the world, which he believes he apprehends objectively, whereas he regards the body of woman as a hindrance, a

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[97] Terrence MacMullan, 'Introduction: What is Male Embodiment?', in *Revealing Male Bodies*, eds. Nancy Tuana et al. (Bloomington, IN, USA: Indiana University Press, 2002), 1-2.

prison…"[98] This silence has allowed men and masculinity to perpetuate a notion of universality and naturalness in order to maintain and further masculine domination through the subjugation of women's body.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, in his famous work Phenomenology of Perception,[99] argues that the subject of all interactions is the body, and it is through the body that relationships are formed to objects in the world.[100] What is important to take from this is the notion that the body acts and has a reciprocal relationship with the objects in the world, both being an object and the active subject through which the world is perceived.[101] Put another way, one becomes through a process of "'incorporation' of social structures, such as language, in the form of habit, but our actions, such as speech, are at the same time what gives life to those structures and facilitates their reproduction."[102]

Through recognizing and starting from a position where the male body is crucially male, it intents to to reveal the various intersections of embodied experience which work through "racial, economic, and sexual variety."[103] Beyond this recognition of the intersections of embodiment, it is important to see the inscriptive nature of these embodiments themselves. It is of utmost importance that one approach these bodies and

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[98] Simone de Beauvoir quotes in Susan Bordo, *The Male Body: A New Look at Men in Public and in Private* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 19.

[99] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (London: Routledge, 2005).

[100] MacMullan, 'Introduction', 6.

[101] This dialogic notion of the body and habitus will be revisited throughout this essay, working to dissipate the interstices that might appear.

[102] Nick Crossley, *The Social Body: Habit, identity and desire* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), 4.

[103] MacMullan, 'Introduction', 2.

bodily experiences through a reflection upon both the intersectional phenomenological approach as well an understanding of the inscription with which they are written upon.

The notion of bodily inscription derives, in large part, specifically for gender studies, from Michel Foucault's work.[104] For Foucault, the body was something which needed to be historicized and, in doing so, de-normalize the specific inscriptions laid upon bodies. In this, Foucault spells out the utilization of the body through apparatuses of power which he terms 'biopower' and 'biopolitical', which focus on the ways that the body is manipulated. The process of inscription and the inscriptions themselves could also be described as bodily markers which "become tokens of physical capital…[shaping], in this way, habits. Social categories penetrate the flesh, manifesting as habitus and hexis."[105]

Moving from Foucault, the work of Pierre Bourdieu can shed light upon the ways that the body is shaped and manipulated. Bryan Turner says, relating Bourdieu back to an idea of nature versus nurture, that Bourdieu says that "primitive or raw desires (nature) are reconstituted in the habitus (nurture) where they emerged as socially sanctioned tastes or preferences."[106] Bourdieu, in this way, seeks to overcome this dichotomy, or false-

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[104] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: An Introduction* (London: Vintage Books, 1990); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 2: The Use of Pleasure* (London: Vintage Books, 1990); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 3: The Care of the Self* (London: Vintage Books, 1988). Beyond these three, one could also find the body in many other works by Foucault, specifically *Discipline & Punish* and *Madness and Civilization*, and, related to the *History of Sexuality*, the book *Power/Knowledge* which has an interview about the series and 'Confessions of the Flesh', Foucault's fourth unpublished book in the series.
[105] Crossley, *The Social Body*, 6.
[106] Bryan S. Turner, *The Body & Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (London: Sage Publications, 2008), 13.

dichotomy, through a bringing together of conceptions surrounding both a material, and materialist, idea of the body with a theoretically complex understanding of systemic constructions, or what he calls structuring (and structured) structures.[107]

Taking then Bourdieu's conceptions of capital, specifically physical capital, one can see "how bodily attributes function as currency, securing further rewards and serving as a valuable resource."[108] Shilling, furthering this, says that "the more people attach value to how we look and what we do with our bodies, the greater the pressures for people's self-identities to become wrapped up with their bodies."[109] In this way, the body acts as a "bearer of symbolic value" which is central "to the acquisition of status and distinction."[110]

Bodies, then, according to Bourdieu, "develop through the interrelation between an individual's social location, habitus and taste."[111] It is through these interrelations that one understands the body as crucial in both its sense of embodiment for the individual, but also as part of the process of social class constitution, reification, and as a critical element in the formation of a habitus bound up with the body itself through hexis.[112]

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[107] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[108] Crossley, *The Social Body*, 107.

[109] Chris Shilling, *The Body & Social Theory* (London: Sage Publications, 1993), 109-110

[110] Shilling, *The Body & Social Theory*, 111.

[111] Shilling, *The Body & Social Theory*, 113.

[112] Further discussion of Bourdieu's notions of body can be found in Judith Butler 'Performativity's Social Magic', in *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader*, editor Richard Shusterman (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999).

Bodily hexis is put at the forefront by Loïc Wacquant, a student of Bourdieu's, who studied boxers on the South side of Chicago.[113] In describing an extensive list of injuries one boxer sustained he displays how they "reveal this doxic acceptance made body, of the stakes of pugilism…"[114] This sums up much of the connection between body and habitus, and the need for a strong theory of embodiment.

Through this elaboration on the body and Bourdieu's theory of hexis, it means to bring to the fore not simply subjectivities of the individuals, but the embodied and bodied gendered regimes that these men bring with them to each and every interaction (Bourdieu 2001). With that said, it is important to recognize that Bourdieu states clearly that the dominant and highest order *Field* for him is not gender but the *market*. This falls well within line with Marxists more generally. In the past few years, a return to *Social Reproduction Theory* has begun reforming that has re-asked the question(s) regarding the relationship between gender and class (as well as the role race fits into this). Theorist Cinzia Arruzza has notably discussed the role of gender – and gender orders – in their piece 'Remarks on Gender' (2014). In this work, Arruzza lays out a variety of theses on the relation that gender – or, in this case, Patriarchy – has to class domination and capitalism. Without subscribing to all of Arruzza's conclusions, their general thesis that "Capitalism is a versatile, contradictory totality, continually in movement, with relations of exploitation and alienation that are constantly in a process of transformation" (Arruzza 2014) and that these transformations can both accommodate and create gender oppression

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[113] Loïc Wacquant, *Body & Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[114] Loïc Wacquant, 'Pugs at Work', *Body and Society*, Vol 1 No 65 (1995), 88.

finds merit in various other thinkers. For example, Nancy Fraser has famously critiqued the relationship of particular strands of feminism with capitalism, and stated unequivocally that one must "disrupt the passage from our critique of economism to identity politics by integrating the struggle to transform a status order premised on masculinist cultural values with the struggle for economic justice" (Fraser 2013). These thinkers point towards a change in the way that the gender ordered is envisioned, and the relation that it necessarily has to other facets of social life. This thesis, following this, finds that a focus on a gender order outside of a discussion of mechanisms of capitalist reproduction is unsupportable; and that education, as a long-standing arm of both gender and social mobility and reproduction, as a *field*, opens up the discussion of gender's relationship to capitalism and towards changes that are integrated into neoliberal models and modalities. This theoretical position is taken up throughout each of the chapters and is a large focus in the Conclusion.

This section has meant to give an exceptionally brief beginning to some of the crucial theoretical topics and concepts that will come up throughout this dissertation and which lay the root foundation for thinking on these topics. It is not, therefore, meant as an overview of all theories or concepts that will come up.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is broken down into six chapters that each work through various elements of the overarching project and theme, connecting with each other in the lacuna that are created through the reading and re-reading of vignettes, events, and individuals

and groups. Though the chapters are, necessarily, divided by themes and topics, running throughout is a focus on the narratives of the guys who I studied with, and their lives. I seek, through the various chapters, to strike a balance between giving space to these stories, for them to work themselves together and grapple with them, and more densely theoretical pieces that are far less tightly bound to the exactitude of the stories.

Chapter 1 is meant as a polemical theoretical contribution to the field of Critical Studies of Men & Masculinities (otherwise known as: Men's Studies or Masculinities Studies),[115] asking the field to address and think through the usage of the term 'homosociality' and the varied meanings that are attributed to the term. In reviewing a number of the prominent articles and studies on this term and concept, the chapter presents a picture of the concept that opens up not nuance but confusion. The chapter concludes by suggesting ways of thinking forward and suggesting possible distinctions that will assist not in boxing in relationships further, but in adding clarity to what we are talking about - which is not the same as seeking to simplify the relationships themselves.

Building off of this conceptual toolbox, Chapter 2 is the first foray into the fieldwork proper, and spends a large amount of time adding to the above descriptions of the campus life and the students themselves. In it, it discusses three groups (the Step Kids, the Man Cave Guys, and the Third Floor Group) and the varied ways that each group utilizes, creates, and works through spaces; particularly the way each group addresses itself to the

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[115] These 'fields' are not exact in their overlay with each other. Nor should they be confused or conflated with "Male Studies," an exceptionally regressive and essentialist group of scholars that suggest – similar to (and connected with) Men's Rights Activists (MRAs) – that it is truly men who are harmed by society and that feminism is to blame for much of the issues men face today.

university's desired for spatial arrangements and usage and the way that the students, as groups, are contesting these spaces and creating their own spatial networks and meanings. Moving from this, it points at the importance that we must give to students learning outside the class that is also outside the bounds of Student Affairs.

Moving from this, Chapter 3 is a theoretical exploration, building off of the students' nuanced and distinct spatial arrangements, of the way that students see time, tempo, and the future. Scrutinizing the managing of memory and the meaning-making processes of nostalgia for the present, the chapter puts forward new ways of thinking about the temporal condition of the university as a push towards permanent liminality.

From this discussion of students' ideas of time and nostalgia, Chapter 4 grapples with and reveals the ways that the university has sought to set up specific forms of community through the outstretched tentacles of Residence Life as its apparatus for creation. As the second large format ethnographic chapter, it aims to reveal and re-read some of the stories told previously in light of the ways the university's ideas of community are being taken up or not. In contradistinction to the university's community ideal, one is able to see the ways that the guys themselves make and break their own forms of belonging, and the powerful role that this belonging has in their lives.

Chapter 5 takes the notions of community from the previous chapter and looks at the way that the university is seeking to not simply create a community, but to create heteronormative pathways to marital relationships through explicit programming.

Looking at a number of university programming efforts, the chapter situates itself as a critique of the straightforward desire for straight and strict coupling, showcasing at the same time the reality of the failure of this effort to achieve create a narrow pathway towards marital relationships.

The final piece, Chapter 6, starts from where Chapter 5 leaves off. Turning the lens from the university's programming on sexuality, this chapter explores the ways that students discuss sexuality, and the changing relationship that the discourse has to forms of sociality. In exploring this, the chapter suggests that through a merging of social and sexual relations we are able to see the heteronormative divide between public/private and sexual/social being torn asunder and leaving us with new understandings of the ways that one can socialize and the intimate and sexual possibilities that can be included in these social relationships. At its root, it showcases students' push beyond strictures of sex/social divisions and the way that 'hooking up' (and various other notions) complicates ideas of intimacy, and the play of homosociality in creating possibilities for pushing past heteronormative boundaries and breakwalls. Following this is a short Conclusion.

Chapter 1 - Towards a Theory of Homosociality: Basis for a Theoretical Foundation

Introduction

> *"When we think of friends, and call their faces out of the shadows, and their voices out of the echoes that faint along the corridors of memory, and do it without knowing why save that we love to do it, we content ourselves that that friendship is a Reality, and not a Fancy--that it is builded upon a rock, and not upon the sands that dissolve away with the ebbing tides and carry their monuments with them.*
> Mark Twain- 'Letter to Mary Mason Fairbanks'

The term 'homosociality' has become, in the last forty years, such a well-used word that it has lost some of its theoretical rigor under the weight of assumptive understandings of what it is that we mean exactly when we invoke the concept. In fact, it has become almost a catch all for a variety of concerns, issues, problems, ideas, and beliefs that have to do with men and masculinity. This elision of what it is that one means when talking about 'homosociality' allows for and creates scenes of tension and confusion, as well as opens up a wide array of implications for the object being spoken about. In fact, it seems, that homosociality is a fill-in for other concepts and notions – frequently violence, homophobia, homoeroticism, or misogyny. It is important to register the fact that no matter how one defines 'homosociality', all of these elements can and frequently do play a role. The concept has been at the heart of much of the research that has taken place within the field of Critical Studies of Men & Masculinities, often simply equated with men's friendships (Gutmann 1997, 393).

Firstly, I position myself as someone working at the intersections of anthropology, sociology, and gender studies. We need to ask why the theoretical side of this discussion is not being done within the field of Critical Studies of Men & Masculinities? This chapter will seek to take up the challenge of theory that is often left unanswered in relation to masculinities – see, for example, CJ Pascoe and Tristan Bridges' excellent new book that calls for a "Historicizing, Multiplying, Navigating, and

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Dislocating" of masculinity as "the Future of Gender Theory" (2015, 425), while theorizing itself is not called for by the collection, at least not in explicit terms. The field has focused on application and empirical research without attending to the necessity of theory or concepts as part of the linkages between theory and practice. In this chapter, I think directly about the concept, and in this this chapter is both tentative and polemical; positioning itself as a challenge to the field to go through and rethink and retheorize our terms rather than continuing to use, misuse, undertheorize, and refuse to contend with them. Rather than seeking to build an edifice– a separate conceptual toolbox – this article seeks to add both clarity to the existing concept of homosociality, as well as provide further ways that the concept itself can be utilized in ways that are more pointed and useful.

This chapter will seek to explore the multiple understandings of homosociality, seeking to clarify its theoretical underpinnings and background, as well as to posit a more nuanced and clear way of grappling with the concept that will allow it to be utilized appropriately to come to understand the relations that are at play and the factors that work within them. This theorizing is crucial for the broader dissertation in that sets up the conversation unto which it is taking part, and situates it within this literature. Further, though the dissertation does not itself engage with the ethnographic fieldwork that the dissertation is built on, this is not in any way to suggest that the chapter does not owe its foundation and roots to the ethnographic data. It should be explicitly stated that though the chapter is theoretical in nature, it takes as its origins many of the conversations and interactions that took place in the field. The conceptual understanding of homosociality will then wind its way throughout the following chapters, utilizing and exploring the

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fleshed out and rounded idea of homosociality put forward in this chapter. Through a premising and prioritization of homosociality as a key and core concept, this chapter will elucidate the connections that homosociality has – through readings of a number of key texts – to notions of patriarchy, power, and the pleasure of friendship. As outlined in the Introductory chapter to the dissertation, this dissertation is irrevocably linked to a feminist ethos and exploration of the relationality between men that is, unequivocally, tied to broader notions of gender relations and gender order.

I begin the chapter by examining three major explorations of the term – Jean Lipman-Blumen (1976), Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985), and Sharon R. Bird (1996). These three pieces each in their own way (and time) shaped and continue to shape our understanding of what homosociality is, putting it into relation with various other concepts and social elements. From these pieces I seek to understand the ambiguity of our current understanding of homosociality – pointing to uses by more recent authors such as Danny Kaplan (2006), Michael Flood (2008), Steven Arxer (2011), and Taylor M. Houston (2012). All of these pieces represent but a sample of the work that's been done on this topic (e.g. Van leer 1989; Britton 1990; Greven 2004; Kiesling 2005; Hawkins 2008), as the term has been taken up widely in a variety of contexts and with a diversity of intents. In situating the concept related to specific authors' works rather than create paradigmatic positions, I aim to showcase the fluidity of the concept and the interlinked nature of the thinking around it. Further, I concretely aim not to suggest a linearity of thinking or overt distinctions that are not shown out in the texts themselves (as I will point out throughout the chapter). The distinction between 'Founding' and 'Recent' is an argumentative and chronological strategy rather than a specific dividing

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line between 'old' and 'new'. The reasoning behind this, simply, is that those which fall in the 'Founding' grouping are often used by those in the 'Recent' category, though this should still not be taken as a statement of distinction or rupture between the two sections of authors.

Methodologically, I have chosen these texts specifically for the level with which they explicitly engage the concept rather than simply utilize others' thinking on it, as examples of ways of using the term, and for the impact they have had on my own thinking. In doing this, I do not mean to propose a canon or suggest other authors do not fall under the purview, but instead to engage directly and deeply with a few authors to showcase the various ways the concept has been theorized. I have divided the sources into two camps – 'foundational' and 'recent' – as the second group cites at least one of the first; this is not to create distinct 'waves' or 'periods', but to recognize citational practices and which pieces have been and maintained importance. Put another way, I have utilized a scattered method that allows for the breaking of specific disciplinary boundary conventions and that can assist in overcoming the lacuna with Critical Studies of Men & Masculinities through exploring both what is being written within the field and outside of it that is then brought back into the field. The aim is not to give a full overview of the literature, but to shed light on some of the ways that the concept has been used, over-used, and - often - under-theorized. In this, then, it will end with a section discussing new ways forward for thinking through the term that will hopefully clarify the meaning, intent, and shed light on what is a very serious topic.

It should be noted, before continuing, that this chapter is not a full overview of the conceptual set(s) of tools that this dissertation utilizes, nor is it meant to stand alone

outside of the empirical research done during fieldwork. It is, in fact, a beginning of the processing that is required and requisite for any thorough and nuanced understandings of the relationships that the guys I worked with throughout my fieldwork engaged in, were a part of, and which wrapped enraptured their lives.

As discussed above and below, we should always explicitly note structures of power and structural inequality that runs through any discussion of men's relations. Simultaneously, it is theoretically unsustainable and empirically invalid to suggest or state that all relations between men be equated with either patriarchy or domination. So, while Messner (1989), citing Farr (1988), suggests that concept of "dominance bonding" – the bonding over the notion of superiority over others (women, individuals of color, sexuality, etc) – needs to be examined in relation to men's homosociality, we should recognize, simultaneously, that this is but one side of any picture of men, masculinity, or even relations more generally. As I say throughout this chapter and the dissertation as a whole: the argument about men's relations that exist outside of violence does not suggest or imply, to any extent, the non-existence of violence in men's relations, the perpetuation of violence against women in the name of homosociality, nor the structural inequalities that exist within the U.S. between men and women.

Simultaneously, I would like to explicitly state this dissertation is rooted in feminist scholarship. From a citational stance, the dissertation's bibliography is made up, roughly, of 1/3 of pieces written by women. Similarly, my foundation root text for this dissertation, and where politically, personally, and scholarly I came from, is out of the work of Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne (1994), two prominent anthropologists whose book *Dislocating Masculinity* set out to explicitly tackle and explore conceptions

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of masculinity through both an ethnographic and feminist standpoint. Further to this, in collaboration with Andrea and Nancy, I have co-edited a book that builds on and expands the work of this ground-breaking book by exploring the changing experiences of men under neoliberalism in the 21st Century. The book, *Masculinities Under Neoliberalism* (Cornwall, Karioris, and Lindisfarne 2016), again takes as its starting place the roots of ethnography and feminism; seeing both as a means to come to grips with the individual experiences and affects of gender, as well as recognizing the structural components of inequality that root gender to wider visions of segregation and inequality.

The dissertation's theoretical foundation, as well as that of this specific chapter, is Michael Kimmel's groundbreaking *Guyland* (2008). This book sets the scene and tone of the process through which homosociality is explored, particularly in relation to the university campus in the U.S. That said, the book has limitations and does not thoroughly or soundly explore the nuanced and niche sets of relational practices that are occurring on universities between men. This is, partly, due, very simply, to methodological differences between this study and *Guyland.* Kimmel was able to explore a wide berth of men and their lives through broader suvery data and more structured interviews. In this sense, this dissertation seeks to amend and compliment the work done by Kimmel at university. While I do not always agree with *Guyland* – and have published on these disagreements (Karioris 2015) – I refuse to engage in combative practices of tearing down one's influences or work that has been inspiration. I respect Kimmel's work and his pro-feminist stance but politely disagree on a number of items that I think are validated through the theoretical work done by the dissertation and that are shown to be overly simplistic via the extensive empirical work compiled in this dissertation. In that, this is

merely to state that the lack of direct reference at each and every point where it could be given is both purposeful and comes from a feminist standpoint of collegiality, rather than a masculinist and egoist position of seeking to tear down one's proverbial father (a gendered and psychoanalytic ploy that many young academics seem to choose, and which they are rewarded for). In this sense, to come back to the importance of the theoretical contribution that Michael Kimmel's work makes, I would like to state that it is the literal roots of the tree that is this dissertation, and is, therefore, in each and every piece of fruit that the tree bears – moldy or sweet.[116]

Foundational Theorizing: Lipman-Blumen, Sedgwick, and Bird

For many, the first in-depth understanding and conceptualization of the term homosociality comes from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's now celebrated book *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985). While Sedgwick undoubtedly provides a serious grappling with the concept, I argue that we should begin instead with Jean Lipman-Blumen's 'Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Explanation of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions' (1976). It should be noted that the article preempts much of the work that will begin more than ten years later with the rise of men's studies (Kimmel 1987) and in anthropology (Herzfeld 1985; Cornwall & Lindisfarne 1994); as well as the fact that it relies on sex role theory that is now out of fashion (Connell 2005). These two contextual notes are of importance for situating not merely the concept, but also the way that homosociality, in some ways, itself serves as a foundational block off of which to build.

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[116] For discussion of *Guyland* and Kimmel's theorizing on this, please see Introduction chapter.

Lipman-Blumen begins her article stating, "organizational segregation of women is a major reflection of the generalized segregation that characterizes all aspects of Western social life" (1976, 15). In prioritizing and beginning from a standpoint of wider social life, she recognizes not merely specific relational segregation but a broader system of segregatory practices that are not singularly individual but simultaneously structural. She defines homosociality as "the seeking, enjoyment, and/or preference for the company of the same sex" (Ibid., 16). This definition, while very simple and straight forward, is followed by something that becomes inflected unto and upon the definition itself; "It is distinguished from 'homosexual' in that it does not *necessarily* involve (although it may under certain circumstances) an explicit erotic sexual interaction between members of the same sex" (Ibid., emphasis in the original). The immediacy of this addition (homosexuality), though not necessarily the nuance, has stuck to homosociality. Already one begins to see, from these two sentences, a picture of a homosociality as linked inextricably to homosexuality. What is clear though, from the parenthetical, is that while linked they are not merely oppositional, but are, in some way(s), orthogonal to each other (Sedgwick 1996). Yet, later in the article she states that the "male homosexual" is "the most undesirable form of male, according to the criteria of the male homosocial world" (Lipman-Blumen 1976, 24).

From here, the author brings us back to the recognition of structural – economic, institutional, societal, and prestige – differentiation between men and women, which, ultimately, locates "men in such a way that they had virtually total and exclusive access to the entire range of resources available within society" (Ibid., 16). The article, it must be remembered, appeared in *Signs,* and a special issue titled: "Women and the

Workplace: The Implications of Occupational Segregation". It should also be noted that it is signed off 'National Institute of Education', a crucial statement about its positionality. She further explains,

> "The dominance order among men is based upon control of resources, including land, money, education, occupations, political connections, and family ties. Women, forced to seek resources from men, in turn become resources which men can use to further their own eminence in the homosocial world of men" (Ibid.)

Throughout is the importance of economic and social power as the basis of dominance and control, and which, importantly, is fought not just with men over women but between men. That said, once men have control of resources (in the form of women) many of them are "less likely to seek homosexual relationships" but "the call of the homosocial world is still strong long after men become engaged in heterosexual relationships" (Ibid., 17). In this version of homosociality, the concept is tied to masculinity until historically very recently with the increase in female networks and a "homosocial world for women that reaches beyond the domestic sphere" (Ibid., 18) began forming.

Homosociality, then, is not – despite the opening definition – in fact simply about relations, but is primarily about the structural construction of a world that favors men over women, and in which men fight over resources between themselves. It is, rather than a set of relations, a world that dictates and perpetuates specific forms of relations. Thinking about homosociality *writ large* she says, "The result is a self-sufficient, male homosocial world which need not deliberately conspire to keep women segregated. Merely by ignoring the existence of women outside the domestic, sexual, and service realms the male homosocial world relegates women to the sidelines of life" (Ibid., 31).

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Here we have a homosociality that is not only about the relations within it but also those left out of it and the relations that are comprised beyond it. This is how she ends the article, articulating the fact that not only is homosociality a world-making project, but that it rests upon the relegation of women to the outskirts and prioritizes specific forms of relations between men; a project that is often enrolled in the continuation of marital necessity and heteronormativity and through which one can see formations of the nascent desire for excluding homosexuality as a category from homosociality (Allan 2016, 90-92).

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick affords the next large-scale treatment of homosociality in her book, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, which begins with a pair of introductory chapters that lay the groundwork for Sedgwick's understanding of homosociality; the rest of the chapters build on this framework through the use of English literary examples. While these chapters provide nuances and examples, the thrust of the argument is presented in the introduction, and, for that reason, this article will focus on the Introduction and the first chapter. Building on Lipman-Blumen's ideas, though without engaging her even minimally, she recognizes the similarity between the concept of homosociality and that of patriarchy, giving Heidi Hartmann's definition: "relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women" (Hartmann, cited in Sedgwick 1985, 3). Sedgwick, though, begins by summing up that homosociality is the "social bonds between persons of the same sex" (Ibid., 1). She says though that:

"concomitant changes in the structure of the continuum of male 'homosocial desire' were tightly, often causally bound up with other more visible changes; that the emerging pattern of male friendship, mentorship, entitlement, rivalry, and hetero- and homosexuality was in an intimate and shifting relation to class; and that no element of that pattern can be understood outside of its relation to women and the gender system as a whole" (1985, 1).

The entanglement between these various registers is crucial for fully understanding and grappling with Sedgwick's theorizing of the concept. Rather than suggest – as Lipman-Blumen somewhat does – a dichotomy between homosexuality and homosociality, Sedgwick posits a continuum between them, or what she calls 'homosocial desire'. "To draw the 'homosocial back into the orbit of 'desire', of the potentially erotic, then, is to hypothesize the potential unbrokenness of a continuum between homosocial and homosexual – a continuum whose visibility, for men, in our society, is radically disrupted" (Ibid., 1-2). In creating this continuum, she aims to bring homosexuality back into relation with homosociality; stating, "homosexual activity can be either supportive of or oppositional to homosocial bonding" (Ibid., 6), and noting desire as a key crux of homosociality. She notes that the continuum is far more pronounced for men than for women, which serves as a statement about the relationship between masculinity and homophobia, as well as a method of gendering the ways of looking at homosociality more generally.

Here Sedgwick makes clear: "the status of women, and the whole question of arrangements between genders, is deeply and inescapably inscribed in the structure even of relationships that seem to exclude women – even in male homosocial/homosexual

relationships" (Ibid., 25). This connectivity to a gendered system – even when seemingly outside of relations with women – is not only related to Lipman-Blumen's analysis, but also deeply linked with feminist theorizing which notes that even when absent, women – or men – are present.

Having set in place this understanding, Sedgwick aims to complicate further the ways that homosexuality – and sexuality more generally – is a part of homosociality, and is built upon specific socialized social relational components and modalities. She writes that "in any male-dominated society, there is a special relationship between male homosocial *(including homosexual)* desire and the structures for maintaining and transmitting patriarchal power" (Ibid., 25). Here we see, tied tightly together, the ways that homosociality – including, for Sedgwick in this case, homosexuality – is "founded on an inherent and potentially active structural congruence" (Ibid.) or agreement. Sedgwick draws on René Girard's schema of erotic triangles, stating that "the bond that links the two rivals is as intense and potent as the bond that links either of the rivals to the beloved" (Ibid., 21). These triangles are made up of two male rivals vying for a female - seen in dramatic relief on the cover with two men in suits and a fully nude woman. Here, the crucial element, that I will come back to later in the article, is the elision between rival and desire/love; not in the sense of between the relationships between the two men and the woman, but between the distinction that could be made between 'rival' and 'friend' which does not mean that two friends could not fight over the same women, but that the category/name of 'rival' is distinct from 'friend'.

Sedgwick concludes that "By the first decade of the present [20th] century, the gaping and unbridgeable homophobic rift in the male homosocial spectrum already

looked like a permanent feature of the geography" (Sedgwick 1985, 201). She continues, "the schism in the male-homosocial spectrum created by homophobia was a schism based on minimal difference. It was all the more virulently fortified for that" (Ibid.). It is this lack of distinction that creates the necessity for defense, and a defense that situates itself not merely as against homosexuality, but doubly against the feminine (or what Sedgwick understands as effeminophobia). Building on and quoting Sedgwick's work, David Savran says that "A clear demarcation separates male homosociality from male homosexuality, a demarcation, moreover, that is rigorously policed so as to insure that '"men-promoting-the-interests-of-men"' will not be confused with '"men-loving-men"'" (Savran 1998, 186). This, beautifully, is Sedgwick's main aim in theorizing around homosociality.

From this vantage, we move to a discussion of Sharon R. Bird's piece 'Welcome to the Men's Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity' (1996). Published over a decade later, it tackles homosociality from a sociological perspective, incorporating the then fairly new ideas of Raewyn Connell (1987, 1992) – in particular the still burgeoning notion of 'hegemonic masculinity'. In fact, the article does not – due to publishing schedule it would seem - even incorporate the brand new *Masculinities* ([1995] 2005), which had just come out the year previous. For Bird, *homosociality* "refers specifically to the nonsexual attractions held by men (or women) for members of their own sex" (Bird 1996, 121) – and here she refers explicitly to Lipman-Blumen. She adds that, "homosociality promotes clear distinctions between hegemonic masculinities and nonhegemonic masculinities by the segregation of social groups" (Ibid.).

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Bird suggests that homosociality contributes to the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity through the emphasis of emotional detachment, competitiveness, and the sexual objectification of women. These elements not only make up hegemonic masculinity but are part of the process and practice of homosociality. She argues that homosocial interactions are "critical to both the conceptualization of masculinity identity and the maintenance of gender norms" (Ibid., 122). These elements are "shared meanings that are perpetuated by homosociality" (Ibid.).

As the article develops, Bird writes about "homosocial friendships" (Ibid., 125), which should make us think through the way that the above suggestion of masculinity ordering is connected with friendships if, in fact, homosociality is a cause of the segregation of social groups. Unlike Sedgwick, Bird encourages her readers to think about the group, which enables, maintains, and promotes hegemonic masculinity. So while the introductory part of the article suggests that homosociality is the dividing element (or an element) of social groups between various masculinities, the second part of the article traces the linkages within groups of the three elements rather than between groups.

In seeking to bring to bear the then recent literature on multiple masculinities, Bird showcases the importance of the ways that homosociality is a mediating factor for hegemonic discourses that allows and allocates greater space for particular conceptualizations and performances of masculinity. As such, the article opens up, to a greater degree, the way that intra-male conflicts within social situations occur and through which hegemony is established between men. While this is crucial and adds to our understanding of hegemony, like Lipman-Blumen and Sedgwick, Bird makes the

crucial failure to distinguish between the ways that homosociality can both facilitate divisions of social groups and the ways that it is enacted within groups.

It is a fascinating note about the meaning and uptake of the homosociality that neither Lipman-Blumen, Sedgwick, nor Bird's thinking on homosociality is found anywhere in the edited book by Peter Nardi (1992), *Men's Friendships*. It is telling about disciplinary boundaries, Men's Studies' failure to account for Queer Theory, as well as the way that homosociality as these authors conceived of it was not equitable with friendship in exactitude, and the distance between these terms. Though it should also be noted that as early as 1985 that homosociality and friendship begin to be discussed together (Rose 1985).

Recent Contributions: Kaplan, Arxer, Flood, and Houston

While the previous section looked back at seminal articles and books in the theorizing of homosociality, this section will seek to explore the way more recent scholarly pieces have taken up the term and the variegated ways that it has been utilized for distinct purposes and intents. The term has taken off in usage, in part thanks to the previously discussed texts, and partly due to the variability of its meaning. This section will look at four texts spanning the past ten years that think through and use the term 'homosociality' in a variety of ways.

Danny Kaplan's (2006) article 'Public Intimacy: Dynamics of Seduction in Male Homosocial Interactions' begins by defining the term in the first sentence of its abstract, as "Male-to-male (homosocial) friendship bonds" (Ibid., 571). His focus on friendship can further be seen in his book *The Men We Loved: Male Friendship and Nationalism in*

Israeli Culture (2006). Beginning not in structural terms, he situates the term distinctly and directly in relationship to friendship and the "wide spectrum of emotions, from affection, love, and passion to hatred and animosity" (Ibid.) that are part of these relationships. He adds to his definition by saying that homosociality is "heterosexual male-to-male relatedness" (Ibid., 572). At this point he refers to Sedgwick's discussion of 'desire' which is an "affective or social force, the glue, even when its manifestation is hostility or hatred… that shapes an important relationship" (Sedwick 1985, 2), agreeing that the use of 'desire' assists in explaining "display[s] of aggressiveness" between men (Kaplan 2006, 592).

Beyond the fact that the article is focused on friendships, it often conflates the terms (and related terms) 'friendship' and 'homosociality', combining them almost into a singular entity—and this is one of the central problems in writing about homosociality, as if it has become just another word, a more academic word, for the more pedestrian, friendship. In talking about expressions, he says that they start as

"shared experiences by two friends or by a group of friends… but in order to become homosocial codes, to gain significance as markers of the bond, the expression needs to be used outside their original context and *set against the backdrop* of the surrounding public spaces" (Ibid., 578).

In this way we can see the fact that 'homosocial' is coded as related to friends and friendship in specific ways, and is distinct from public spaces where interaction with others (including other men) occurs. For Kaplan, the "homosocial group" is one that is created by those involved in it, stating that nicknames are the "basic marker of a person's acceptance into the homosocial group" (Ibid., 579).

In a fascinating example that runs counter to the notion of enclosed homosociality (the idea that homosociality is when only men are around), Kaplan shares a story about "homosocial talk" that men engage in, where one of them says that "You're in a restaurant with a few guys, men and women, and the waiter comes to take your order" (Ibid. 582). The speaker deftly elides the inclusion of women in the term 'guys', while Kaplan includes this under the rubric of 'homosocial talk'; begging the question of the way that homosocial talk includes or excludes women.

Near the end of the article he describes 'homosocial embrace' as "the softer male gestures", asking who do "men feel comfortable embracing and when might the embrace?" (Ibid., 583). While at first glance this might seem to open up the conversation beyond friend, it is made clear that it is about "what kinds of friends they might embrace" (Ibid.), not generally what kinds of men. In fact, in this context (both the article and cultural context), the embrace is, one could suggest, a demarcation of where homosociality and close friendship ends, and the rest of the world begins. One might be compelled to ask exactly the way that some members of the Israeli military unit (which is Kaplan's case study) in fact do not fall under the auspices of homosociality?

It is only in the conclusion that we begin to see fully the implication for the way that Kaplan uses the term 'homosociality'. Here, citing Roper (1996), he addresses the way that intimacy can perpetuate "exclusionary male networks in male-dominated organizations" (Kaplan 2006, 591), as well as recognizing that homosociality (specifically homosocial linguistics) is a "collective display of power" (Ibid., 592). Besides coming only at the close of the article, the import of this discussion of power dynamics is limited. Firstly, in that it concretizes a formation of in-group and out-group –

saying "it places the nonparticipating audience, both women and other men, in a position of inferiority and exclusion" (Ibid.). Secondly, it begins from a position of individual desire rather than relational interconnection. In this way, while it does recognize an out-group of men (just barely), it mischaracterizes the ways that these are interlinked, and, very simply, the way that in all enactments we are all participating – whether part of the homosocial grouping of not.

In stark contrast to the way that Kaplan thinks through homosociality, Steven L. Arxer (2011) begins from Bird's propositions, relating homosociality to hegemonic masculinity – with Arxer adding in thinking through the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and the idea of hybrid masculinity, which at bottom is….[a combination of masculininity traits taken from various points] (Demetriou 2001). The article takes as its starting place the argument that hegemonic masculinity is not isolated but is, in many instances, a hybrid formation of various elements, traits, and performances. To do this, he explores the way that various hegemonic and non-hegemonic traits are leveraged in conversations at a bar; in particular, the way that these interrelations between hegemonic and non- are put into conversation through homosociality.

Homosociality, for Arxer, seems to be primarily about setting rather than anything else. He says "hegemonic masculinity is structured through a process of strict gender segregation and exclusion of opposing practices" (Arxer 2011, 396). While taking from Bird, he focuses on the spatial elements of homosociality as a setting, stating that homosociality is a context (400), setting (400), environment (407), and interaction (415). In exploring homosociality from this angle, he means to look at the ways that gender segregation is occurring in relation to hybrid masculinity's hegemony (Ibid., 399). At one

point he says, "homosociality has been depicted as an unlikely setting to observe men enacting a hybrid masculinity…" (Ibid., 400). The thesis suggests that "male homosocial settings foster the production of hegemonic masculinity" (Ibid., 401). In this we come back to a notion of homosociality as a statement about enclosed homosociality where it is the setting comprised up of all-men, rather than a statement (like Kaplan above) about connectivity between men.

So while he talks about "group identity" (Ibid., 408), it is hard to get around the fact that for Arxer homosociality is merely a context under which certain behaviors become possible. "Homosociality may segregate power groups (i.e., hegemonic and non-hegemonic) but not necessarily specific meanings associated with non-hegemony" (Ibid., 416). It is difficult to understand fully how it segregates power groups, as he gives an example of a gay man in a conversation with two straight men (a power differential), particularly in "male heterosexual homosocial settings" (Ibid., 417), saying that "the extent to which homosocial environments clearly segregate hegemonic from non-hegemonic masculine forms may be linked to the real or perceived intersectional positions held by the men" (Ibid., 407). While this assists in understanding the leverage that exists, if homosociality is a setting rather than a relational attribute, one must seek to further explore the ways that one can come to understand the ways it segregates power groups within groups themselves.

Michael Flood's piece (2008) comes out of a long engagement with the topic of homosociality and its interrelation with heterosexuality amongst groups of men (Flood 2003), focusing specifically on the ways that homosociality is specifically "male-male friendships" (Flood 2008, 339). Throughout this piece, and his thinking broadly (Flood

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2007), Flood has related homosociality strongly with relations and relationality. At the same time, he makes a distinction between friendship and homosociality to some extent. "Homosocial bonds have a profound influence on men's friendships with other men and their social and sexual relations with women" (Ibid., 423-424). It is worth noting that in the *International Encyclopedia of Men & Masculinities* (co-edited by Flood) there is not a section for 'homosociality', but one for 'friendship' and the above cited section written by Flood titled 'Men's relations with men'. On the other hand, another encyclopedia of men and masculinities – *Men and Masculinities: A Social, Cultural, and Historical Encyclopedia* (Kimmel & Aronson (2004) - includes 'homosociality' (Meuser 2004), as well as 'Friendship', 'Friendship, Gay-Straight', 'Intimacy', and 'Male Bonding'. Flood suggests that, "men's homosocial bonds are central to the organization and maintenance of women's subordination. However, male homosociality does not necessarily involve the subordination of women or of particular groups of men" (Ibid., 424). He ties this with Michael Kimmel's work (1994), stating "men's practice of gender has been theorized as a homosocial enactment… Males seek the approval of other males, both identifying with and competing against them" (Flood 2008, 341).

Interestingly, Flood begins with Bird (1996) and then cites Sedgwick (1985), but does not cite Lipman-Blumen (1976). In citing Sedgwick he focuses on the ambiguity she instills in the word 'desire' as "an affective or social force or bond" that can include "hostility" (Flood 2008, 341). It is this ambiguous nature of homosociality which, for Flood and Sedgwick, provides fruitful grounds for exploring the relations themselves. Connecting homosociality with patriarchy, Flood reminds us of Heidi Hartman's definition of patriarchy as: "relations between men, which have a material base, and

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which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women" (Hartmann 1981, 14). Flood clarifies his position, saying, "it is not group membership per se but norms of gender inequality and other bonds that foster and justify abuse in particular peer cultures that promote violence against women" (Flood 2008, 342).

In the article, Flood elaborates on the homosocial relations of men at a coeducational military academy in Australia. In this context he discusses the way that male-to-male relations are given primacy and how they impact on male-female sociosexual relations. While Flood – unlike Kaplan or Arxer – focuses on the relations and relational aspects of homosociality, giving extremely detailed analysis, he forgoes an understanding of the way that the men – particularly within a military academy – are dramatically a heterogeneous grouping whose relations between each other are, in multifaceted fashions, not just inclusive of hostility as part of desire and friendship but are far afield from friendship, no matter how defined. In this way, one might suggest – as I will in the section below – that this is the crux of where homosociality as a relational paradigm needs to explore and look at. For while he recognizes that "masculine status is granted by other males" and that they "can also take it away" (Flood 2007, 424), the focus seems to fall on the granting over the taking away. It is telling that in his section on 'Men's relations with men' there is not a sustained conversation about adversaries but an emphasis on relations such as friendship, kinship, father/son, and the lack of intimacy in male-friendships.

Taylor Houston's (2012) piece on men in independent rock bands says that "homosocial relations among men have been identified as spaces for defining,

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maintaining, and redefining what it means to be a man" (158). Taking his definition from Bird, he suggests that homosociality is both a set of relations as well as interactions, maintaining Bird's assertion of the connectedness to power structures and masculinity's hegemony. Simultaneously, through elaborating on his particular case he suggests that homosociality is not "solely a mechanism for reinforcing hegemonic masculinity", saying, "there are certain locations and contexts that can help produce alternative masculinities that reject notions of hegemonic masculinity" (Ibid.).

We begin to see from the spatialized interlocutions and elocutions that while homosociality is primarily about relations it is deeply linked to space and place. Similar to the authors above, he oscillates as well with utilization of phrases such as "homosocial environment" (Ibid., 161). Though it is also contested when he suggests a difference between "male exclusivity" and homosociality by noting that that the fact that the men make up the majority of the population is "male exclusivity" rather than call it 'homosociality' (Ibid., 169).

Referencing Kimmel's historical and historic study *Manhood in America* (2006), Houston notes the relation specifically to organizations of men and the referencing of male-male relationships (referencing Flood 2008). He then moves to Connell's (2005) hierarchies of masculinities, stating that these hierarchies are reinforced and maintained through homosociality (Houston 2012, 161-162). Through the use of his case study he suggests that the homosociality of his informants "were influential in maintaining their [alternative] masculinity" (Ibid., 169). In discussing the "Indie Rock Scene", he includes in the homosocial relations "similar-minded friends, band mates, and fans" (Ibid.). "For indie rockers, homosociality is reconstructed, allowing for emotional attachment and

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affection to occur in order to create stronger friendships" (Ibid., 170). Through this one can see that while there may be ambiguity surrounding the use of the term, for Houston, a primary object of homosociality is friendships specifically. Though the focus is homosociality as friendship, there is an elision between friendship and more general male-to-male relationships broadly conceived, all under the bounds though of a sociality that is friendly rather than primarily antagonistic.

In these articles there is overlap as well as distinct elements of each. These four pieces (Kaplan, Flood, Arxer, & Houston) provide a glimpse not of every iteration or enactment of uses of 'homosociality', but give distinct and different viewpoints on the term and allow us to see the conflations of it with other terms, the take-up of initial theorizing (Lipman-Blumen, Bird, Sedgwick), and a set of ambiguities that conceptually water down 'homosociality' in ways that make its contribution to theorizing difficult to grasp. The next section will seek to elaborate on these gaps in conceptualizing, and, in so doing, aims to open up both more precise ways of thinking on homosociality as well as to suggest specific directions forward in thinking about homosociality as a lived experience rather than merely abstractly.

Retheorizing & Directions Forward

Throughout theorizing on the concept of 'homosociality' it has been, as we have seen, related to various objects: homosexuality, friendship, space, patriarchy, and domination, and hierarchies between men/masculinities. In conflating and conflicting these secondary objects internal to homosociality it opens up lacuna in our understanding of both authorial utilization as well as ability to come to terms fully with the ways that men in their lived experiences relate to other men in each of these objects. In this way, the simplest definition of homosociality is merely that it is relations between people of the same sex/gender (homo=same) that are social in the minimalist sense of the term (interactions taking place external to one's self). Bringing it to such a place, though, disavows the theoretical rigor of what is contained in these relationships and with such a distant view of the relations does little to shed light on the relations in any substantive fashion. Through these points I start from the question: is 'homosociality' a state of play, a set of relations, a setting, a relational style, a group-distinction marker, or merely a statement about the gender of participants?

Throughout the chapter, it has been demonstrated that thinkers have used the term 'homosociality' variously. The remainder of this chapter will suggest that homosociality should not be considered simply a spatial setting nor a relational style (i.e. friendship), but that it is in fact – when undifferentiated – a statement about relations between men and other men. This will be complicated through suggesting to introduce nuance to the term. I will do this by discussing the interconnected and fluid categories of: homosexuality/homosociality/heterosexuality; collaboration/conflict/collaborative-conflict; and different modes/forms of homosocialities.

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One of the foundational roots of the positioning of homosociality has been as a counter or other end of the spectrum to homosexuality. Under the auspices of seeing homosociality as a formation and enactment of male domination or control, this makes good sense; when one begins to see homosociality as something other than an element or form of patriarchy this opposition becomes more tentative. There has been significant work done on both gay-straight male friendships (Fee 1999; Tillmann-Healy 2001; Price 2011) as well as friendships between gay men (Nardi 1992, 1999) that showcase not that homosociality is exclusive to homosexuality or that they exist on a spectrum, but that they exist as contiguous and constitutionally-enacted positions. That said, this is not to suggest that certain groups of men do not utilize homophobia (or work with/through internalized homophobia) as a means of cementing their own relationships. Nor is it to suggest that the particular formations of relations between heterosexual men are not implicitly or explicitly exclusionary to homosexuality and simultaneously built on the dispelling of homoerotic feelings (Savran 1998). It is to say that in moving forward we need to think through the utilization of a simplified connection (or anti-connection) between homosociality and homosexuality (and, truthfully, homophobia, effeminophobia, and misogyny). This is particularly true with the recent work done on the way that homosexuality – or, more generally, sex between men – is part of the process and project of homosociality in some spaces (Ward 2015). In pointing out not only the messiness of heterosexuality (and sexuality broadly) but also the ways that homosociality is a space of relational play with these categories, as well as a place for learning – homosociality as a process of learning masculinity has for a long time been a large theme in the literature (Kimmel 2009; Flood 2003). Homosociality is not, therefore, antithetical to

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homosexuality nor does it exist on a spectrum but can exist simultaneously and fully together.

In opening up the conversation about homosociality, I would like to suggest that a way of moving forward – that will assist in clearing up a variety of the issues raised above – is to suggest, tentatively, placeholder markations that allow for seeing both the fullness of homosocial relations while necessarily providing clarity to the usage of the term and the relations being described. For example, is there a difference between the homosociality between two male friends at a bar and the homosociality between one of these men and another guy at the bar as they get in a fight? While part of the same schema of homosocial interactions, one could certainly recognize a distinction between modes of interacting between these two homosocialities. Instead of focusing on the 'homo' in homosociality it reflects on the 'social' and suggests that in this one begins to see a distinct sociality – relating with others – that is distinct from the understanding of 'social' that is simply a stand-in for 'friends'. Rather than focus specifically on 'friendship' as some authors have done or on intimacy (both terms contestable but important), one might suggest something akin to 'collaborative homosociality' and 'conflictual homosociality'.[117] In so doing we are able to recognize the fact that conflict between men is not a rare occurrence but a primary mode of interaction in many ways and see the differentiated ways that men interact with those they are in conflict with and those they are seeking – through friendship, intimacy, familial bonds, etc – to collaborate with. 'Collaboration' here is not indicative solely of sharing of resources, but of an affective practice and connectivity between individuals; collaboration is a practice of

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[117] One could also suggest placeholder distinctions between 'friends' and 'nonfriends' as well – putting the distinction in this way opens up a different reading of friendship, and allows for friendships – self-defined – that encompass a range of critical behaviors.

connectivity and, in many ways, responsibility towards and for others. Through this placeholder it does not mean to indicate that there is not conflict within collaboration, or that within friends' relationships there is not conflict (or vice-versa), but to indicate that while these homosocialities form a connected part of the same life and social environment they simultaneously exist as at least partially different modes of interaction. In so doing, one must keep in mind that "'interpersonal' relations are never, except in appearance, individual-to-individual relationships and that the truth of the interaction is never entirely contained in the interaction" (Bourdieu 1977, 81); and that, as such, one is never able to disinter any singular relationship from a wider set of relations for an individual or within a context. Furthering this, Erving Goffman states that individuals can be brought together into an "action group in order to further like or collective ends by any means available to them. In so far as they co-operate in maintaining a given impression, using this device as a means of achieving their ends, they constitute what has here been called a team" (Goffman 1959, 92). Through recognition of both the structurally elements at play in relations – particularly male homosocial ones – and the ways that individuals collaborate while being in conflict with others (and the slides that occur between these positions) one is able to begin moving away from simplified formations of homosociality that pigeonhole the relations into simplistic and functionalistic relations based solely on needs/capital(s) or in-group/out-group dynamics. Thus, one can see the "structural calls to inaction, impediments to action," and "power and pervasive struggle" (Karioris 2014, 106) that are imbricated in these relational positions. Through this, one is also able to formulate a radical historicity and specificity to the relations that opens up, further, the ways that intra-gender relations are neither simplistic nor monolithic and unchanging.

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Rather than see, to come back to Sedgwick's use of the triangle, a simple connectivity between 'rival' and 'friend', it is important to understand the way that while friends can be rivals with each other (possibly falling under the category of 'frenemy') there are always those with whom one falls in direct (open or otherwise) conflict with and whose relationship is founded on this animosity. Even in the term frenemy one sees – for whatever reason – a necessity for friendliness, suggesting that there are those for whom there is not this need. Through the suggestion of collaborative homosociality and conflictual homosociality it does not mean to abstract or simplify the messy relations between men – as some of the above thinkers seek to do through their usage of homosociality – but to negotiate the ways that men may find themselves at the crossroads of a variety of relations that, while certainly never straightforward, encourage and encompass interconnected homosocialities.

In much the same way as we now recognize the multiplicity of masculinities – whether class, race, sexuality, or otherwise – we should also understand the a multiplicity of homosocialities that do not simply fall along identity lines but occur along lines that are both intra-group divisions (within these categories) as well as outside of these rubrics through affective connections of intimacy. Thinking through homosocialities in this way, we open up a different understanding of the Israeli army men Kaplan studies, and situate them within the broader context of the army base where contending and competing groups of men engage with each in ways that are not always fitting of the homosociality that Kaplan is describing.

By looking at Houston's work on Indie rock band members who situate and contextualize their masculinity amidst a range of masculinities, we are able to see the

interconnected avenues that their homosociality takes to work around, through, and with these other masculinities. The alternative masculinities – similar to Greven's discussion of the Beats (2004) – showcases not only new ways of creating friendships (collaborative homosociality) but also the ways that these relationships interact and engage with other masculinities (conflictual homosociality). It is both through the interactions with other band members as well as the real and imagined encounters with other men.

At the same time, in viewing homosocialities in the plural this way we create the ability to see the ways that men, even within friend groups, are able to negotiate the violent interactions with 'outsiders' and others with the desired intimacy of the friends themselves. In seeing it through this lens, we are able to see the men in Flood's research as imbricated in a vast web of overlapping, messy, and complicated homosocialities that tie them to specific forms of violence while showing them seeking a sociality that lies outside of this.

This demarcation, temporary and hesitant, opens up further ways of bringing clarity to our thinking on 'homosociality' – particularly in the act of recognizing it as a part of the process and practice of learning masculinity(ies) one is able to see generational slides of homosociality that may get lost without further clarification of which homosocialities are present in the interaction. In suggesting not simply a division (between 'collaborative' and 'conflictual') but a multiplication of homosocialities, one is able to open up the ways in which various enactments may occur at once – such as a situation where a father relates to his son while simultaneously engaging with his friends or colleagues. Further, this allows for and allocates importance to the challenging ways

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that men interact with each other that does not fall simply as part of a friendship, an exchange of capital, or as a stance towards power relations.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have sought to address and explore the ways various thinkers at distinct points throughout the past forty years have used homosociality. In so doing I have aimed to shed light not on inconsistencies per se, but on the messiness of the term, both in terms of theory and in terms of application. By focusing in on a select number of important pieces, I have shown the multiple ways of interpretation the term and the continued importance of thinking on and about homosociality. In these scholars' work, 'homosociality' has stood in for a variety of issues, relations, concerns, and literal spaces. It has meant, at various points, sets of relationships, a setting, a relational style, a group-distinction marker, and a mere statement about the gender of participants in an event/activity. While each of these has its merit, I contend that this ambiguity has led to a lack of clarity in the object being referred to and misapplication. Relationships are messy – as the following chapters will showcase in multiple ways - but we must be able to discuss them in ways that are clear rather than muddy; so rather than call for a dismissal of mess it is to suggest the need for theoretical clarity and understanding rather than the ambiguities in our current usage of 'homosociality'. Further, it has led thinking towards a functionalist approach to these relationships rather than a nuanced recognition of the affective particulars that are part and parcel of these relationships. So while Kimmel's foundational text talks of "Fear, Shame, and Silence" (Kimmel 1994) one questions

where one can see these messy affective conatives in the way we discuss friendship and homosociality.

To remedy this ambiguity I have put forth the suggestion that we seek to complicate a simple 'homosociality' with an understanding of the complicated and contingent intra-gender relations that fall under the rubric of homosociality and the ways that through lumping these together we misattribute a homogeneity to them that does not, in practice, exist. At the same time, through keeping the term 'homosociality' – rather than abandoning it for terms such as 'friendship' or 'competition' – we are able to see the ways that these are not divided categories but mere sides to a *Janus*. In so doing we also maintain awareness of both the violent means and measures that are often imbricated with homosocial relations while giving space for a broader discussion and grappling with the intimacy, affect, and emotion that is frequently a part of homosocial relationships.

This chapter has aimed to provide a beginning to theorizing through homosociality further, opening up a conversation on a term that, while heavily used, is often left unthought about or theorized. The term, and the relationships that it encompasses, are crucial to understand, particularly in the 21st Century with the dramatic changes to masculinities, increased globalization, and the way that relationships of all ilks are changing form and content through new technological mediations, economic circumstances, and sexual practices. These changes in relationality require new thinking about homosocialities and the attendant practices that these relations encourage, discourage, allow, and make possible.

Further, and importantly, in theorizing homosocialities in this fashion we open up the messiness of the relations while clarifying and doing away with theoretical ambiguity

and confusion. Theorizing homosocialities in this way will also allow us to start thinking about homosociality and the complex ways that it relates to things like friendship (Way 2011; Garfield 2015), mental health (Wilton and Evans 2014; Haggett 2015), suicide (Allan 2015), violence (Kellner 2015), and homophobia (Anderson 2011); rethinking each of these issues and opening up deeper theorizing on the topics that have been central to Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities for the past thirty years and which will continue to be of central importance to the field.

This process of rethinking and working through the concept of homosociality is important for this dissertation in that, firstly, it sets up a set of literature which the dissertation seeks to engage and interact with. Secondly, it positions the concept as central to the overarching themes of the dissertation, and in pushing theorizing in this at the beginning, it aims to assist in beginning thinking that will come later. In the coming chapters the concept will be tackled through various different scenes and settings. Through a deepening of thinking on homosociality, and a more rounded understanding of these relationships, one will better be able to see the interrelations between the guys through this thinking. Further, it will allow the ethnographic vignettes to come together, even as they seem themselves disparate statements about the relationships, as key moments in understanding these relationships. In the next chapter, particularly, I will set up many of these vignettes and narratives, giving ground to the guys' understandings of their relationships and their relation to space and place within the university.

Beyond the concept of homosociality, this chapter has set up the beginnings of a theoretical framework that will stretch out throughout the rest of the chapters. This decision, to spread than to clump the theoretical roots and contributions of the

dissertation, has been made to set up a specific transporting motif throughout the dissertation in the ways that the concepts all intermingle with each other through the lens and rubric of homosociality. As can be seen throughout Chapter 2 and 3, homosociality's iterations and an understanding of the way that these men relate is intimately tied to the (re)conceptualizing of space and time; as, similarly, Chatpers 5 and 6 do the same for sexuality. In situating the the broad swathes of theoretical insights and arguments within the chapters itself it disinters epistemic unity, formations of objectivity, and recognizes a feminist ethics of narrative, that allows for paradox, complexity, and nuance over and above clean-cut theory.

Chapter 2 - Geographies of Life: Work, Space & Relations

Introduction

"Sometimes Tsukuru couldn't understand why he was included in their group of five. Did the others really need *him? Wouldn't they be able to relax and have a better time if he weren't there?… The more he pondered this dilemma, the less he understood. Trying to sort out his value to the group was like trying to weigh something that had no unit value. The needle on the scale wouldn't settle on a number" (Murakami 2014, 17).*

Building on the Introduction's discussion of the state of Higher Education in the United States and a beginning to theorizing on male homosociality in Chapter 1, this chapter will bring that work into relation with the specific case of the University of St. Jerome (USJ) and the all-male residence hall on campus, Regan Hall. In specific, this chapter will aim to open the discussion of the hall and its residents to the way that geography plays a critical role in their lives, and the way that their lives revolve around their relation to spatialized realms – each with their own meanings, and methods of interaction and ways that the space impacts these interactions and itself is an active agent in the relationship. In this way it aims to build on a literature surrounding not merely homosociality but also on space and place making.

The chapter is divided into three large segments, that relate to three groups – each of which relate to space, place, and the university in different ways. The first group goes by the self-created label 'the Step Kids', who set themselves away from the university and aim to re-understand their social position on campus. On the other hand is the 'Man Cave Guys' who find themselves on the outskirts of the hall's social groupings yet remain within the confines of the building to build their relationships and group. The third group, is loosely called the 'Third Floor Group'. As a group they bend both the social and geographic campus structures and meanings as their group is made up of individuals from

all over campus, and secondly because the locus of their activity and the group is not solely related to Regan. Thus, this group demonstrates a narrative outside of that showcased by either the Man Cave Guys or the Step Kids. In each of these large sections I will spend a significant amount of time introducing the group and some of the individuals. In this way, many of the stories in the chapter are meant as introductory stories that help set the scene. This is meant to give the reader the depth of information necessary to start fully understanding the world(s) that these guys live in.

The basic entailment of the chapter is to understand the overlay and overlapping waves of homosociality, space and place, and the various ways that individuals, within each of their groups, takes up the pre-positioned desires for the space and the impacts that this has on the relationships themselves. In other words, it looks to understand specific contextualizations of space and place in relation to homosociality, and the myriad ways that groups come into fruition through these spatial arrangements. While a large amount of discussion and academic literature has showcased the way that homosociality and patriarchal relations between men (not necessarily the same thing) and masculinity, in a variety of ways, is an act that is founded on other men's engagement and acceptance of the conceived of performance of masculinity that is being put on. What this chapter will do, building on this type of literature (much of which is signposted in the previous chapter), is to showcase the ways that space and place are, in nuanced ways, always a part of these homosocial engagements and whether the masculine performance is treated as 'accepted' or not. In this sense, then, each of the following sections will showcase a piece of the argument, focusing on space or group relations or friendship. By focusing on

an element and discussing them somewhat singularly I seek to build up an understanding of them as interlinked and always connected notions. In this sense, there is an overlapping and overlaying of the above given tentative markers of 'conflictual' and 'collaborative' homosocilities; as throughout the chapter there is no singular formation of homosociality that is striven for or received (or perceived), but that these homosocialities are always at play in the interplay between themselves. At no point in this chapter is there ever a discussion of one aspect that is not intertwined with the others. What follows is in large element a discussion of the Lefebvre phrase 'production of space', which he discusses, saying: "There is nothing, in history or in society, which does not have to be achieved and produced" (Lefebvre 1991, 68). He continues, "Thus production in the broad sense of the term embraces a multiplicity of works and a great diversity of forms, even forms that do not bear the stamp of the producer or of the production process" (Ibid., 68). While the chapter does not seek to go through the entire process of production – nor extricate a Marxist analysis throughout – a principle aim is to shed light on this production; relating its production to the production of social relations grounded in specific gendered contexts that are also age specific – and indelibly linked to specific forms of class relations and markation through a connection with the production and reproductive elements of education and the compacted relation that education (in this case higher education) has to the market and its mechanisms for adjudicating lives, loves, and license for what are acceptable means of connection. Further, the intertwining of homosociality with spatiality will be made more clear in relation to the specificity of not just USJ and the role of university in these men's lives, but also the attendant connection this has with age, life-course, and a sense of liminality.

Piecing together various elements of space – the step, the basement, the floor – this chapter seeks to elucidate also the way that a residence (dwelling, house, home) is not merely a 'private' space, but is one which is connected with public displays, codes, lives, and spaces. In which sphere might these spaces be considered? For while Regan is these guys' home (private) it is also their polis (public). In this way, the hall is not simply the public or the private, but a complicated set of interjoined spaces. This connection between the hall as public and private will be discussed below. One is able, then, to move beyond a vision of the dwelling as that which "inverts the strategies of public space" (de Certeau 1984, 52), but as something which is part of the creation of the private and public, sitting at the interstice between assumptively divided elements. Through the narrative of the connectivity of the specificity of the residence hall in this way we are able to see the guys themselves on a variety of stages and performing their masculinities for distinct audiences – which changes the perception, reception, and performance.

In looking at what is in essence housing for university residents, one can gain further insight into the way that these places are not merely microcosms for interrelations, but also begin to see the methods of imposition and the way these students push back against them. In his study of the housing market (in France), Bourdieu suggests that housing is:

> …one of the major foundations of petty-bourgeois misery or, more precisely, of all petty miseries, all the limitations placed on freedom, on wishes, on desires, which encumber life with worries, disappointments, restraints, failures, and also, almost

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inevitably, with melancholia and resentment (Bourdieu 1990, quoted in Bourdieu & Wacquant , 200).

Though Bourdieu is here talking about the housing market for French petite bourgeoisie, one is certainly able to reflect on the connection this has to primarily middle-class young men, and the specific implications that university residence halls have in structuring and making ruled or disciplined their daily and extended lives.

A First Meeting

The first time I met them as a group, they were sitting on the front steps of the building - what I would quickly come to realize is a common occurrence – smoking a cigarette, or so I assumed. The guys were gathered around each other, with some sitting on the steps and others standing nearby, it was still warm enough in October that they didn't need coats yet, even though it was 11pm. The step was illuminated by the lights on the top of the building, which lit up the entire pathway leading from the street to the entrance of the hall. Their conversation could be heard from the front door, 100 feet away, with each of them saying something excitedly; the conversation interspersed with laughter. I was leaving the building for the day, having spent my time hanging out inside the hall. As I walked by, the guys moved over – squishing themselves on the step - to allow me to pass down to the street. I stopped and say hello to Ed, whom I had met once or twice briefly before. I consoled him on the team's loss that night and said "I see you're having a smoke to calm down a little bit."

The group was tolerating my presence, but there was a tension about it as well. Sensing this I began to head down the few stairs and leave when one of them dropped their

'cigarette' on the ground. As it hit the ground it made a hollow metallic sound, bouncing slightly off the pavement. What they dropped was of course not a cigarette but a metal 'one-hitter', used to smoke marijuana out of. This particular one-hitter, like many, was painted to look exactly like a cigarette – white with a brownish filter. With the 'clink, clink, clink' of the metal on the pavement the group grew silent. I walked down the stairs and said, "Be careful, you dropped your metal cigarette." The group erupted in laughter, with each of them noting clearly that I understood what they were doing and was 'in' on this fact. As I walked away a few of the guys made quick little jokes about my response.

The noise of the one-hitter hitting the ground marked the beginning of my relationship with the group, and a gaining of a spot on the outskirts of their milieu. While it was not the first time I had interacted with them, it was the first time that I had come to them – in the literal sense of coming into their world.

The Step sits at the end of the grey concrete pathway that leads from the front entrance of the building down to the sidewalk. It's made up of four short steps, each one with cracks from thousands of students' steps falling on them throughout the years. They sit as the connecting element between the building and the street, the university and the city, the known and unknown. Surrounded on one side by a prickly bush, and on the other side by a receptacle to put out a cigarette, the steps form a platform up into the university's jurisdiction, and down to a world seemingly waiting to be made.

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Further, it is important to remember, as Doreen Massey says, that space is a "product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny" (2008: 9). It is in this way that these guys are self-constituting not only their group in relation to the physical step, but also creating the step through the interrelation with the group itself. Involved in this is the sense that the Step is mobile rather than fixed (Massey 1994: 2), in the same way that the social relations that make up the Step Kids themselves as a group are fluid and in a process of constant ebb, flow, and rupture. Put another way, "social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others" (Lefebvre 1991, 73).

This section is about these men. In calling themselves "the Step Kids", they unconsciously played on the motif of orphans, abandoned by the university. While marginal within the university, they created a web of strong friendships through which they could affirm a shared sense of intimacy and friendship. In their position on campus, they worked from a subordinate position, challenging a dominant version of masculinity; acting as collective resistance to defend a marginal space. In this way, the chapter is about space, marginality, friendship, and the men working through a subordinate masculine position. This marginalization will come through at various points in the chapter, demonstrating the ways that these guys find themselves in-between various positions and on the outskirts of others.

The Step Kids

The 'Step Kids' are a large group comprised of various smaller cliques or groupings. Who is all part of the larger, or smaller groups, is – as with any grouping – up for debate

amongst the different members. The first member of the Step Kids that I met was Ed, who is usually just referred to as 'Chicago' in homage to his Chicago Irish roots, as well as his deep commitment to the Chicago Cubs baseball team. He is a lanky guy, with his hair trimmed short and a sharp smile always on his face. There is a certain strut not just to his walk but also his personality. After his strut, the second thing you notice is his Chicago accent, tinted with a strong hint of Irish brogue. All four of his grandparents moved to the US from Ireland when they were in their late teens, two of which live with him and his parents now. One grandfather was a laborer, working on lawns and maintenance.

He grew up in a little neighborhood on the South side of Chicago with a large group of kids. "There is always neighborhood loyalty" he tells me to describe his relation to the other guys he grew up with. This has particular ethnic connotations as all of his friends and neighbors are Irish. He describes them as pretty typical "middle class, Irish, Catholics." He says that "it wasn't even like cliques" and that they would always do things together. "I miss those guys a ton living out here. That's the hardest part about coming to school here is leaving your friends." This is the mentality he brings to his relations in college and in Regan.

For him, his friends are a large part of what it means to be in college. "I hang with the crew, that's what we do." At the same time, though, he sees this as a period for new experiences. "I always thought of college as you go and do something on your own, something you've never done before, something completely different. You put yourself

out where it is just you and you just got to do your own thing, you got to make it work. Like a challenge kind of… People often think I'm running away from something, but it's the exact opposite… I just thought of college as like you're on you own, if I was like 30 minutes from home I'm not going to consider that on my own." The relationships he has with his friends and his opinion about what college is about are meant to be demonstrative not just of a clear vision of these objects themselves, but also the connection between them; with one being necessitated by and going hand in hand with the other. For Ed, friendship and college go hand in hand. Each necessitates the other. The relationships he has with his friends and his opinion about what college is about is meant to be demonstrative not just of a clear vision of these objects themselves, but also the connection between them; with one being necessitated and going hand in hand with the other.

Ed talks about Regan, making very clear that it was not something he was looking forward to. "I didn't ask to be put in Regan. I wanted to be in Herald. Regan wasn't even on my list [of preferences], and then I got put here." This is a common story amongst most of the guys of Regan. In trying to describe why he didn't want to live in Regan, he says that "Obviously, being a freshman you don't want an all-male dorm, you know what I mean? You don't want to be like 3 floors of all guys. I wanted to be co-ed like Herald, it's supposedly the fun dorm for freshman, so I was so angry." Though this was his initial thought, he says that "its actually not as bad as I thought it'd be. I thought it'd be like so shitty, I thought it'd be awful; and it's actually not that bad. I met a lot of cool guys here." He continues, "I actually think I would prefer it now. Other than the fact that my

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two best buddies live over there [Herald] I think I would rather be here because it's at least somewhat quiet and not crazy all the time. If I got work to do I can get it done here and concentrate here." In this way they find themselves engaging with a justificatory means to them living with all men. They are able to collectively work away from the imposed stigma of the building but connecting with each other and the building in a more positive fashion. So while almost all of the residents come into the building saying they don't want to be there – and many actively trying to transfer buildings – most of them leave feeling a strong connection to the building, their friends, and the types of relationships that they created while living there. Like the other Regan residents, Ed finds a way to justify living with all men. They are able to collectively work away from the imposed stigma of the building by connecting with each other and the building in a more positive fashion. So while almost all of the residents come into the building saying they don't want to be there – and many actively trying to transfer building – most of them leave the building feeling a strong connection to the building, their friends, and the types of relationships that they created while living there.

Ed's experience is a common one shared by many of the other Step Kids, as well as other residents of the building more broadly. There is a widespread sense of newness to the college experience, but also a feeling of missing what they no longer have; in particular the close contact with their friends from high school – their friends were, for the most part, all men. I ran into Aaron, another one of the Step Kids, one night after he had been drinking. It was near Christmas Break and he began talking about what he was planning on doing back home, and how much he missed his high school friends. "I miss my boys

at home. And I'm going to see them soon over Christmas break. Then I'm going to miss my boys here though." In his intoxicated state he continued, "I am [going to miss them]. I have such good boys. They're so awesome. I'm going to miss my boys here when I go home over break." There is a sense of in-betweenness here. He misses his friends at home, but fears for missing his friends here at university. He was very intoxicated and was almost falling down at various points in the short conversation and walk down the hall towards his room. He was surrounded by his friends; in particular Brady who wasn't drinking that night in order to take care of Aaron. This arrangement was labeled as 'taking care of one's bro', and was a sign of affection and dedication.

The feeling of closeness with one's friends was paramount for all of the guys in the group, with each of them expressing the importance of their relations to their lives. In talking with Felix, he told me about how in high school he had arguments with his parents about the amount of time he was spending with his friends, with him wanting to spend every moment with them. He told me that now that he had come to college he was starting to understand that he didn't need to be with them at all times. This change was in part due to a broadening of his friend groups. When looking at all of the groups together he ended up hanging with one of them for the majority of his week. This is true for most of the guys, as the amount of time that they spend in class is small and they often have no other major time commitments. This means that the majority of their time is devoted to socializing and studying, the latter of which can be done while simultaneously socializing. When asking them to guess as to how much time they spend with their friends some say as much as 60 or 80 hours a week, amounting to two full time jobs. This

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time commitment is something that is specific to this period of their lives, as once they move out of their college years many of them will get full time jobs and have other obligations. There is then an added emphasis to this period and these friendships that is all but unobtainable at other points in their lives.

One of the particular elements of these guys' relationships is the amount of time that is spent in forming, shaping, and maintaining them. Tim Perry told me about the fact that he spends a large amount of time with the guys. "Every single day, whether it's for an hour or eight hours, I am with Val and Paulson. Because we're just like, I'm not sure… We just work." He continues, describing the reason that he is friends with these guys. "We don't necessarily need to be doing anything. We don't need to be drinking to have fun, or playing video games to have fun, or talking about sports to have fun. We could be sitting in this room all complaining about our homework and we'd still be having fun because we're making jokes and we're talking about this that and the other." This form of nonchalance and seeming inactivity is of deep importance for these guys, as is the sense of spending so much time together. Through this they are able to build strong bonds of friendship with each other.

In much the same way that these relations are shaped by the geographic spatial arrangements, so too are they propelled by the temporal element that is not just important but is constitutive of the way that these men form their relationships and see their friendships. For not only do they spend their 'social time' with friends, but they also spend most meals socializing and live in close proximity to each other. In this way, their

spatial order and disposition is prompted and furthered by a temporal epoch, with them imbricated upon one another. These conceptions of time will be dealt with explicitly in the next chapter.

The various individuals stay connected with each other through a wide array of means, with different mediums allowing for the inclusion or exclusion of others. This ranges from text messages, message groups, Facebook, to stopping in to each other's rooms. As Ed lives on the first floor, Felix and Aaron frequently stop into his room before heading up to their own rooms on the 3rd floor. Most of the guys have smartphones, which allow for them to send group text messages, which means that the whole group can figure out plans or activities together – keeping everyone in the loop. While there is a large Step Kids text group, there are also text groups for each of the sub-groups. While this allows for a greater amount of communication, it also creates spaces that can exclude individuals. This happened with Ed's roommate Al. While Al was originally part of the group and hung out with the guys frequently, by second semester he was no longer being invited to events and had been taken off of the group messages.

Al is a short, thin guy, who wears large necklaces with wood medallions, as well as a rotating selection of baseball hats from various sports teams. He is filled with a form of sharp bravado that can be off-putting, and seems to have stemmed from years of practiced distance. He was on sports teams in high school, but was never quite good enough to be a starter, and was therefore excluded from some of the privileges granted high school athletes. A few days before the end of the first semester he was caught

smoking pot in his room and was told he needed to go to the conduct board. The day after returning from winter break he was again caught in possession of marijuana in his room – prior to the original hearing that was scheduled. In a desperate state, he pleaded with his friends to come to his defense and show the conduct board that he was a good student and was going to turn his life around and stop getting into trouble. The Step Kids came to his defense, with some of them writing letters to the board and others coming to the hearing. After the hearing, and the decision to put him on probation (rather than suspend him), Al started to become more distant from the group. Al says that he was excluded, while many of the other guys say that the problem was that he never understood the severity of the problem and wasn't willing to make any changes. One guy told me that after returning from the conduct board, where he had pledged to stop smoking pot, he came back into his room and asked, "Who wants to get high?!"

The exclusion of Al is not, in reality, primarily about his pot smoking – particularly as many of the Step Kids themselves smoke. It is about the way that the group sees its time at university, and, particularly, the way that these relations are cemented in actions and deeds. Many of the group members considered Al's actions leading up to and after the hearing to be harmful to the group and the relations formed. There is a paradoxically clear and yet ambiguous claim to one's friends. Though this is clear for the guys themselves, there is no single way of talking about the ambiguously firm way that their relationships are based on words, actions, and feelings.

While these are portraits of just a few of the guys who form the broad grouping of the Step Kids, it is important also to give some sense of the ways that these guys themselves discuss the group, and the sub-groups that form the larger picture. The moniker 'The Step Kids' is something taken up by these guys with pride, and stems from the origin story of the group, which is also the way that many of these guys themselves met. This label is almost like a team name, or a badge of honor.

Before the first week of school there is Orientation Week, which is meant to get all of the first year students acclimatized to the university. There are reading groups for an assigned book, meetings about sexual assault, student organization fairs, social gatherings and many other events. One student, Tim, told me "I loved my first week here. Because we didn't have a lot of academic responsibilities and you I just met a lot of new people. I was able to be really social. I started the inner workings of the friendships I still have now." Talking with Ed about his Orientation Week, one gets the distinct impression that many of these meetings and events went unattended. The flipside to the university's sponsored events are the various parties that occur just 'off campus' – a term which indicates not so much geographic distance as it does a sense of not being owned or controlled by the university. So while the university organizes large social events to keep students both on campus – and therefore not drinking – many smaller scale parties are thrown by students living partially beyond the reaches of the university. Many students come to university with a very distinct image of 'college life' in their head, and that often can begin and end with alcohol.

While not all of the Step Kids are big drinkers, many of them drink fairly often; and it is in fact one of the organizing elements that brought them together. The step itself, sitting just outside of the building is both outside of the hall proper (and therefore outside of the physical reaches of the Residence Life staff) yet still within the boundaries of the broader campus (with its attendant Public Safety presence) and part of their known universe. During Orientation Week, after the first night going out to parties, Ed met Felix and Aaron. They all had congregated to the step – some to smoke, some to share stories from the night. Throughout the next couple of nights, they all met up on the step before heading out for the night, discussing where the parties are, which parties are the best, and who is going where.

This type of activity continued throughout the semester and year. Tim describes it wonderfully, saying "first semester when it was nice out, we would be there like all day every day. Any given time between 10pm and 3am on a Thursday through Saturday you could find at least five guys out there chilling." This activity formed out of the initial interactions that took place on the concrete steps at the beginning of the year. When I asked him about his friends at university generally, he started immediately in about the Step Kids. What he said was very enlightening. "We were just talking about this the other night. Everyone that I hang out with, or at least all my really close friends, kind of all fall under this umbrella. We like to call ourselves 'the Step Kids'. That's just kind of our name because... right outside of Regan, you know that step, with the three little steps? Right next to the tree?" Not only is it something that guides their relationship, but also it is something that they are aware of and discuss. He finishes by locating the step for me

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with geographic markers, even though it is something we have talked about before. For him, and the rest of the guys, the step is a place that is almost its own territory beyond the building and the building community.

There is a sense of, to use Marilyn Strathern's term, replication; as the collective group shapes and alters each other's behaviors and visions of self, invoking a sense of other (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994: 43). We are able to see this in the way that while the step served/serves as a foundational tool (and foundation) for the group, it also impacts on the way that the guys move through and around campus and the behaviors they partake in (increases in smoking or drinking being one possibility). One of the difficulties, though, is that this group is impossibly tentative, and while unifying in some ways is also fragmentary.

In our interview, Tim tells me not just about the larger grouping of the Step Kids, but also about the fluid and mercurial partitions amongst the group. "We would always hang out there and call ourselves the Step Kids; and the way we think about it is there is kind of 3 individual colonies, but they all interact with each other. That makes up our friend group." So while there are three smaller groups, the groups – in this descriptor – all interact and form a broader friend group. The three groups that he lists are divided by a sense of space and distance, with the group that he most associates with being primarily located on his own floor. The other two groups, with some exceptions, share a similar pattern. This is a similar way to the way Felix describes it to me. Felix names the groups: 'close group', '3 South', and '2nd Floor'. What is worth noting though is the fact that

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these geographic groups are exceptionally supple in the way that they can include and exclude people at different points from the interaction.

It is important to get a sense of size for these groups, as various guys have dramatically different counts as to who is part of the groups. Felix divides them nicely into three groups of 5, whereas for Tim his original group is smaller whereas the other groups take on a more amorphous shape. Al, who sits somewhat on the outskirts of the group even though he lives with another Step Kid, describes the Step Kids as basically one large group; which is similar to the way that Ed describes it, with different connotations. "We were all just Step Kids before, like, you've heard the Step Kids shit. Like we'd all meet up at the Step and smoke some cigs and pack lips when we were coming back from parties late at night. And they were always Step Kids, but second semester we just starting hanging all the time now. Like we're hanging out on a day-to-day basis… We're like one huge group now, not two separate groups." He is talking about the way that not just their activities, but also the specific spatial arrangements of the step brought them together.

The geography formed or hoped for by the Step Kids is distinct from the vision of the building created by the Staff. The Staff – as well as the institution writ large – seek to create a geography of the building that prioritizes the apparatus of the institution itself. In her book *My Freshman Year*, Rebekah Nathan describes the "fifty-seven different formal bulletin board displays in my residence hall", using this to describe the mentality of community that was being placed onto the hall by the staff – she also looked at the

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messages on the student's white boards on their doors (2006: 22-23). These bulletin

boards are part of the process of geographic construction by the staff (both RAs and the

Hall Director) to try and push the building in a specific direction and for specific

purposes. Moffatt (1991), in very anthropological fashion, showcased maps of not only

campus but also of the floor that he was studying. These maps, while accurate, and

displaying the institution's intents, leave out the complicated overlaid ways that the

inhabitants are utilizing the space. Most recently, Armstrong and Hamilton (2013) talked

about the 'party pathways' that existed on the campus they studied, and the way that the

university not only accepted this but also furthered them. In all three of these examples

we see the ways that geographies play a strong role in setting up a campus and which is

strongly impacted by the staff rather than given over to the students. The students' vision

of the campus, as we'll see throughout the chapter, is not always in conflict with the

institution's, but is frequently disjointed from it.

Tim tells me about the three groups, telling me that "So, there are like three individual

groups; and we would each like… if you asked any one of these guys in any one of these

individual groups who their original core gang is, if they had to choose one sub-section,

they would say these people. But all three of these groups kind of interact with each other

so much. And I can say that I'm friends with every single one of these guys. And they

would say, and every single one of these guys would say they're friends with me and

everyone else." After telling me that all of these guys are all friends with each other, he

proceeds to tell me that when he gets back to Regan he will immediately go and hang out

with the guys who are close to him on his floor. "I'm probably not going to immediately

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walk in and go up to the 2nd floor to talk to [those guys]…" Here one sees a disjuncture between the stated idea about one large group and the reality of smaller cliques that associate with each other. This disjointed position is crucial for providing an opening to the messiness of these homosocial relations as well as to the practice and process of group building that is necessitated by spatial relations of imbalance.

Conflict with Herald Hall

The Step Kids are just one group, amongst many, both within the building and on campus more generally. Part of the mentality of residents in Regan is that they are at a huge social advantage because of where they live. Al said that not only did it put him at a social disadvantage; he didn't feel he was able to interact with women because they immediately thought less of him for living in Regan. This sentiment led to extraordinary forms of camaraderie, but at the same time often resulted in conflicts.

Herald hall sits directly next to the main part of campus, right near the bright green space of the quad and union. It is the second tallest building and residence hall on campus at 12 stories, holding just over 700 first year students. The building has been the 'party dorm' on campus for years, with some people coming to USJ just for Herald Hall. The university's Residence Life webpage has this to say about Herald: "If you are a first-year student looking to be amid the action, Herald is it." This mentality is taken up by students each year, creating not just a specific type of community in the building itself but fostering inter-hall conflict.

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While almost all of the Step Kids live in Regan there are two members of the group that live in Herald Hall. It is a common occurrence on campus for there to be this connection between buildings, but one that, in this instance, has created some tensions. The tension is not amongst the Step Kids, but is about the reactions that the Step Kids get from other residents of Herald, and the responses they give back. Throughout the school year there had been a couple of interactions between members of the Step Kids and a group of guys from Herald Hall. At a party earlier in the year, one guy from Herald apparently sucker punched Paulson, causing the groups to go outside. It seemed that the Herald guy had thought that Paulson was hitting on a girl that he was interested in, and so punched him. This fight over a woman is not an uncommon occurrence, though the physicality of it marks it out as something more than ordinary. While the dispute over girl capital (Mears 2014, 2015)

Once the two groups were outside a number of them started throwing punches and scuffling. Ed describes it saying, "It wasn't a crazy fight, it was just kind of wrestling in the snow. A couple of sucker punches." After this short scuffle, they all dispersed. "We were all hamming drunk. The kids who had the fight we all went back and kind of passed out. Woke up the next morning and were like 'Jesus Christ, why was he in your face?'… Couldn't tell you what the kids looked like… probably a good thing."

The way that Ed begins this story is by saying that "Someone hits your friend, and you hit the guy who hit your friend. Then, that's your boy." He continues, stating, "You want to know that your boys have your back like that… I know those guys feel the same way

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too." It is this mentality of almost tribalism and need to have security which can further these conflicts, though the catalyst for the fights is far more often drinking and bravado than camaraderie. These fights might also be compared, in some ways, to the practice of sparring in boxing – in the sense that they are not life or death situations, nor do most fights result in massive injury. Loïc Wacquant describes sparring, saying:

> …every time a boxer steps into the ring, be it to 'shake out' with a novice, he puts a fraction of his symbolic capital at stake: the slightest failing or slip up… brings immediate embarrassment to the fighter as well as to his gym-mates who hasten to assist his 'corrective face-work' so as to restabilize the fuzzy and labile status order of the gym… (Wacquant 2004, 79).

Sparring, unlike the unsystematized fights between Regan and Herald, is generally a contained and constrained practice. At the same time, the tussles between Regan and Herald showcase the putting on of specific performative airs. Continuing with sparring, one is frequently not allowed to spar with other gym-mates until the coach thinks they are ready, and until that point are left to spar with the punching bags. This, it should be understood, allows for a control of the stakes involved in sparring; which is not to say that sparring is not dangerous. The Step Kids' movement into a direct conflict with Herald forgoes sparring and jumps into the ring *sans* protection. This, then, means that the potential for loss of *face* and *capital* (to use both Erving Goffman's and Pierre Bourdieu's terms) is far greater out in the snow of a Midwest winter front lawn than it is in the sparring ring. Further, the "face-saving practices", which Wacquant is referring to, are not manageable in the same way for a street brawl. While those involved certainly do not want trouble, the ability to make the second 'corrective' move is lessoned in the heat

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of the moment (Goffman 1967, 21-23). In this form, they must resort to post-conflict justifications and methods to address the grievance.

Their use of the phrase 'sucker punch' connotes so much. First, it suggests that it is not just the punching that is wrong, but the way that it is gone about. It is a way of designating appropriate conduct even what is appropriate violence, and creating a moral tapestry of the actions. A sucker punch, in the way used here, is meant to indicate punching someone when they aren't expecting it, without any warning at all. Ed, however, also uses it more broadly in talking about the actions of both the Herald guys and the Step Kids, to mean a more general punch. There is the unstated claim that a sucker punch is less acceptable than others. In this way calling something a 'sucker punch' makes a claim and judgment about the fact that the situation should have been handled differently, and that if the person doing the sucker punch had wanted to have a physical confrontation they first should have said so. It is a difficult position to come to grips with, as it is paradoxical in its acceptance of violence and the notion that violence was acceptable in that instance. What becomes evident is the way that fighting, and violence, is both a part of these men's lives, but also an element of their friendships in the way that these scraps acted as means of showcasing the strength of the relationship (Karioris 2014, 106).

The conflict escalated near the end of the school year in a large incident between many of the Step Kids and the Herald group. On the Saturday night two weeks before finals week many of the guys had decided to drink. Ed had a party that he was invited to for his job,

hosted by a few junior and senior students; while a bunch of the rest of the guys had been drinking in the residence halls. Rickey Harwell ended up sitting in the lobby of Herald Hall, drunk and out of it. One of the Herald guys came up to him and, according to Felix, sucker punched him in the face as he was just sitting there sluggishly in the lobby. Nothing happened at this point, as the guy just shrugged it off and continued with his night. Ed, who had been at the party and gotten very intoxicated, met up with the guys later that night at a different party. When Felix and Aaron told him what had happened he got irately upset and wanted to get even for it. He wanted to figure out who the guys were that did this and where they were. Walking around the main food street on campus at 1:30am, Ed and the guys ended up spotting one of the guys sitting in NYC Pizza Co., one of the main late night hang outs, which was full of people eating after a long night of drinking. Ed immediately got up in his face (literally getting close and putting one's face near the others, as well as creating physical bodily contact), demanding to know why he did that and what was wrong with him.

With heated words being exchanged, the confrontation started getting louder and louder, with a crowd gathering around them. Not too long into this Ed decked the guy in the face, swinging wildly and striking poorly. As soon as Ed had thrown the first punch the guy's friends jumped in and started pummeling Ed. In amongst the crowd, Ed was taking punches from six guys at once, in his drunken state trying to keep himself on his feet and his hands in the air. The fight didn't last but for a minute or two, as Public Safely showed up to the scene. Public Safety is the university's de facto police force, though their

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powers are not as extensive as that of the actual police.[118] Rather than get out of their cars to figure out what was happening, the Public Safety officers stayed in their car, shining a bright light onto the group and announcing on their car's megaphone for everyone to disperse. The crowd that was gathered quickly fled into the dark night, fearing being associated with the event, including both Ed and the Herald guys. Ryan, another Step Kid, helped Ed get back to Regan Hall and started cleaning up his wounds, while Felix and Aaron went looking around the area for the guys that had 'started the fight'. With the night near its natural end anyways, everyone quickly made their way back to Regan. Those who were still awake and not too drunk smoked a cigarette on the steps before heading into the building for the night.

The next morning, with everyone recovering from their hangovers and Ed still reeling from his wounds, they found themselves barraged on Twitter. The Herald guys had taken to the twittersphere and were calling Ed a "bitch" and saying that he was in trouble. When I talked to Felix a few days later he told me that he was concerned about what might happen and if there was going to be further trouble. He told me that the way he saw this was that it was really a conflict between two buildings, Regan and Herald. For him, the Herald guys were making fun of them for living in Regan, and that that was grounds enough for mocking.

When I finally met up with Ed a couple days after the fight he told me "You should have seen me right after the fight. I couldn't open my eye." The whole left side of his face was

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[118] Just this past year USJ's Public Safety have officially become a police force, extending their powers further.

bruised, and his eye solidly black and blue. He was lucky not to have broken any teeth, though it looked like he was close to breaking his eye socket. None of the other guys sustained any injuries. This violence is taken in stride, and is hidden away from family members. So while Ed had told his father about it, he was worried about his mother finding out because he was headed home in just a couple of weeks. Not only this, but he went to the doctor to get his face examined and told them that he had fallen, rather than that he had gotten into a fight. The unwritten code is that one does not talk about these events; nor does one report them to the university. If they are dealt with at all, they are treated as something to be taken care of by informal systems of self-ordained codes and retributory actions rather than through the university system of legislation and punishment.

Part of this conflict is a negotiation of the meaning and understanding of both Regan as a symbolic place, but also of residents of Regan's place within a campus geography that works through figurative and existent realms of capital and power.

Inscribed in this friction is also intragroup tactics of seeking to create a 'proper'. Michael de Certeau talks about 'tactics' as "a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization)… It has at its disposal no base where it can capitalize on its advantages, prepare its expansions, and secure independence with respect to circumstances" (de Certeau 1988: xix). He continues, saying, "it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized 'on the wing.' Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into 'opportunities'" (Ibid., xix).

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The conflict with Herald is an altercation between two elements seeking to move outside of the institutional framework of the university. Though they are by proximity and status part of the system their actions put them in the place of resisting authority. While they are both stepping out of the university's boundaries, it is not a contest between two equally externalized visions of college life. Herald Hall dominates both the university campus and the institutional motifs of the meaning of life at college. Ed and the Step Kids, by attaching themselves to the step work to form a proper – a spatial localization – from which to find and situate themselves amongst the broader spectrum. Put simply, they are seeking to save and create a masculine facade in the face of and against a more privileged space (Herald Hall), masculinity, and group.

Felix said that he didn't think that there would be any problems this weekend though, as it was the weekend before finals and no one was planning to go out (or go out too heavy [a demarking of that some drinking is acceptable, but it would be more calm] at least). The problem, he said, was next year. There might not be any more run-ins this year, but the 'beef' was certainly not settled. He is specifically concerned about what will happen next year when most of the Step Kids will be living in Stone Hall, as will most of the Herald Hall residents. Stone Hall is the second year equivalent of Herald, where the partying continues into the second year. The USJ website says that all of its facilities and central location "make it one of the most popular choices for returning students." Ed said, "We're going to live together next year, we're all in the same building. So we're going to see these kids a lot… I don't think anything will happen this year." With many of them

living in the same building next year, Felix knows that there will be problems. The way he puts it is simple: "This isn't over." It isn't a threat the way he says it, but is a statement of fact.

The Step Kids represent one small group amongst the guys in Regan and the broader campus. Yet they demonstrate the malleable nature of the relations that are produced, encouraged (and discouraged), allowed, and created by a specific university residence system. These men's stories showcase a sense of friendship beyond the way the media often talks about men's relationships, as well as beyond the very narrow confines of what is often talked about as occurring on campus. They are not fickle, unintimate, or unemotive, but are tied up with complex forms of masculine enactments that bind them towards specific iterations and practices. Further, their conflict with Herald demonstrates the ways that spatial relations are dramatically linked to formations of relationships that – though seeking out capital – are never simplistic or exhausted reservoirs of hierarchy. These guys have tried to create their own world, their own space to call their own. Situating themselves, and being placed by others, in a position of marginality on campus, these men struggle to find a place for themselves, and through this struggle form deep bonds with their friends.

Near the end of the year Ed told me that "Its going to be weird not seeing these guys every single day… Since August we've seen each other every single day." They had built a life around and upon one another, setting their relationships in relation to the Step. They were all heading home for the summer, before returning next year as second-year

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students. They had all worked diligently so that next year their living arrangements were such that the group maintained itself – with most of the members of the group living in Stone Hall.

In *Dislocating Masculinity*, Chenjerai Shire builds a discussion about masculinity around masculine spaces in Zimbabwe, specifically the dare, which was the "traditional meeting place of men" (1994: 147). This traditional meeting place is structure specifically as a masculine space, where the elders have power over the younger men. The dare fits as a space for men to discuss the issues important to them. In a similar way, Regan, as an all-male residence hall, and the steps in front of it act as meeting places for men and spaces for the display, consolidation, and formation of their masculinities. Unlike in the dare, the authority of elders (in this case in the form of RAs and the Hall Director) is secondary to the inter-generational relations that are prioritized by these guys.

These men's relation to their residence hall and the spatial geography that makes it up is not a simple one, but one fraught with contest, conflict, and reconfiguration. The clean narrative of the university and its place in these men's lives does little justice to both the creative methods these men use in refashioning their world and laying meaning onto the already meaningful. Nor does the university's discourse recognize its own role in setting up a system that reinforces and perpetuates a hierarchy that puts students into conflict with each other, building micro-nations rather than a broader campus community.

Through a study of these men's interactions and relationships, not just with their friends but also with their place in the geography of campus, a clearer picture forms of the way that residential programs play a strong role in shaping life-long friendships that are premised upon contacts made in an unequal grouping of connections. While the friendships of that first year may last many of them for life, the masculine camaraderie they constructed will always be vulnerable to weight of dominant masculinity. From this, it is possible to see the ways in which their masculinity confirms a wider structure of inequality between men and women. But their masculinity, as they lived it, was also a lived affirmation of equality.

In this first section of this chapter I described a group of guys who called themselves the 'Step Kids', and showcased some of the various elements that make up the group and the way that they interact with their environment, creating their own world and addressing and redressing their status on the University of St. Jerome's campus as second class citizens, stemming from the fact that they live in Regan Hall, which is all men. They actively sought to counteract, contradict, and undermine the impression that people had of Regan Hall, while repositioning themselves in such a way to gain status in the general campus. In large part, the Step Kids found themselves at odds with the campus stereotype of them and pushed back against this. Their presentation of desire was not incompatible with that of the dominant one within campus, but was in conflict due to the position they held on campus. They worked through this using various spatial geographies of meaning, and by opening up channels for the production of new meanings of spaces.

The Basement

Narratives are, by Michael de Certeau's formation, structures of "spatial syntaxes" (de Certeau 1988, 115). Not only that, but narratives are also then "travel stor[ies] – a spatial practice" (115), "stories of journeys and actions are marked out by the 'citation' of the places that result from them or authorize them" (Ibid., 120). It is then pressing for this story of Regan to travel, from the step to the basement. Though the Step Kids are a large group, they present only one facet of the guys from Regan Hall. In this section I am going to discuss a very different grouping of guys; but one that, similarly, finds their relationships connected and brought into focus by a locale. This group of guys calls itself by a couple of names, but for the most part go by either the 'the basement crew' or the 'Man Cave Guys'.

Like most residence halls, Regan has a number of 'common areas', which is a way of talking about spaces which are open to the general building rather than being set off for specific individuals (as rooms are). Common areas in the building range in size, use, and condition, from the very small to the very large, from the barely used to the used every day. Floors two and three of the three story building each have their own study rooms with desks, tables, and chairs. These spaces are almost never used by students, except for the occasional study session near finals week, or for infrequent meetings. Most of the rest of the common areas are in the basement. Since USJ is a Catholic university, most of their residence halls have a small chapel. In Regan Hall the chapel was added very recently at the request of students and student staff. Its walls are adorned with hand-painted images from the bible, and it has a deep mahogany wood alter at the front of the room. There is also a piano room, a large meeting room, and a weight room – all of

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which require a key to be checked out at the front desk. Further, there is a study room that houses the hall store – which sells basic food items on weekday nights – and a quiet study room with more than ten study cubicles. The laundry room is heavily used (though maybe not as heavily as it should be) while the piano room and chapel are more frequently empty than not. Also in the basement is an almost entirely unused computer lab. These spaces have remained fairly consistent elements in the building for a long period of time, and show signs of wear and use.

The basement of Regan also used to include a dining hall, where residents could eat their meals. An integral part of any campus residential system is its dining facilities, which feed all of the students living in the residence halls. With USJ's large residential system, this means that there is a large need for dining halls spread throughout the campus. Roughly eight years ago the residential dining facilities started changing the way that they serviced students and, in particular, the hours of service for food. Most basically, they began to keep certain dining halls open on campus later, allowing students greater access to these dining facilities. In conjunction with this they also moved away from a complex system of numerical meals per semester to a meal plan that gave every student unlimited meal swipes. In doing this they altered the pattern of people dining in the different halls, and needed to adjust the location of dining halls. Both of these changes were due to student demand, increased costs/price for the service from the provider, and a desire to basically monopolize students' eating for greater periods. As they made these changes they decided that it was no longer viable to have a dining hall in Regan. The exact reasoning for the closing of the cafeteria is difficult to fully speculate on, but it

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might have to do with the rundown conditions of the building in general and the need to centralize dining options to cut down on staffing and food costs. So while there are now numerically fewer dining halls open, students have, the food provider says, greater access to food generally. Students at Regan now get their meals at a variety of halls: Herald (which has one of the largest dining halls), Stone (which does Italian food), Kemp (the "good option" but far away), and Helpin (which has a 50s style diner menu). They closed the dining hall down some five years ago to great protest by residents of Regan. This changed not simply the ability to eat in the hall itself but also one of the primary movers of creating cohesion for the hall and removing a strong building block of collective pride in the building. Having their own dining hall provided many students with a positive feeling about the building. Understanding the importance of the dining hall and students' frustration and its removal, they told students that something new and exciting would go into its place.

The university's Residence Life office decided that they would turn the old cafeteria space into a true basement. The space they had was very large, with a main room and two side spaces shooting off of it. Determined to revitalize the building, they began tearing out the old flooring and cafeteria furniture. They closed off the space that held the kitchen, keeping this as is and allowing a charity to cook food there throughout the week. The main body of the cafeteria was carpeted and had new lights put in. They furnished the basement with large couches, high tables and chairs, and low bean-bag chairs. In addition to this, they added two pool tables, a foosball table, air hockey table, and a ping-pong table. On one side of the room they added a projector TV and screen, putting the

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couches around the area in a 'U' shape, and in one of the side wings they set the bean-bag chairs up in front of a TV movie theater style. As a basement, the space doesn't have any windows besides tiny storm drain ones that sit at the top of the wall and are only a few inches tall, so the space is almost entirely lit by overhead lighting. With all of these additions, the Office of Residence Life baptized the space anew as 'The Man Cave'. The university officially named it "The Man Cave" and all of the staff (student and professional) referred to it as such. It was now to be an enactment of the stereotypical man's basement, full of 'boy's toys' and a space 'where men can be men'. The space was designed as a way to both placate those frustrated by the removal of the dining hall as well as create a space for community building activities amongst the residents.

Now in its fifth year as a space for the guys in Regan, it's various activities are well used, with some already in need of repair. The redesign of the basement was also due to the fact that the university considered changing Regan into a co-ed hall, which was met by outrage by alumni of the building. The basement redesign was a way of signifying the continued status of the building as all-male, at least for the moment. In dubbing it "The Man Cave" the university administration acquiesced to student calls for the building to stay single-sex, showing the way that students are able to mobilize and achieve results as well as demonstrating the importance of the building's status as single-sex was for former residents of the building.

The Man Cave Guys

At the beginning of the year, during Orientation Week, all of the guys in the building move into their rooms and start to meet roommates, explore the building, and get to know

the campus. For residents in Regan, this process frequently is built on the back of feelings of not wanting to be living in Regan. Most of the guys who end up living in the hall are put there not because they chose to but because they were not able to get into any other hall. One student who did put Regan as one of his choices is Leo, who had Regan as his second choice, under Herald. He says that he wanted to live in Herald because "It's the fun dorm. There's girls there." This sums up, in a nutshell, what many of the guys feel when they get their room assignment and move into the building. It is a disappointment and something to be overcome. This 'overcoming' happens through a variety of methods, some of which will be talked about in Chapter 4.

The Man Cave plays a large role in the guys' first experience of Regan, as all of the check-in activities for the hall take place there on move-in day. They get their room and mailbox keys, get their room contract, sign their medical information form, and meet some of the building staff – including Resident Assistants (RAs), Desk Receptionists (DRs), Hall Ministers (HMs), and the Hall Director (HD).[119] All of this underlines the importance that the Man Cave has taken on in the hall and, at least initially, for the new residents.

Near the beginning of the year I was hanging out in the Man Cave with a group of guys, and found some of them playing a game of pool. Mason, a first year black student from the area, was playing against Jeremy, who is a white first year student from just outside of the city. They both share a strong interest in the local NBA team, and were talking

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[119] 'Resident Assistant' is also, often, 'Resident Advisor'. In Student Affairs there is an aversion to using the word 'dorm', preferring instead 'residence hall'.

about Mason's experience of going to a game a few weeks before. Mason said that there had been some "obnoxious people" who were sitting behind him. He talked about how they were talking really loudly and were disrupting his ability to watch the game. He said that he didn't want this to happen again so had decided – for the next game that he attended – to make sure that people wouldn't bug him. So he bought two seats to his right, two seats to his left, the four seats in front of him, and the four behind him – or at least this is what he told everyone. After telling everyone this, he immediately pulled out his phone and showed everyone a picture of all the tickets that he had bought. Jeremy, in shocked disbelief, asked, "How much did you spend doing that?" Mason, responding in a lethargic and relaxed fashion, said, "I can't remember, you know." His response spoke to both dismissing the question while also making sure that everyone knew he had bought, and been able to buy, the tickets. This type of action – buying a huge amount of tickets for no one – was a challenge to the rest of the guys for a couple reasons. Firstly, they were huge sports fans and always jumped at any and every chance to attend a game, so it felt like being slighted by not being invited; and secondly, it was taken as a display of not just money but also power. It was an enactment of specific class display that, in the US particularly, is tied to racial backgrounds. For the guys though, it seemed that mostly this was about the ability to go to the game, the ridiculousness of buying seats for no one, and some frustration and not being invited to the game themselves.

In the middle of the conversation, Mason had also told the group that he had spent a long period of time in the hospital for the past year or two for cancer. After bringing this into the conversation, he left it there without further comment, and sidetracked the

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conversation himself away from the topic he had just introduced. It was a demonstration of intimacy and vulnerability; a means of making connection. His quick dismissal of the topic is so that it does not linger on and he need not continue to be seen as weak. From his body language, it seemed that Mason wanted to both demonstrate his position within the group, as well as also, through various means, play to a sense that he was not fully connected with the group. His demonstration was a statement, as much as it was an argument, for his role within the group. For, as Walter Benjamin suggests, "to convince is to conquer without conception" (Benjamin 1979, 47).[120] Rather than seeking to convince the group through displays of power or prowess Mason was doing so through the convincing them with displays of aloofness and distance. Throughout the afternoon he had been trying to write a short essay for his English class, but had not succeeded in nearing completion for the assignment all afternoon. He was constantly being interrupted by – and interrupting himself with – various texts, emails, facebook messages, and conversations with the guys around him. This is not unique to Mason, but in this particular instance it was something of a laughing matter for him and everyone else. As we were all sitting there chatting, he got a text from a friend asking him to go to dinner at Kemp Hall, the all-female hall on campus, on the other side of campus. He sat there thinking about it and said that that was something that would "Make me stop working." As I was just finding my place in the group, and did not know the full codes and practices of interacting within it, I took this opportunity to make a joke that seemed to be in the air. I told him, "You'd have to be working first to stop working." All of the other guys laughed at the comment. He stopped packing up his bag and looked at me, paused, and then said, "That's something I would say to someone." He was acknowledging –

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[120] It should not seem misplaced that this section from One-Way Street is titled 'For Men'.

conveying that he thought - that it was something funny, and a well-timed witty comment, while also making clear that he usually liked to be on the giving end on those comments.

Unlike many groups of male friends, who build specific interactional styles around interactions with women, the group – due to its makeup and the guys' beliefs in their own social reality driven by sports and the basement – does not utilize or mobilize a discourse and ritual of 'getting girls' that is so prominent in other groupings and which structurally imposes a compulsive heterosexuality (Pascoe 2007, 92). As this scene demonstrates well, the group finds itself far more through connections and identification with sports than through the utilization of women as objects upon which to guild relations. This does not mean that they are not still working through compulsory heterosexuality or mobilizing discourses that surround that, but to suggest that women (for multiple reasons) are not a primary mover or capital within the group. The fact that the group and the hall is all-male is premised upon a heteronormativity that not only emphasizes and pushes heterosexuality, but allocates greater space for heterosexuality and heterosexual courting practices. I will come back to this topic in greater detail in Chapter 5.

About 20 minutes afterwards, Mason suddenly got up and left for Kemp with his stuff, without giving much of a goodbye to anyone on the way out. Fifteen minutes later he walked back down into the Cave and settled back into a couch, pulling out his computer, and seeming to start doing work again. He clearly did not want to talk about it, but after a minute one of the guys asked him why he was back so quickly. "Well, they all left

without me, and I didn't want to be the guy walking in alone to the cafeteria looking for someone. Nor did I want to run down the street to try and catch up. So I just decided not to go and to come back here and get work done." It was odd the way that he left and came back without too much care for what others were up to around him, or that he was leaving one social setting – which would go to dinner shortly themselves - to join another. It seemed that Mason was making a choice about who to hang out with, declaring loudly that the guys in the Man Cave are the 'less social' or 'less desirable to socialize with'. It is a statement about the place of these men and the way that they themselves interact with each other and the building. These guys, and their masculinity, are clearly the bottom run of a social ladder – which they know – and which finds itself, for Mason, not as a primary but as a back-up plan while searching out another masculine identity and group.

Geographically, the group is composed of various guys, all coming from different parts of the United States. This diversity should be seen as a way that the university (broadly conceived) has globalized; while, simultaneously, USJ has remained a bastion of Midwestern students with hints of people from outside. One of the guys is Leo, who is a short guy, skinny and unimposing. He comes from a suburb in the Chicago area and attended a private, Catholic high school. The decision about where to go to college was influenced by the fact that most of his mother's side of the family all went to a different private Midwest university, so his decision to come to USJ broke with tradition to some extent. His whole personality is one that rides on a quiet nature that pervades his disposition as well. This is not to say that he cannot be animated about things, just to say

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that even in his animation he is fairly reserved. He is majoring in Advertising with a Marketing minor. His major is through the College of Communication, while the minor is through the Business School. This disparity is, in contradiction to what Armstrong and Hamilton say, not about laziness and desire for an easy major – what they term "business-lite" (2013, 70). Leo's position in between colleges, and specifically outside of the business school, has far more to do with selectivity of entrance and his desire to pursue the job even without being admitted into the Business School.

For Leo, the beginning of the school year was intimidating. He signed up and received a random roommate who he met when he first arrived on campus. Talking about Orientation Week he said, "Everything is thrown at you at once…. [Its] hectic." Not only did he struggle with the overwhelming elements of the situation, but also he found it difficult to come to grips with his new life. "[It] felt like these next four years… [there is] a lot of hope and opportunity that you see. It's kind of a paradox, or a juxtaposition. It's that – a new hope – and the sadness of saying goodbye to your family… it was tough." He went through Orientation Week basically having the same conversation over and over again, which he described as "speed friending", where one asks about hometown, major, and other similar things. "So I don't really know anyone [here]… I went to the [book] group[121]… So the next few days I was just really focused on meeting new people and making connections, like small talk. I didn't really get close with anyone. It was a busy week." For all of his efforts he struggled to find friends or a group of guys to hang out with.

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[121] During Orientation all of the first year students are assigned to read a book – usually one that might fall under the ascription 'Social Justice Book' – which almost no one, from informal discussions with all of the students I met, actually reads.

In a similar way to Leo, Allen says that he originally didn't want to live in Regan. For him, this was because he had spent the past four years attending an all-male high school and really wanted to now spend more time around women. Allen is an enthusiastic fan of sports, in general but most importantly hockey, lacrosse, and baseball. His hair sits a bit moppishly on his head, with him brushing it back into place frequently. His face lights up with a big smile at almost any occasion, but can become rapt from deep thought on questions posed to him by others about sports statistics or facts – most of which he has an answer for.

While he originally had not wanted to live there, he quickly found himself liking Regan more and more. "I'm glad I'm here… I'd much rather be here, because I know how I meet people." His original choice was to live in Celery Hall, a co-ed building which had recently been renovated and had become the hall that many people wanted to live in. He says that the reason he now likes Regan is because "I can be myself here and not worry about much." Continuing, he says, "Having the experiences here has allowed me to have a decent friend group already. I didn't think that I would recommend to people to come here [to Regan]. I think it's really healthy to be in this environment, I think people are happy. It works."

Allen is one of the first guys I met in the Man Cave, and one of the stalwart group of guys who identify and are identified as the 'Man Cave Guys'. He says, simply, that "I'm down here a lot." For him, the Man Cave is not simply a space to hang out, but is the

place where he has created a friend group and a life. "I wouldn't have met people the same way if I didn't have the Man Cave. That's been the key to my social life." Continuing he says, "All these guys aren't guys from my hall. I don't like the guys in my hall at all. I'm friendly with my roommate, he's a nice guy, but we're not close. The guys that I met live all over the dorm." In his description he begins to get across the point that the Man Cave is not just related to any one part of the building, and talks about the fact that, in part, he is coming to the Man Cave feeling disconnected from his roommate and from his wing.

The Group: Formation

This section will set out to explore the way that the Man Cave Guys come together as a group and as individuals. In so doing, it sets the scene for the discussion that will follow after about the spatial dynamics of the group and its usage of the Man Cave. Many of the guys come to college feeling a strong need to find a group of friends with whom they have a deep connection, and expect this to happen quickly. With the spread of Facebook, most incoming students now 'meet' their roommates and other in the incoming class and their hall well before they actually arrive on campus. This gives them a chance to start making friends and connection even before they start Orientation; but not all students choose this route or are successful in it. This drive to find friends is clear in the way that both Allen and Leo talk about their desire to find friends, their statements are almost identical. Leo says, "I always think about my parents how they met their college friends, like their best friends… Hopefully I make friends like that when I'm here, that's what I was thinking first semester." Allen, almost mirroring Leo, said "You just need to find a few [friends]. I talked with my dad, and most of his friends are from college." There is a

huge amount of pressure put upon finding friends, specifically friends that will be friends

for life. As Leo states clearly, this is what he was thinking about at the beginning of his

first year of college.

This mentality typifies the way that many men in Regan go about searching for their

group of friends. What is particular for the Man Cave Guys though is the initial

challenges that they face in trying to form these types of relationships. Most of them do

not have success in finding these friendships with their roommates, and in fact do not find

it with their wing or floor. This is where the Man Cave comes in. Leo did not initially

come into the Man Cave group, and entered it late, joining really at the beginning of

second semester. He said that "At a certain point at the end of the semester [I said]: 'I

need to make friend.' I need to find a group of friends to hang out with, that maybe could

be potentially be guys that I know for the rest of my life, like my good buddies." Note the

fact that before he has even met these men he is already putting upon them the idea that

they should be friends for life, which they should not just be friends, but that they should

be ultimate friends. Even before it has begun these friendships are loaded with meaning

and depth. They are instantaneously friends forever, rather than just temporarily. There is

a desperation to this type of mentality.

Leo describes his first time coming down to the Man Cave in search of friends. "So I

came down to the Man Cave, beginning of second semester. I was like 'New Semester'. I

need to make friends otherwise its just going to be the same cycle throughout college as it

was first semester and that can't happen. And I'd seen them before; we'd just watched

football. They didn't know my name, I didn't know their names. So I just went down there and starting talking to them, I think it was like Allen [and Harris] who was down there… and it was one night and we just talked till like four in the morning, and it was like a week night. And by the end of it I felt like I knew Allen and Harris pretty well… It wasn't like the orientation thing. Just sit down and have a conversation and figure out, and eventually figured out that they're all in the same boat as me." He continues, talking about the way that he felt very much at home with the group quickly, "I came down here and everyone is in the same boat as me. They all just want to make friends. It worked out. Its crazy how it worked out, cause otherwise I'd have no friends." This is a lot of pressure to put immediately upon a group of guys he has met, but he feels there is almost no other option. Boiling it down, he says, "[In the Man Cave] its easier to make friends. Cause I went in with a random roommate. And me and my roommate get along, but we're not necessarily friends. So I just think the Man Cave aspect, is just like… I got to meet a lot of people." He relates his joining of the Man Cave group as basically transferring schools, and actually relates himself to Gordon – who attended another local university before transferring to USJ at the beginning of the second semester of his first year – in that he feels like and is treated this way. "For all these guys I'm basically new here second semester."

Thus, Leo felt like he had been living in a different world for the first semester and that he had grown isolated so found himself drawn to the group of guys who hung out in the Man Cave. Each member of the group has their own story of entrance into the group, but most of them follow a similar trajectory (part of which will be discussed in a later

chapter). What is important to discuss now is the fashion with which these men not only took to each other, but also to the space itself. Allen says, talking about who the group is and the way it formed, saying that "They're just the ones from the start who've been down there. We've kind of taken over the cave. Mason wants to make us shirts, 'The Cave Men'." The idea of the group is that they formed almost naturally out of the fact that certain people spent lots of time there. Though this may be partially true, it is also about the way that these men interact with the rest of the building, and what options they feel available to them.

Another one of the Man Cave Guys is Nick Berg, a first year resident who comes from a middle class suburb on the East coast. His story of his Orientation Week is similar to Leo's and Allen's. "I didn't really get to know a lot of people during orientation week, I just hung out with my roommate… I got through Orientation Week, I really didn't meet a lot of people though. I didn't meet a group of people, I don't know. It was hard meeting new people. I tried though, I met a few people but they're completely different than I am." For him, Orientation and the first week were "terrifying". "I still wasn't into the whole drinking or smoking deal, so if they're doing that I don't really want to do that. I already know one kid that got arrested that I knew… So good thing I don't hang out with them." He struggled to find people who shared his interests, and saw some of the negative elements that can come along with the stereotypical college activities.

He says that, "The first month I was really trying to find a kind of group. I hung out with some people on my floor, my wing, and they're, I talk to them, but we don't hang out, we

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don't do stuff together." Note the sense of specificity towards what he is looking for. He isn't looking just for a friend, but is immediately looking for a group to be a part of, a group that he can fit into. This is part of the process of finding and creating what amounts to micro-nations within the building. In the same way that nations are built as imagined communities (Anderson 2006), these micro-nations act in similar fashion. With their own mythos and origin stories, shaping a form of belonging that is at once similar to the falsehood of national belonging and simultaneously distinct in its truth of belonging (however temporary). In Berg's difficulty finding a friend, he ventured outside of his floor and wing, the common and accepted places to find a group of friends, and set out to look for a group of friends elsewhere. "One day I just ventured down to our Man Cave and that's when I found my real group of friends, with Allen, Jeremy, Harris, Antony, all of them. And they're all kind of like me. I don't really sit around partying on weekends, I just like to hang out, watch sports, have a good laugh."

However, the process of becoming part of this group was not as simple as walking in and instantly becoming friends with them. "I'd been down to the man cave before, but I'd just watch, I'd really never encountered a group of friends… One of my friends that was, that'd go down to the Man Cave, Mason, he left school, but he was the one that introduced me to them. I just started hanging out with them little by little. It came to, we shared stories, did stuff… it became like we're good friends now. We fool around with each other… Its funny how the quick turn around from me not seeing a lot of people, hanging out with different groups looking for the right group, and one day magically go down there and like everybody is almost on the same page as me."

He continues, saying, "Like mid-November I started kind of going down there, but I was only down for a little bit of time, because I was still like 'eh'. I'd go say 'hey, whats up?' kind of thing. Then one day I got into a full fledged conversation and started playing ping pong, which we always do now, and then it just turned into 'you want to grab something to eat' and 'sure, lets go grab something to eat' and everybody'll go." For him, he started to see how similar they were, which once they had started to become friends quickly cemented itself. He says, "They don't party, they don't drink – not saying they don't ever, they don't really care about it. That's like the group of people I like. A group of people if I had an apartment, getting an apartment with, I'd feel comfortable rooming with them."

This connection is built a pattern of sharing time and activities together. The way that Nick describes it is, "Seeing them every day, just talking, and seeing them in class." In this he wraps up almost every moment of his week together with these other guys. They are spending time socializing together, time together in class, and time eating together. Almost all of the guys who are part of the group tell a similar story and talk in a similar way about the group and its impact on their lives. The group's formation, dynamics, and experience is intricately linked to the spatial element of its construction in the Man Cave, and the way that this environment allows them to open up forms of interactions that would be otherwise impossible. This will be the theme of the next section.

Taking Over the Man Cave

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Around the middle of April, I was sitting in the basement with a number of the guys when another group of guys came into the Man Cave. This is, as surprising as this might seem, not a very common experience. Though the building has just over 300 residents, it seems that the Man Cave is not used extensively by a large group of these guys. This has given the Man Cave Guys not only further evidence of the aptness of the group's titular label, but also has given them a sense of ownership of the space.

The group of guys walks down into the Cave with their music playing loudly out of one of their phones, which seems to have a speaker attached to it. All of the Man Cave guys turn to look and see who is coming into the basement and what the noise is all about. The music is something that is popular, and which it seems that they are really enjoying. The new group is talking loudly with each other, confidently taking control of the space through their volume. They have come down to play ping-pong, having their own paddles and balls with them. They are unfortunately confronted by the fact that the one ping pong table in the basement is currently being used by Milo and Alex, who are in the middle of a three game set to settle a winner. The new guys ask when they will be done, asking if anyone has 'called' the table afterwards. Milo and Alex both look at them, slightly distracted, and tell them that no one has 'called' the table afterwards, and that they can play next. They quickly go back to their game, focusing on volleying and returning the ball with a quick flick of the wrist, bouncing the ball onto the other side of the table, always at the ready for the hard slam to outmaneuver the other.

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As the other guys are sitting there waiting to play ping pong, their music is still blaring loudly throughout the basement. Jeremy looks to Leo and says, "Leo, you now have my permission to put your music on." Leo laughs, and Gordon responds, "Why? Because he's half black?" Leo is certainly not half black. This is a reference to Leo's taste in music, which includes various rap artists; this is why Gordon is joking about Leo's racial identity, based solely on his enjoyment of rap music. Jeremy, noting the joke and moving from it says, "No. Its because his music is better than that." He says this loudly, pointing in the direction of the other group.

This situation, while not an everyday occasion, is certainly a regular occurrence. The group is bound to find itself in social conversation with other groups of men, as the building has only so many public spaces. Jeremy's frustration about the other guys' music has far less to do with the actual type of music and far more to do with an invasion and disruption of the space. For him, the Man Cave is theirs to determine and set forth its functions and its uses. "The integrity of place must be ritually maintained" (Tuan 1995, 166) not just as a sacrosanct space for the group, but also as a necessity of the identification of the group itself. The guys are working to maintain not just a sense of place but also the sacredness that comes from the Cave's relation to the guys. By not only coming into the physical space, but taking up the ethereal and corporeal space in the Man Cave, the other group challenged and pushed at the imagined borders of the space and who was able to determine the borders, boundaries, and contents as such.

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The physical basement is here turned into a social geography that is laid out in specific shades and tones, to which the group itself adds the brush strokes. It is important to talk about this from the standpoint of why it is that they have all come to the basement in the first place. Rather than fixate on their dominance, or desired control, of the space, it is crucial to see their hold onto the Man Cave as a reaction to a feeling of exclusion from the various other parts of the building and campus, including, in some ways, their own rooms. There is a feeling of precariousness to their relation with the rest of the building, and to have others seemingly invade the one space they feel comfortable in is disconcerting, rightly so.

These feelings are echoed in grand terms during large-scale events that are held in the Man Cave. This was seen clearly when Regan's Hall Council held a Super Bowl watching party that was attended by just over twenty people, many of whom were not part of the Man Cave group. Hall Council provided some snacks for the viewing, which were set up on the two pool tables. There were various kinds of potato chips and a large assortment of cookies strewn across the soft green cloth. This sponsorship by the Hall Council is to try and build 'community' with the events that they put on although, for the most part, these events are not highly attended.

Before the game starts and the other guys all come downstairs, the group has a discussion about the fact that people are going to be coming down into the basement. They have been down here today since early on, watching pre-game activities – including the Puppy Bowl, a mock Super Bowl played by puppies, which also includes a cat halftime show.

The group starts discussing whether it is a positive or a negative thing having others join in the event, and how this impacts the watching. Allen says that he doesn't want other people to come down and watch the game with them; he would rather spend time with just the group, treating the event almost as a family event. Shane responds that he disagrees. "I hope a lot of people come down and join us. It's a national holiday." Allen, retorting to Shane, says, "I like spending national holidays with people I know and like, not random people."

There is a disagreement about what holidays are for, and possibly whether holidays are national events or family ones. Allen is not only making a claim about the event, but is staking a claim to the basement itself, and connecting it with the integrity of the group; making clear the importance in spending time with those who he likes rather than a large group of unknown individuals. With this, he brings the in-group and out-group dynamics into the open and makes visible the reorientation of the spatial and temporal space of the Man Cave. The other side of this is Shane, who seems to be less invested in making geographic claims on behalf of the group, or even of himself to the group. He is more attached to the broader context of the event and the hall rather than the specificity of the group. This conversation is partly a disagreement of the entailments of what is being created in the cave. For some, it seems, they seem it as part and parcel of the building; while the majority see it as an intimate group space. "Intimate places are places of nurture where our fundamental needs are heeded and cared for without fuss" (Tuan 1995, 137). The 'invasion' of the Man Cave by others disrupts the intimate and nurturing elements of the space and group.

For Allen, the group is sacrosanct, and with it the Man Cave as well. The others seem to mostly agree with Allen, and the conversation quickly turns to Shane's team allegiances and questions about what would happen if his future wife doesn't support the same team as he does. With the game just about to start the basement begins to fill up with guys. The once intimate group discussion is pushed beneath the loud discussions about the players and football statistics. Gone is the quiet and close knit group of guys who felt themselves not only at home but comfortable in the Man Cave, leaving them as a minority population within their own community.

The Third Floor Group: Art & Lane

Building off of the discussion of the Man Cave Guys and that of the Step Kids, the rest of the chapter will focus on what I have called the 'Third Floor Group'. This section will introduce Art and Lane, two members of this group. In a similar fashion to the previous two groups, I will begin by introducing specific members of the group who will allow us to see the taking-shape of the group and the ways that spatial dynamics being to come to play in this grouping, though in distinct and particular ways that are different from the two previous groups. While the Step Kids situated themselves outside of the building proper, and the Man Cave Guys found themselves attached to Regan but outside of their individual rooms, the Third Floor Group provides insights into the way that these guys shape their relationships through exploring – in the start – a singular room and the ways that being placed together in a residence hall room impacts on the group, and then looking at the ways that the group as a whole explores and expands boundaries that does not rely on particular buildings or rooms and grafts itself to a large part of campus.

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Situated on the third, and top, floor of the building and set just onto the beginning of the

hall way leading West out from the main core of the building is a room from which is

echoing voices leading up and down the corridor. The door is open and three guys are

standing just outside of it boisterously discussing 'No Shave November' – which is also

referred to as 'Movember' – and the rules for the month. In particular they are discussing

whether in fact a person must be clean-shaven at the beginning of the month or if it is just

about them not shaving at all. After some discussion they end up with the consensus that

one must start completely clean-shaven. It might better be said though that they really

agreed that one didn't need to be clean-shaven, but that it was in fact the right thing to do.

This discussion, half in seriousness and half in jest, is taking place nearly two months

before the beginning of November between Art, Lane, John and Joseph – the Resident

Assistant for the third floor southwest wing, otherwise known as 3SW. Art, John, and

Joseph are all clean-shaven now, and so don't have any difficulty with this, while Lane

has a small and slightly patchy goatee with a very thin mustache growing up, all of which

is connected by a slim chin strap beard. Having reached the conclusion to this

conversation, Joseph said his goodbyes and continued down to the end of the hall where

his room was located, and John and Lane went off to a lecture for one of their courses.

This left Art headed back into his room; he turned on some music and starting scrolling

through youtube to find other similar songs.

Art Jones is a tall, slightly lanky guy – or at least he comes across as lanky due to the

extended length of his arms and legs. His whole demeanor seems long-limbed and

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energetic, exuding a coolness and laidback mentality that floats him through situations and spaces. He comes from a suburb just outside of New York City, growing up in a family where his mother was black and his father was white. This has an immense impact on his childhood as well as his disposition, which was further impacted by attending a high school with a large amount of diversity. Though he is bi-racial, in large part he is white presenting to most people who meet him – though this is dramatically shifted when his hair grows up, amounting to what could be called an Afro. In suggesting Art is 'white presenting' I do not mean to indicate that he is white, but that he frequently is able to pass as white in most situations. Passing, particularly with racial dynamics, is a complex and unsystematized set of daily processes that each individual works through in distinct ways (Larsen 2002). During high school he was heavily into drugs and alcohol, and a few years ago he pulled back from these activities, replacing them instead with boxing. He has now been boxing for a couple of years, and has his initial trainers license and the right to compete in competitions. He ended up coming to USJ because of its great Physical Therapy program, but was not initially admitted to the program and is in the midst of applying to enter the college after having gotten his grades for his first year.

His roommate is a Political Science major who is originally from Alaska, and moved down to the Midwest to come to USJ, though he has family in the area as well. His complexion is very white; coming from Alaska the cold winter in the Midwest doesn't take its toll in the same way as it does for others. While they come from very different backgrounds in many ways – racial and geographic - Art told me "I like Lane. We get along well… I do feel that I lucked out because there are typically a lot of people who -

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I've heard a couple horror stories already about roommates that they just hate each other, that they've gotten into fistfights with each other." He continues this story about horrible roommates, "At Herald, a guy came back drunk and he, the drunk guy came back and really annoyed the roommate – who was sober there – and then the sober kid just beat the shit out of him." The 'horrible roommate' story is one echoed by many people, even if they don't know anyone specific to whom this has happened. Art describes Lane as someone he can get along with and who has similar lifestyles. "I'm kind of happy that he isn't a really intense partier kid… And he does well in his classes, so its good to surround yourself with people who are being successful at what they're trying to do because it's a good motivator to do well."

Like many first year students, Art was unsure of where he wanted to live or even of the choices available to him. "When I applied for housing I didn't know any of the dorms." Without any information about the residence halls, and without really knowing anyone else attending USJ, he was forced to take a random roommate. This selection process takes place within the Residence Life Office, and works in a combination of randomization and criteria based selection (which will be further discussed later). This process seems mysterious to students who often see themselves at the mercy of the university, and when they are stuck with the 'horrible roommate' seek the university's assistance in correcting this. This process, though, also frequently works out very well and can create strong bonds between students in unique and distinct ways.

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For these two, it is these commonalities that have allowed Art and Lane to foster a strong friendship and deep relationship, in counteraction to the mythological 'horrible roommate' that Art came in somewhat expecting. What becomes more evident though in spending time with them is the way that they leaned into each other and went into it with a (at least somewhat) open mind. Art joined up with the group of friends that Lane had made through the summer program and joined this with a sense of purpose and direction, as well as with the ability to bring others (from outside the group) into the friend group and form people around him in some ways. For Lane and Art though, their relationship grew quickly from their being paired together randomly by the university Residence Life Office to something which deeply impacted on each of their personalities and lives, and out of this pairing a large part of the future group dynamics follow in some ways. What we will see in the next section is the way that the group, broadly, does not rely on these specific boundaries or micro-nationalisms of residence (hall) and explores spatial relations beyond these.

The Third Floor Group: Crossing Boundaries and Borders

Unlike the 'Step Kids' or the 'Man Cave Guys', it is more difficult to pin any particular label upon this group of guys that I ended up hanging out with. They are, for starters, more spread out across campus; so while the Step Kids grouping does include one or two guys from Herald Hall, this group on the other hand contains a couple of guys from both Herald and Helpin Halls, as well as one resident from Celery Hall. Beyond the residences of the guys, it is challenging to put them into a spatially defined milieu as they hang out across a wide range of locations on campus. In moving outside of the regulated boundaries of the residential hall system these guys sought to open up a variegated form

of interaction; moving outside of the salient geographic community, they worked to build a network beyond the specific hall yet within the broader bordered campus community. This move outside of and beyond the specific micro-nationalistic confines of residence hall is not necessarily an explicit aim or directive, but one that comes about more through chance than direct action. Yi-Fu Tuan discusses the way that, in rural China, while local settlements are visible to the inhabitants, the wider "marketing system" (ways that the market, economic and otherwise, works over larger contexts) is far less salient in their lives (Tuan 1995, 167-169). He suggests that while the broader system may be partially obscured to the standard local, he says that the local elite is probably aware of it. The "local inhabitants have no reason to entertain concepts that are remote from their immediate needs" (Ibid., 169). Though his statement is a touch condescending, the root idea holds to some degree. "The street where one lives is part of one's intimate experience. The larger unit, neighborhood, is a concept" (Ibid., 170). Tuan then moves to talking about communities in Boston and the way that they relate to their street and the larger conceptual idea of their 'neighborhood'. One might 'translate' these markations: 'street' becomes 'residence hall', and 'neighborhood' becomes 'campus'. The degree to which these guys are able to see above the trees of their locale varies, depending on a huge array of factors. For Lane, part of what made him see outside of the visibly bounded places was the campus residential and academic program.

The reasoning for these diasporic - between multiple halls - campus relationships is critically founded on the conditions that brought Lane to campus. When he accepted his place at the University of St. Jerome he chose to enter the First Year Frontier Program

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(FYFP). This program was originally started with the intention of allowing students who had weaker applications – and would not have been accepted to USJ – to come to campus earlier and take summer classes which would prepare them for the demands of college, as well as allowing them the opportunity to take fewer courses their first year. This program was originally aimed at first generation, minority, and academically struggling students. While the FYFP began this way, they changed one year ago to a model of 'inclusion', allowing a broader range of students to join the program and take advantage of its benefits. Lane echoed this in my interview with him. "For our year, it was actually apparently changed drastically from what they said it was. They had said that it was an opportunity for students to come in to USJ and experience college living at USJ and experience the city. And originally, even the year before that, it was apparently a chance for the kids who didn't quite have the grades to make it, the SAT or the ACT score to make it in, and to pull those students in and give them a little help so that by the time school year started they could get help. And they changed that to anyone could get in, anyone who applied, first come first served. And even then, they have too many applicants, and they struggled to select them. You didn't have to have low ACT or SAT scores, they just let you in."

Lane decided to enter the FYFP program as he thought it would give him a good introduction to USJ, college, and campus life generally. He told me about the program itself, and its setup. "The FYFP is an opportunity for incoming freshman to come and be here for a month basically four weeks to basically take a summer class. We got to take one class worth 3 credits and two prep classes. So I took history, from the French

Revolution up to the present, as my main credit class. And then took Reading and Study Skills and Introduction to Logic." He continues, saying, "We got to take those 3 classes, and we lived on campus, we lived in Stone Hall. We got the opportunity to, one, get used to just how things operate – we had to go and order our books from the book store… We had to order books and learn how to get around campus, and manage having classes and these weird and inconsistent times. And just keeping up with that, and doing college level work."

These academic requirements and benefits are seen in conjunction with the explicit social goals that the students have for themselves. "And for me that was kind of a benefit, kind of a perk, to come here. But for me the biggest reason was that I wanted to come down here to meet people. I was going to come down here cold turkey and not know anybody, and not know the city. So I came down here and on day one I wore an 'Alaska Grown' t-shirt, because it was just like 'lets get this out there, I'm the Alaskan kid'." Further, "My goal was just to get in there and meet as many people as possible, quickly. Start really building up and making friends here. That's where I met Tyler, Eric, George, Ambrose; basically a lot of my friends here now I met at FYFP." This socialization process allowed Lane and the rest of the FFY program to take advantage of a small grouping of fellow students and build a strong network of friendships early on.

Lane entered the year with this friendship network intact and operationalized. As the Orientation week began, the group got back into contact with each other through the use of cellphones, facebook, and social media, meeting up for all of the social events and

hanging out with each other in the evenings. Art, having just met Lane in their new roommate situation, soon joined up with this informal group. "I met a lot of people that I'm close with now, fairly quickly. Thankfully Lane was in the FYFP program so he already had some friends, which was a good jumping off point." The FYFP program allowed Art to join a partially pre-formed grouping of friends. He adds though, "But then with me kind of wanting to go out and meet people made a good mixture." He brought to the process a desire to go out and meet new people, which pushed Lane the Tyler towards socializing outside of the original FYFP group. So while Lane feels strongly that he has made some of his good friends in FYFP, he also acknowledges that it kept him from really going out and meeting new people during Orientation Week.

Together Lane and Art, along with the FYFP people headed into Orientation Week. Art told me "It [Orientation] was kind of a week at summer camp, where we played awkward name games." The dismissiveness towards the event is tinged also with a sense of being overwhelmed a bit by the whole thing. "That [awkward ice-breakers], being coupled with meeting a couple hundred people in two days, that doesn't really go well." As Lane and Art move through Orientation Week, together with FYFP people – in particular Tyler, Tony, and Eli – they begin meeting others who join this growing group. Art tells me about how he met Colin Dunn, another first year student who lives in Herald Hall. "And that's how we met Colin, for example, as we met him outside of Herald and we became good friends. And that's also how we met Ambrose, and, it was kind of a good hybrid of the two social relations… [What two social relations?[122]] Him having a set group of friends and making new ones." In this description he showcases the way that they were

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[122] Question posed by author.

able to utilize a social capital built on previous relationships in order to open up further relations. This story is expanded to include Colin and Ambrose, as well as making clear the fluid nature of the emergence of their friendships and the grouping. "I met Colin originally through a mutual friend that I didn't know that well… But I met him one night outside of Herald, and later that night I was walking with Ambrose and two other girls that we had met and we saw Colin and he came up and we all talked together. And that's when we all became friends." The story is a simple one, posited upon a straightforward vision of meeting to friendship, without any intervening complications or challenges.

In seeking to understand this vision of friendship, Art and I talked about what exactly had brought this group together and how he saw these relationships. "[We became friends because of] how well we got along… What I enjoy in people is them having a good sense of humor… And if they're intelligent." Part of this 'intelligence' is the way they are able to joke with each other. He says that though they joke frequently, it is the fact that they could stop joking for a second and just start talking about serious things as well, including the world, philosophy, or even the theory behind the joke itself. He expresses this more fully, spelling out what he means by joking. "A certain kind of indicator to see how smart someone is through the jokes that they choose to make. How sophisticated they are, if that makes sense. If you just made friends with some new guy, for instance. Everyone makes dick jokes, right? Everyone here makes dick jokes. And so if someone tells a couple dick jokes here and there and it really fits well with something else [laughs, he is making a dick joke in his comment about dick jokes]… but if that's literally the only joke that they ever make, or the only way that they try to be funny is solely one

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dimensional then that's kind of a good indicator [about lack of compatibility]... So that's a good starting point or base for friendships."

Coming to see the fuller extent of the grouping, Art says, "Lane, Ambrose, Tyler, Square head – Tony –, John, Max, Eli, George… do you mean close friends? I'd say that's about it." There is, then, a slight divide between the listing of members of who makes up the close group, even when looking solely from Art's perspective – as Colin is not included in this list, whereas he is taken as one of the core members at other points. This discrepancy is not singular, but is part of a larger bout of movement that takes place. As the grouping is dispersed across campus, and as the bonds that tie each individual to the group are spread out – rather than concentrated, as in the cases of the Step Kids and the Man Cave Guys – they are less able to enact a spatialized place or group, and, therefore, find themselves at odds with themselves. This is not to say that the Step Kids or the Man Cave Guys do not struggle with similar issues, but to suggest that the struggle they work through is both bounded and supported by the locales that they inhabit, create, and make their own.

The two sections above have focused almost exclusively on Art and Lane, and the way that their relationship worked as a model for the group, but also as an ignition point for the group formation itself. For them, it was these two guys' experience, abilities, and personalities that enabled and enacted the relationships. There is no ability for them – as a group unto themselves - to rely upon the concretized step as a locale, a building block, and almost as another member of the group. Nor are they able to build on the university's

given resources within the building, and the way that they are pushed out of their own spaces and find shelter in the Man Cave. While they certainly could have joined the Step Kids or the Man Cave guys (and the interconnections of these groups is interesting to note and will be discussed at another point), these guys, through the spread of the members throughout campus, are not able to play with the specific spatialized and set borders and boundaries that the Step Kids and Man Cave Guys find as objects in their group formation. These guys are far more able to extend their boundaries into other spaces, and thereby pull on other sources of resources that would otherwise be unknown – and unavailable – to them. In this group there were members of the group that had never interacted with other members. Members of either the Step Kids or the Man Cave would not be able to say that; even if the contact has been small, each self-identified member had met each other at least once.

This diffuseness led to disparities and fractures within the group, based on the allocation of these resources. These resources were, of course, unevenly distributed amongst the different members of the group, based not just on their residence, but also on a wide variety of other factors; including: sociability, humor, size, activities each enjoys, attractiveness, and various other characteristics. In this, it is important to understand the position of some of the other guys in the group.

Earl is a member of the Navy Reserve Officers Training Corps, otherwise known as ROTC. He is a short white guy with his hair trimmed military style down to less than an inch, and has a slightly mousey disposition – in spite of his military activities. He is not a

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very social person, and spends most of his time either doing ROTC activities, which take up a lot of time, or talking with his girlfriend on Skype in his room. He joined ROTC because he wanted to emulate his military heroes, many of whom line his bookshelf – including the likes of Patton and Erwin Rommel. He speaks in a concise fashion for our interview, listing off his details as if he is on roll call. He tells me that he came to USJ firstly for their ROTC program and its Physics program – with the third reason being its distance from his parents. When he is not talking to his girlfriend or doing ROTC activities he is most often playing video games, many of which have a less than subtle military flavor or character to them. His connection to the group is twofold, stemming from him being Ian's roommate and the fact that both Max and John – residents of the third floor of Regan and members of the group - are huge gamers themselves. For the rest of the guys, gaming is a hobby that they do intermittently, while Max, John, and Earl see it as a far more intrinsic essence in their lives. Earl feels, not just because of his status as a gamer but for other reasons, that he is on the outskirts of the group, and in fact does not desire to become any better friends with most of the guys. He sees himself as friends with mostly Max and John and does not associate any more than at a minimum with the others.

This is demonstrated clearly to me one day while I was hanging out in John and Max's room. John, Max, and Earl were playing the video game *Call of Duty* while Ian and I watched. After a while Earl left the room to go do something in his own room just down the hall. A bit after Earl left, Max got up and got dressed in a button down shirt and black slacks. He had a lecture to go to for the Business school, and needed to be in 'business

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casual'. He grabbed his bag and left for the lecture in the Business building down the road. A little while after Max had left Earl came back into the room looking for Max. "I was just looking for Max, I wanted to know if he wanted to go to Stone." He was trying to see if Max wanted to get dinner with him in the Stone cafeteria. We told him that Max had gone to the lecture and that we weren't sure when he would be back and he quickly proceeded to leave the room. It seemed clear that he did not much want to hang out for too long without Max there. Both John and Ian seemed un-phased by the event and continued playing their games. The rift that had seemed up till then fairly small, seemed to open up into new layers of complexity, as Earl did not like Ian because they were roommates and didn't get along, while John was trying to associate himself more closely with the rest of the group.

While Earl has ROTC as his main activity, John on the other hand chooses to keep his time free and use it in his own ways. John is, put simply, an autodidact. The way he puts it is that he has always been a "self study guy" and says that he doesn't put much value in things like college because he can learn things on his own. He is learning Chinese, German, and Korean, while also learning various computer-programming languages. He speaks in a muted or slightly mumbled voice, with his entire body in a relaxed, casual position. John is a first generation African American, with both of his parents being born in another country, and sees himself as a chameleon that is able to fit in with various groups. He tells me a lot of white people tell him that he 'acts white' because "when they're around me I sort of act white. But when I'm around black people who act stereotypically black I can change myself to act black. So I don't feel like singled out in a

group." As the only African American in the group, and one of a small number of minority students at USJ more broadly, this skill has allowed him to get along with people well. "I'm black, and… yeah, there's not a lot to talk about, but I feel like when I was young I went to a majority white private school. And I remember I was the only black person in my grade… I noticed that in kindergarten no one cared, and then in 1st grade people were like 'whoa, this kid is different'. I was still their friend, but it was little things like 'you're from Africa', and at the time I hadn't even heard of Africa, my mom told me I was from New York." So while he goes by John, and tells me that his mom has called him that since very little, he also has a longer name, an African name, which he very infrequently refers to or is referred to by.

John's belief in himself as a chameleon goes deeper than racial differences, and is something that he sees as allowing him to participate in a wide variety of groups who have very little in common. This has been the way he sees himself integrating with Art and Lane, and the initial group that grew up around them. He is able to harness a racial connection between him and Art, which has opened up discussions and jokes about racial matters within the group; while he has made connections with Lane and George (as well as Art) about working out and doing some basic exercises over at the gym at Celery Hall. John's connection with Art through racial connectedness comes through in the way that they are able to make specific jokes that might not be appropriate for others to make, as well as the two of them jokingly calling another member of the group racist.

The differences between Earl and John – with John being far more social, open, involved, and making connections with the other members of the group - showcase the different ways that the group connections emanate from individuals and plait together with the overarching group dynamics. The imbricated interactions reveal a sense of self and group that is compounded and compoundable through the interlacing of specific individuals at particular points that foreground certain individuals.

An Exit: The Case of Ian Cassidy

These networked points of connection are demonstrated well not just by the way that people are maintained as within the group, but also by the way individuals leave or exit. It is, in this vein, necessary to look at the way that Ian Cassidy exited the group and why.

Ian is a local guy, with an average size and build. There is little of note about his appearance excepting his reddish brown hair, which curls upon itself on his head, setting him as a 'ginger' and having curly hair. His pale white skin shows the Irish in his background, though he is far removed from Ireland or a deep connection with his cultural background. In high school, he says, he was far from the most popular student, struggling with his friends and seeking out the attention of the 'cool kids'. This desire has only intensified since arriving at USJ, but has not been helped by the fact that his roommate is Earl, whose social life revolves around ROTC and his long-distance girlfriend.

During Orientation week and the first week of school, Ian strove to make connections on his wing and his floor. The friends he found, John and Max, were not exactly what he had in mind – as, again, neither of them were particularly 'social', which in Ian's head is a

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euphemism for being 'cool', 'popular', 'outgoing', and even to some degrees 'drinking'. His connection with Max and John led him to meeting Art and Lane, and being introduced to the FYFP group that Lane had brought into the school year with him and which functioned as a pool for friendships – and romantic relationships as well for some. In Lane's FYFP group Ian met Tyler, a guy from who lives in Regan and in fact lives just a few doors down from Ian. Tyler is short, with his hair cut compactly and gelled at the front. Coming from Colorado, Tyler grew up having difficulty in high school and during FYFP he found a good group of friends, which also included romantic interests. Ian and Tyler quickly formed a tight bond with each other over their shared desire towards a specific form of sociality that is built upon popularity and imagined 'college' activities, most especially drinking.

One day at the beginning of November I stopped in to Ian's room and found him and Tyler playing *Grand Theft Auto V*, the new version of the very popular game series that had just recently come out. The game has missions contained within it, but when I arrived they weren't playing the missions. Instead they were wandering as the character around the video game city causing random violence and havoc. I sat down on the bed, and after a while they offered to let me try the game. After a minute of playing I handed it back to Ian, and they continued their general roaming and shooting. From the beginning of the year, Ian has made it very clear that he didn't want to be in Regan and had been trying to get out of the hall since before he even moved in. He put his name on the transfer list, hoping that a spot would open up in Herald near the beginning of the year but nothing had come of it yet. He told me "I know more people there, and I hang out there a lot

anyways. I mean, Earl is fine, but I think that I would enjoy it more being in Herald honestly."

At the beginning of the year he had an issue with one of the girls who lives in Herald, which Ian feels has made it more difficult for him to transfer to Herald; saying that Stephen, the Regan Hall Director, has commented on this a couple times to him. In bringing it up repeatedly, Stephen is both aiming to act as a reminder and push Ian into line. "I don't mind Regan really I guess. I don't like Stephen though, so I'd be happy to be away from him… [Why is that?] Well, he has just made some comments that I don't think are particularly nice. I told my mom about it and she said to just treat them as polite reminders rather than offensive or attacking comments. But I just don't think he should make those kind of comments… [Like what?] One was about, when I had told him that I was on the waiting list for Herald, he said 'Doesn't she live there?' You know, the girl that I had the issue with. I just thought it wasn't really polite. Seemed like kind of an attack or something. And he has made other comments similar." It is clear that Ian finds himself running into issues with the Hall Director and that this has added further desire for him to leave Regan, but the core of it is due to the social opportunities that exist in Herald and what he feels he is missing in Regan at the moment.

While Tyler shares many of the same inclinations and social outlets, he does not have any desire to leave Regan and in fact enjoys the distance away from the weekend elements of his life (drinking, parties, going out). He already spends a lot of time at Herald, as well as Celery, and finds plenty of opportunity to go out and party on the weekends as is. This

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separation of interests led towards Tyler choosing to pledge (join) a fraternity second semester (which will be discussed further in a later chapter) while at the end of first semester Ian is given a newly available spot in Herald and moves in before going home for Christmas Break.

Conclusion

The university campus has long been considered by gender scholars to be a masculine space. "For most of our [American] history, whatever the justification, campus life looked pretty much like this: men taught men about the great achievements of men" (Kimmel 2013, 127). What this misses though is that campus life has always been about far more than class and the student professor relationship; it has long been an arena of homosocial relationships between men.[123] The fictitious idea of a 'gender neutral' university or classroom is quickly dispelled by even a cursory glance at the abundance of sexual harassment cases against faculty (Kingkade 2016; Williams & Massinger 2016; Redden 2016), the abuse of power by administrators (Doyle 2015), and the extensive educational studies that demonstrate that in a classroom women are encouraged to raise their hand less and are, often, actively discouraged. The historical presence of disparities and imbalances is rooted deeply into the foundation of the university – from gender, raced, and classed perspectives. Anthony Rotundo, taking a historical perspective, says "For a middle-class boy (or one who might aspire to middle-class status), there was now [in the 20th Century] a ladder of ascent – with each rung carefully marked – that led up

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[123] Note, it is still in many US university systems, primarily, between men that campus relationships revolve around. See, for example, the prioritization of men's sports over women's. Further, we can see this in the way that forms of homosociality take priority over relationships with women at various points.

through the primary and secondary grades, into college…" (Rotundo 1993, 260). Rotundo could very easily have specifically added the word 'white' to this statement; and while this ladder is still in place in theory, it becomes less stable each passing year.

While it may seem like the chapter has fixated its gaze on external, stable, and material spaces, the certain locus of the chapter has in fact been the internal spaces, the spaces opened between individuals - the immaterial, the immenseness of the connection and bond. "However paradoxical this may seem, it is often this *inner immensity* that gives their real meaning to certain expressions concerning the visible world" (Bachelard 1994, 185; italics in original). Here 'inner' must be expanded to encompass the full breadth of interrelationships and the workings of the compositional structures and leitmotifs. These internal elements are secured and partitioned as elements in a mental spatio-temporal understanding of themselves, their relationships, and their time at university.

While the chapter is about space and place, one should not seek to distance or distinguish entirely these spatial configurations and adaptations from temporal understandings. In each of these stories, the temporal element – the tempo itself – is in constant conversation with the space. Just as the space can determine, in part, the way we understand time, so too does time put forward ways of recognizing space. As such, the Step is not simply a space for the Step Kids, but a temporal phenomenon that exists in-time, and that posits a specific perception of the flow of time in that space itself. As such, a recognition of the university's role in situating spaces for particular purposes thusly encompasses the fact that, too, they are contriving to partition time in certain ways. This partitioning of time

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relates to ideas of work and class (as what is an appropriate amount of time to spend doing homework), as well as to the activities that are age appropriate (ie not drinking). As I argue in Chapter 5, this sense of time is also particularly and often linked to heterosexual coupling, and the social prioritizing of heterosexuality over homosexuality, homosociality, or heterosociality.

These men, in their year, comprise merely a turning of the wheel in the sweeping history of the building. Since the building is comprised of almost exclusively first year students, the building is being reshaped each year by a new student body; while simultaneously the university, Hall Director, and Office of Residence Life are able to manage a more tightly controlled version of what constitutes 'tradition'. "Past events make no impact on the present unless they are memorialized in history books, monuments, pageants, and solemn and jovial festivities that are recognized to be part of an ongoing tradition" (Tuan 1995, 174). Put another way, it is the gatekeepers who "carry the institutional memory of individual schools and their local communities" (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill 2013, 12). Without a continuity of students, the university is able to determine the history and story of the building; that each year is challenged, changed, and reworked by individual and groups of students aiming to ritualize their own spaces, contesting the neutered specter of Regan. The university's ability to work in this way, discussed in the Introduction, is crucial to note in relation to the ways that the guys themselves spatially create their worlds and the impermanence of these worlds – from the view of the building, not necessarily from the view of the guys themselves.

As is shown, the dispute of meaning is not merely between students and the institution, but is often between groups and collections of guys, each registering their own place on campus. This comes with varying levels of acceptance, resistance, complicity, and discrediting from the institution as well. As we can see through the above three groups, "Some masculinities are formed by battering against the school's authority structure, others by smooth insertion into its academic pathways" (Connell 2000, 300). Each group, in their own way, fits (ie by following the rules) or displaces themselves (ie drinking). These pathways, as Armstrong and Hamilton reveal so sharply (2013), are not merely academic and are bound up in social, economic, race, and gender disparities on campus.

One of the things that becomes clear from these guys' experiences and lives is that they way they are each (both individually and each group) able to mobilize and master which spaces is dependent on their prefaced positioning. "From the start the affluent can live in a place of their own [making], surrounded by their own kind of people, and they are well aware of this fact" (Tuan 1995, 171). There is a clear ability for the men of Herald Hall to be able to more create their own moored rending of campus life, and the disparity of ability that the Step Kids in Regan have to counteract this. It is important to keep in mind that *structuration* – "the process whereby practice and the structural properties of any social system dialectically reproduce and transform one another… [and] is materially continuous…" (Pred 1985, 338) - eloquently combines the individual with institutional structures and power in a fugue lilting under di-chronos and polyrhythmic temporal interpellations of spatial arrangements.

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Chapter 3 - Temporally Adrift & Permanently Liminal: Distolgia and Transition

Introduction

"Memory is not an instrument for surveying the past but its theater. It is the medium of past experiences…" (Benjamin 2006, xii).

There is a quote by Milan Kundera that says, "The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting" (Kundera 1996,4). In the context, Kundera was focusing primarily on the struggle against power. For the purposes of this chapter, it is important to think more heavily about the second element: memory and forgetting, particularly the ways in which memories are created in such a way as to forgo forgetting, or to work around the forgetting that will eventually happen by way of a temporal transition forward to the future from which to have a memory back against. This process is, in some ways, the opposite of Proust's *In Search of Lost Time* (2003) where the narrator/author looks back to come forward to the present. The object/action investigated here is not the searching for lost time, but the creation of time not yet had or lost.

While this chapter relies on ethnographic fieldwork, it is far more theoretically based rather than told through vignettes or fieldnotes. In this sense, though the chapter is focused explicitly and exceptionally on theorizing, it has as its foundation the ethnographic fieldwork and fieldsite. In this sense, the chapter is build off of a specific conversation that a group of guys had about time and temporality, and which was repeated at various points and in various fashions. In this, for further clarification, one should look for the ethnographic underpinnings of this chapter in both Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 – each of which, in their own way fashion many of the stories and ways of thinkings that this chapter illuminates. In particular, Chapter 2's focus on space and place is necessarily and ultimately connected to the way that this chapter discusses these guys'

conception of time. Through this chapter I aim to begin exploring the connections between these men's experiences of university, time, and the way that liminality (beginning from: Turner 1967; 1969) plays a role in situating and creating these experiences. One might start with a brief, but current definition of the term: "Liminality therefore suggests an impossibility of location within existing classifications and categorizations" (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill 2013, 129). In particular, I aim to explore the way that idea the of permanent liminality – seen in part in Michael Kimmel's (2008) *Guyland* (though he does not narrate it this way) – is played out in these men's homosocial relations through the treatment of time as a frontier and their experiences on campus and in the hall as a transition phase which one is liable to get stuck in. I will further analyze the experiences of the men from the previous chapters and bring these experiences into relation with concepts of time, nostalgia, and permanent liminality. Unlike many early anthropological studies of time and people's understandings of time – which concretized entire cultures based on specific idioms, linguistic devices, or otherwise (Munn 1992) – this chapter situates itself in both a specific context and suggests not that this is *the* way time is perceived in this context, but asks what this specific iteration of perception might suggest about these men, their place in society, their age, gender, race, class, and desires.

Students' Time: Fast & Slow

Having given some context and background of these men in the previous chapters, I will move on to discussing the ways that they specifically situate themselves within a temporal and liminal frame through which they cast their lives and which puts their experiences of life in and under university within a specific framework that might be called a nostalgia for the present. The act of 'speaking of time' is similar to Kunzel's description of men in prison:

> "In prison… 'time accumulates a new dimensions.'… [It] distort[ed] conventional understandings of time as orderly, linear, and rationally clocked… Time, to prisoners, was something to be 'done'; prison time could be 'hard' or 'easy.' For some, incarceration took place in a strange and disorienting time out of time; for others; it suspended time altogether" (Kunzel 2008, 1).

While these men did not speak of easy or hard time, the ways that they expressed their experiences of time are shaped by a similar "time out of time". Almost all of the men that I spoke with talked about their experiences at college in two seemingly contradictory fashions, and which I asked them about as the topic came up.

For these men, their social relations with the other men in the building took primacy over most of their other relations, creating a form of kinship that worked outside of the heteronormative ordering (of both USJ and the broader society) and that was simultaneously not the same as fraternity brotherhoods. They spoke about their friends from Regan in ways that would indicate not only a deep connection but also a depth far deeper than what might have been imagined from the fact that they had known each other

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for less than nine months (by the end of the year). The vast majority of the guys said that they felt like they had known their friends from Regan for their whole life.

Their relationships are imbricated with a necessitated time commitment. Interviewing many of the men, I asked them how much time they spent with their friends. While their answers varied, for many of them it was well over 40 hours a week, with a few guys responding that they spent up to 80 hours a week socializing with their friends. This level of intensity gave rise to, and was part of, the way their lives were temporally constructed. When they would leave for a long weekend – going home for Thanksgiving or Easter – they would come back full of stories and longing to reconnect and catch up with their friends. In particular, after Thanksgiving break in November (one week break), the guys from the Man Cave gathered and chatted as if it had been years since they'd seen each other. It was like they had been away from each other for a period of years, when in fact it had only been three days. After Christmas Break (mid-December to mid-January), the standard conversation is "Hi, how was break?"- a trend that lasted more than a few days. Tyler, in responding to this question, said "Break was good, but it went by fast." It is a display of the importance of finding out what was missed, what was not occasioned together. Asking them about their friends, they said that it felt like they had known them forever, and – in no uncertain terms – seemed to indicate that their friends were constitutive of their lives in a massive fashion.

Simultaneously, when I asked them how it felt to be almost finishing their first year of university and how the year had gone by, almost every one of them said the exact same

words: "It went by like a flash". They felt that the year had flown by, leaving them breathless as the speeding rocket of a year neared its close in May. Almost all of the guys see high school as far removed from themselves. In fact, they see themselves as dramatically older than those in high school. They are less than six months out of high school and yet for them they are far removed and far distant from who high schoolers are. Allen talks about high schoolers, saying that they are dramatically younger than him as well. He says, "I was an admiral game and there was a high school choir. And I was like 'I can't date you, you're so young.'" Allen supposedly sees himself as an adult, while the girls in the high school choir are still children. In both of these instances, the pacing of their temporal sense is moving at a tempo shifting between fast and slow, and yet neither fully intoning the notion of 'adulthood' while distancing themselves from the recent past of 'childhood'.

The distancing of childhood and the long amount of time spent together, is joined – in some ways – by the particular methods of socializing that they choose. In particular, many of these guys locate the act of studying as part of their time socializing in some ways. Take for example the end of the first semester study session that I was a part of. At the end of the first semester, the motto from the Man Cave Guys was "Everyone is busy and tired. Comes with the end of the semester." For all of the difficulty, triumph, and tribulation of the semester, it is this quote which, stated off-handedly, seems to wrap together the mood of the building and the sentiments of many of its inhabitants. There is a sense of lethargy creeping through the halls, with guys aiming to accomplish something while doing nothing. At the same time as they need and want to study, they are still

aiming to at finding out how to be social and spend this time with friends. I walked down to the basement, into the Man Cave, where there was no one. I turned around quickly and almost walked back upstairs when I looked to my right and saw Jeremy waving at me from the study room at the west end of the hall. I quickly walked down towards him, to see what it was that he was up to. He was sitting at a table with Allen and Harris. Each of them had a computer in front of them and were working on a project or studying something. Allen was working on writing a blog for the local minor league hockey team. Jeremy is working on something ambiguous while simultaneously keeping close track of his fantasy football league and watching the game that is on the TV on the far wall. Harris is studying for Political Science, but gives up after about 10 minutes.

I sit down them and join them, opening the book I am reading. It seems only appropriate that as they are working on their studies that I should join them, studying myself for something that I need to learn. We all take upon ourselves the essence of studying together without too much question. Almost immediately, though, we begin a conversation recapping the day's footballs activities, talking about the fact that a new NFL record was set for longest field goal kicked, and the massive amount of snow on the field for one of the games. This conversation lasts about 10 minutes before we all kind of go back to our respective studies. After only a few minutes though Shane comes down into the room and begins talking. At first everyone in the group seems a little reticent to engage with him and seem to want to adamantly continue working on their studies, yet after a few minutes of Shane talking and addressing the group everyone joins him in conversation. For the two hours I spent studying with them – working when they worked,

talking when tthey talked – I read a total of six pages. Though difficult to judge, it seems fair to suggest that their work accomplished was similarly minor. At the end of the two hours, they also decided that they had studied enough for the day and went to watch sports (note: sports were constantly either on TV or on a computer throughout the two hours). This type of studying occurred throughout the year, with almost all of the guys at one point or another partaking in this set up of time in conversation with their homosocial relationships. In this, we are able to see the ways that students seek to doubly use time, constituting it as both 'social' and as 'work' related.

Through a wrapping of time into multiple folds, they are able to make time move in ways that both speeds by and carry the weight of its slowness. Not only that, this demonstrates the prioritization that is given to social life and their homosocial relationships. These social relations are set up within a particular spatial dynamic – as discussed in detail in the previous chapter – and are then constituted through temporal arrangements. Further, it is suggestive of the ways that – as will be pointed out in the following chapters – that these relationships are themselves enactments of pedagogic learning, rather than sitting outside of the process of education.

Taken together we can begin to see the first temporal quakes. They feel like they have known their friends forever, but the year has flown by. Put another way, one might suggest that in their friendships, time has moved slowly (giving the time together cavernous meaning), while the year has moved quickly (flying by). In the one period of time, time itself has moved in a polyrhythmic fashion. In doing this, they open up a way

of viewing time as flexible. Not only is time both fast and slow, but it is also empty and overflowing.

Michel de Certeau talks about this phenomenon in relation to *strategies* and *tactics*:

> "Tactics are procedures that gain validity in relation to the pertinence they lend to time – to the circumstances which the precise instant of an intervention transforms into a favorable situation, to the rapidity of the movements that change the organization of a space, to the relations among successive moments in an action, to the possible intersections of durations and heterogeneous rhythms, etc" (de Certeau 1988, 38).

He continues, saying "strategies pin their hopes on the resistance that the *establishment of a place* offers to the erosion of time; tactics on a clever *utilization of time,* of the opportunities it presents and also of the play that it introduces into the foundations of power" (de Certeau 1988, 38-39). Institutions or power-positions enact *strategies*; whereas *tactics* belong "to the other" (Ibid. xix). The heterogeneous rhythms of *tactics* play on the opportunities that it can, and in so doing thrusts a spatial and temporal split into institutional and normative ways of seeing and doing time. These *tactics* are put to use by the men I studied with in the fieldwork as ways of altering and impacting on their relationship not just to themselves (or their self), but to the broader situational constitution of power and institution that they find themselves encountering in their daily lives. Here one might list, and I will come back to this later, such things as: the university, their parents, the market, and societal treatment of adolescents.

The bending and playing with of time, for these students, is thus a challenge in some ways to specific norms and normatives. This usage and enactment of time runs counter to ideas of chrononormativity, which suggests that time be organized to maximize productivity (Freeman 2010). This form of schedule and life dictated around productivity is dramatically tied to capitalistic regimes of order, as well as to gendered visions of production and reproduction. This term seemed very apt for what I am investigating and the way that these men determine their time based on productivity, and then, through processes external to the larger construction of time, seek to move outside the bounds of productivity.

Students' Time: …And Forward & Backwards

That time is both experienced as fast and slow simultaneously is not so unusual; what is more important is the way that – having established a specific relation to temporal fluidity – they establish and narrate a nostalgia for the present that is neither in the here and now, nor in the future. Before theoretically discussing it, let me first establish more exactly the process by which they enact this nostalgia of a chronographic charting of time.

While I was hanging with a few of the Step Kids, smoking on the front steps of Regan, they began talking about the future – in a sense. They were not talking about the future in the way that they were planning to do something in the future ("when I get older I will…"), but they were talking about it and thinking about the here and now. Standing around on the broken steps of their first year residence hall, they started talking about

what life would be like in the future. Turning to each other, Ed and Aaron told each other how they see themselves in the future. They talked about themselves as married 40-somethings (with imaginary children), getting together and hanging out with their (male) friends. These friends are the friends that they are currently surrounded by on the steps – and they are the only friends in the frame of vision. They sit around – on a nice backyard deck or patio, surrounded by a big, green yard – drinking beers together, reminiscing about the 'good-old days'. As they talk about drinking beers there's some laughs about wanting to have a beer now, with some discussion of the next beer they'll be having. The 'good-old days' though are, in fact, the very days that we are in at the moment, smoking a cigarette on the front steps of Regan. They are reminiscing about this exact moment. As they're lighting another cigarette they talk about this moment being that moment precisely. At no point in the conversation does anyone discuss next year, or their mid-20s or early-30s. The conversation winds down with them all agreeing that this moment is an important moment, and something they'll look back fondly on; but, more importantly, that these guys they are currently surrounded by will be the friends that are with them after they're married with kids, and who will come over for barbeques on a warm summer day. Through looking at the future and back to the present, they are validating their friendships with each in the present as deep, as steady, and as long-standing. Their statements, beyond the temporal aspect, bear a striking resemblance to those made by the President at the beginning of the year saying that, in essence, the people you meet in college will be the most important of your life.

These guys – neither necessarily 'boys' nor 'men' – are searching out a 'good-old days' not only of their own imagining, but of that of their fathers (and therefore of a past that is *just* past). This vision they've created is an image out of Norman Rockwell, with dialogue written by Dali. They are transitioning their own selves, but are also – as with most generations – transitioning expectations from what their parents have given them to what they are able to now know.

In an instant they have gone forward twenty to thirty years – not passing through those years but merely jumping them as Evil Knievel jumped the Grand Canyon – and then, from this future, looked backwards that exact same number of years (almost to the day). The jumping makes *tenses* difficult to differentiate or maintain, in this way I would suggest that the position in the future of looking backwards might be called the creation of *future past presents*. While this conversation is merely one amongst many that were had, it is a strong demonstration of the ways that students' time, as discussed above, moves both fast and slow, and that in doing so it already begins the process of turning their present into that which is built upon a movement between times.

Students' Time: Nostalgia for the Present

It is important to distinguish this move from a simple idea of *nostalgia*. One might suggest, taking the clichéd phrase "the grass is greener on the other side", that nostalgia is the thought that, either forward or backwards, the grass was greener then. Whether the 'grass was greener back then' or 'the green *will* be greener soon', in either case, one might suggest that nostalgia is this rosiness tinting Ezra's glasses.

What is to be made though of things which might not fit into this idea? Frederic Jameson presents us with an interesting example. Taking from a Phillip K. Dick novel set in a 1950s US that is not quite 1950s US, he discusses the way that "a formerly futurological science fiction (such as so-called cyberpunk today)[124] turns into mere 'realism' and an outright representation of the present" (Jameson 1991, 286). Not only does science fiction – so often thought of as the unmitigated and unfurnished future – become reality in the sense that it is present (for those readers reading it in the 1950s), but, further, "the possibility Dick offered us – an experience of our present as past and as history – is slowly excluded" (Ibid.). While Jameson is talking about the broader conditions of time, memory, and possibility, he also lights up a way of seeing the ability for the overlapping of times and the way that nostalgia – once enacted as forward looking – can be brought into the service of the present as well. Through the representation of the present (1950s), Dick is able to conjure up possibility as a temporal element, bringing potentiality into the *chrono*-context, while simultaneously making the presented future unreal.

These men, rather than merely looking forward or backwards to see the grass being greener on that side of the past/future, are in fact looking forward to look back and in doing so are seeking to see the present as better than it 'is' or than we are currently experiencing it. This process, which I will lightheartedly call *distalgia*, is a process through the renegotiation of the now as better than it might be conceived, and, in so doing, adding weight to the importance of these events, actions, and the time itself. As a

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[124] The today here, in a twist of brilliant text reinforcing its own text, is actually 1991 – almost 25 years ago from now (late 2015).

humorous aside, George Carlin once remarked that it seemed impossible to be nostalgic for something that had just happened an hour prior. "Can anyone explain to me the need for one-hour photo finishing? You just saw the fuckin' thing!" (Seeing his exasperated face dramatically adds to the impact of the response!) Yet, it seems, as we have been discussing, that one is able to, while not necessarily nostalgic, hold affection and distilled impact for things that have just happened, those happening currently, as well as those which have not happened yet.

Déjà vu, Memory of the Present, & Creation of Future Past Presents

In so many ways, these men are not merely creating new forms of time but are in fact reacting and interacting with mnemonic devices and memory conceptually. "Rather than limit itself to preserving traces of times past, memory also applies itself to actuality, to the evanescent 'now'" (Virno 2015, 7). This 'now', is not simply here and now as itself 'now', but is simultaneously experienced as both now and 'now' in the future looking backwards. "The instantaneous present takes the form of memory, and is re-evoked even as it is taking place. But what can 'remembering the present' mean, except having the irresistible sensation of having already experienced it previously?" (Ibid.). It is crucial to dive, briefly, into Paulo Virno's ideas – recently published – on the ways that déjà vu intersects with memory of the present, and from here, move forward to continue discussing the creation of future past presents.

Virno writes, "It is impossible to change something that has taken on the appearances of memory… they become spectators of their own actions, almost as if these were part of an

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already known and unalterable script" (Virno 2015, 8). For Virno, those who create a memory in the present do so in a form of cynicism, and as a way of reducing themselves to spectators. Yet this is not so; not only so at least. One is able to create out of the present now a future that is alterable; the necessity that the future - which the now created in memory - elaborates does not necessitate stagnancy. Through a reading of Bergson, Virno says that "there would be no memory at all, if it were not, first of all, memory of the present" suggesting that the reason the memory of the present in déjà vu is different is that rather than simply allowing perception to take that which it needs for the "impending tasks" it instead prefaces perception with a remembrance of what is happening "while it is happening" (Ibid, 12).

He continues, elaborating on the idea that the distinction between perception and memory (again, taking from Bergson) is that perception "fixes the present as real, complete, resolved" while memory is "the modality of the possible" (Virno 2015, 14); the overlapping construction of a futurisity memory of the present thus entangles both the real and complete (perception) with the realm of the possible (memory). "The synchronic operation of the two different modalities could provoke a hypnotic effect, dilating and congealing the immediate *hic et nunc* [here and now]" (Ibid., 15). In combining memory and perception one is able to be lulled into the concretized iteration of the present. Continuing, he says that "the possible is the *hic et nunc* made into an object of memory, placed under the sign 'back then', re-evoked in the very moment in which it is lived" (Ibid., 17). This possibility (in memory) is evocative of both the present it is lived in as

well as the remembrance of the present lived in and the future-future looking back at the past-present as was potentially lived as.

This back and forth, this reversion and movement are of crucial importance for this discussion, as well as the point from which we take leave from Virno, away from déjà vu and towards a conception of the creation of *future past presents*. Virno is aiming at reflecting on the ways that the 'end of history' are conceptualized, and the elusiveness of a form of the memory of the present within this concept and that underminds the project of the end of history. Here, rather, we are seeking to explore and extricate more a narrative, methodological idea of the memory of the present disrelated from the broader historical ripples. To do this, we must go further into our understanding of time, and understandings of time rather than merely memory. In this, it means to distinguish this from studies of memory (Ricour 1990, 2004; Wood 1991), recognizing the limitations of the chapter and the processes being explored. Virno allows us to conceptualize and see the ways that these men, in their specific ways, are creating ideas about time in ways that are linked to broader conceptions of History (with a capital 'H') and to a world system (in this case US neoliberalism) while simultaneously working through, around, and with norms and normatives about lives, life, and understandings of self.

Augustine, in his *Confessions*, says that there are three times: "a time present of things past; a time present of things present; and a time present of things future…" (Augustine, quoted in Virno 2015, 22). Continuing, he says, "The time present of things past is memory; the time present of things present is direct experience; the time present of things

future is expectation" (Ibid.). In this, one must then ask the question of where these men's constitutions of a combined future that is simultaneously also past and present would fit in this categorization?

Aiming at Permanent Liminality

It is, I would suggest, both exceptionally easy and impossible to answer that question. In that, the easy answer is – as the set up for this article should suggest – liminality: they are betwixt and between! The difficulty though is that this liminality is not merely an ambiguity of condition, but something much more elusive and at the same time temporally ambiguous than what one might traditionally think of as liminal. Let us take as our starting place Victor Turner's statement on it:

> "The attributes of liminality or liminal personae ('threshold people') are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the networks of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, conventions" (Turner 1969, 95).

These young men sit within a variety of liminal positions (the multiplicity of their liminality is discussed below), but what is important now is the way that their liminal status is not merely based on temporal movements, but is also itself a temporal status implicated not temporarily – not as an adjustment to the tempo – but far closer to permanent, and as a *leitmotif* throughout the possible nows, futures, and future pasts. In this section and the following, I aim to further explicate that these men's *future past present* is not merely liminal singularly or temporarily, but is multiply and permanently

liminal; in particular, utilizing Michel de Certeau's conceptions to theorize these processes and states further.

For de Certeau, rather than the concept/word liminality, he uses the idea of the bridge and frontier – an apt metaphor for US masculinity and men, whose identities are exhumed from a history of 'meritocracy', 'manifest destiny', and the 'wild wild west'. "The river, wall or tree *makes* a frontier. It does not have the character of a nowhere that cartographical representation ultimately presupposes. It has a mediating role" (de Certeau 1988, 127). In this sense, the frontier is itself not a non-entity, but a space unto itself – even if a space outside of common space. While the frontier is a mediating force, "The *bridge* is ambiguous everywhere: it alternately welds together and opposes insularities. It distinguishes them and threatens them. It liberates from enclosure and destroys autonomy" (Ibid., 128). The frontier and the bridge act as spaces of connection, points of touching. He says,

> "Thus, in the obscurity of the their unlimitedness, bodies can be distinguished only where the 'contacts' ('*touches*') of amorous or hostile struggles are inscribed on them. This is a paradox of the frontier: created by contacts, the points of differentiation between two bodies are also their common points" (de Certeau 1988, 127).

These 'contacts' are the points of liminality, the spaces of in-between. They are, to put it metaphorically using de Certeau's verbiage, the bridge itself. There is only the contact points which hold them in place – for no matter how liminal one is, they are still in contact with that which it is that they are not. The liminal space of the bridge is one

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which is both always connected and yet always outside of; and, like all bridges, is also filled with forms of danger, failure, and risk of falling. These men, as they seek to put themselves in the future that is not, are actuating a frontier that is not creatable except as a form of fiction – which is distinct from untrue.

The amorous struggle is not, in this case, against another or Other, but against the Other that is their self that is not actualized yet. From a vantage point – that is itself between positions (the college student, who is conceived of as between adult/child) – they are remaking their future self as similarly between social locations. The stories that they are telling – the time(s) they are creating – are not merely impacting on the vision of the future enshrining of a liminal position but further elucidate a position in the here and now which is itself further liminal. Further, these "stories are actuated by a contradiction that is represented in them by the relationship between the frontier and the bridge, that is, between a (legitimate) space and its (alien) exteriority" (de Certeau 1988, 126). The exteriority here becomes, in a sense, the position of a non-liminal position. In inverting the non-liminal position into the liminal position – through *distolgia* – they reposition themselves as cyclically exterior. In creating themselves futurorially as liminal they position themselves continuously outside of the structured and fixed positions – whether those imposed by society, jobs, relationships, etc. In creating this possessed and possible future, these men are aiming towards both the unresolvable and the desired, which is simultaneously impossible.

If one were to collate this into a single sentence, it might look like this:

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Come to college, collect friends, narrate *distalgia* into the future (i.e. longing for

what they have, but in the future), and put themselves permanently in-between.

This permitting of a permeating in-between status is bound into the positions they occupy

currently, and is furthered through a methodological enactment of *distalgia* that projects a

nostalgia from their future selves backwards onto the self that is current which is voiced

by the self that is current yet not the self the future nostalgia seeks to create.

Liminality, Rupture, and Frontiers

The frontier that these men create and cross creates instantiations of rupture, of spillage,

of breakage. This is seen not only in the way they discuss the future, but the impacts that

this has on the present. "As a transgression of the limit, a disobedience of the law of the

place, it [the bridge] represents a departure, an attack on a state, the ambition of a

conquering power, or the flight of an exile; in any case, the 'betrayal' of an order" (de

Certeau 1988, 128). Through the ordering of themselves in the present as working

towards a future where the present is different than its current-as-is state, they transgress

not simply the temporal bounds but rupture sense and affects of the social connectivity. It

both springs bonds into the future – making friendships seem to blossom eternal – as well

as pressurizes these relations in the now in such a fashion that it rips the relationship out

of the simple present and puts it in a position outside of merely the interaction taking

place. To come back to de Certeau, one final time, he reminds us that:

> "...at the same time as it offers the possibility of a bewildering exteriority, it allows
>
> or causes it the re-emergence beyond the frontiers of the alien element that was
>
> controlled in the interior, and gives ob-jectivity [sic] (that is, expressions and re-

presentations) to the alterity which was hidden inside the limits, so that in

recrossing the bridge and coming back within the enclosure the traveler henceforth

finds there the exteriority that he had first sought by going outside and then fled by

returning" (de Certeau 1988, 128-129).

The bridge here continues to act as the liminal space which simultaneously always

connects itself at both ends, leaving that contact (touching) as the fluid travel between the

present, the future, and the future past present.

These forms of rupture are contextual in both the sense that they have a context (place) as

well as that they are driven by the surrounding contexts. Ivor Southwood, reflecting on

Marc Augé's 'non-places', suggests that in the 21st century more and more spaces have

become outside of place – and are, therefore, out of place. He says that these non-places -

such as retail parks, virtualized call centers, transitional spaces of communication – are

themselves not just "placeless" but "amnesic" and act as "liminal zones" (Southwood

2011, 31). These non-places create neither "singular identity nor relations; only solitude

and similitude" (Augé 1995, 103). One might similarly look to the ways that schools and

the market are pushing men towards educational margins, particularly related to sexuality

(Mac an Ghaill 1994). These non-places though, at the same time, open up creative uses

of space rather than simply negating possibility. These men's friendships, in their own

way, are opening up such a space and utilizing ways of being permanently liminal that

stretch the borders of temporal and intimate boundaries.

It is important to return to the university, as an institution and powerful actor, sliding through our view of these men's interactions and ideas of time. In this, it is crucial to understand the way that the university – both as philosophical idea(l) and pragmatically-situated organization – is always contextual, to both a historical moment and a geographic locale. Universities in the US, at this moment (as well as historically), are places of social division and collection. Simon Critchley, commenting on this, suggests "Universities are phallic knowledge machines designed to accumulate at all costs. Capital and the university collide in the model of the rich American private university where the value of the institution really lies in the size of its endowment" (Critchley 2014, 128). He, humorously, reminds us that "everyone wants to be well endowed" (Ibid.). Universities are oft divisive in creating and being premised on homosocial meritocratic ideas (Rotundo 1993), where social life does not necessarily link but can frequently be used to divide. This division, though – particularly amongst men (who were also the only ones originally allowed – or given the opportunity - to attend university) – also provided the basis for connection and an ethos of challenge to adulthood, the world, and the market.

"American[125] college life was originally a new adolescent culture entirely of the students' own creation, arguably the first of the modern age-graded youth cultures that were to proliferate down to pre-teens by the late twentieth century" (Moffatt 1989, 29). While these rebellions and youth cultures were always partial – for example the birth of the fraternity in the US which pushed for independence from the faculty while

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[125] In both this quote and Critchley's above, it is crucial to understand "American" as related specifically to the USA, rather than the broader Americas. This political distinction is important in recognizing the multiplicity of cultures within the Americas, and to dethrone the idea of the US as 'America' (in the singular).

simultaneously excluding on the basis of religion and skin color – they are still an integral part of how one must contextualize micro visions of change. Put another way, one might suggest that they are part of the "reorganizations of education" that Leo Bersani and Adam Phillips (2008, 125) call for in concluding what is needed to open up new forms of intimacy. This call for new forms of intimacy is answered, if tentatively, by the haunted temporal and liminal vision of these guys' friendships and relations that reorient understandings of desire for selves and forms of relationality that bear no necessary correlation to a specifically-located bound, while at the same time acting as canaries for ways that neoliberalism processes individuals and the ways that individuals, in their pervasive resilience, are able to contest these iterations with counter narratives.

Conclusion

One might like to, if only playfully, begin the end by stating that: "After all, barring some life-erasing catastrophe, there will always be a future in the future" (Ruti 2008, 114). Ruti is tackling what she calls the anti-social thesis in queer theory, playing tongue and cheek with Lee Edelman's book *No Future* (2004). While Ruti is exploring the ways and forms of sociality that are proffered and disavowed by Edelman, the concept of *no future* is one that ties back to ideas of *queer time* and *queer space*, in particular to Jack Halberstam. Halberstam says that

> "if we try to think about queerness as an outcome of strange temporalities, imaginative life schedules, and eccentric economic practices, we detach queerness from sexual identity and come closer to understanding Foucault's comment in

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'Friendship as a Way of Life' that 'homosexuality threatens people as a "way of life" rather than as a way of having sex' (310)" (2005, 1).

Without appropriating the idea of queer temporality, it seems fair to suggest that the figures and usage of time that these men work with do not necessarily fit the conscripted pattern of life by which they are meant to be fitting and fulfilling. Further, fitting well into Halberstam's conceptions, he also suggests that we "rethink the adult/youth binary" and that which "lie[s] outside of those paradigmatic markers of life experience – namely, birth, marriage, reproduction, and death" (Ibid., 2). Halberstam, in presenting an alternative to more straight-laced (and straight) critical geographers (Jameson, Soja, Harvey), brings the heteronormative ordering into temporal and spatial understandings in a way that compliments previous understandings while shedding light on the complicated fashion through which sexuality – not merely the 'who's' of the sex act, but the ordered ordering of relations – can be shown to have dominant roles in this.

The enraptured argument of this article has meant to make present the ways that time for these men at university in the US nearly a decade and a half after the turn of the century are challenging notions of time through the use of forms of liminality that are not simple or singular. These guys' relationships, seen in deep detail in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, are premised on this shaping and forming of temporality in ways that are linked to their everyday conversations. Hanging on Chicago's closet doors is a picture of the guys from *Animal House.* It is a photo meant to be seen looking backwards by the guys in the photo itself. Chicago takes me through the photo telling me who – from the Step Kids – each person in the photo is. He does this, not simply as a naming technique for the types of

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people they represent, but as a form of looking backwards from the now into the *future past present.* The forward motion to come backwards of these men's stories is both a temporal journey as well as a search for greener grass in the current – in where they are now. By putting themselves forward in a now that is not in fact now's now they are seeking both to make their now seem better than it might in fact be, as well as putting themselves in a liminal position that is doubly betwixt and between. Yet, it is – at least partially - a world of their own creation. Between in the sense of time – as in neither here (the present) nor there (the future) – and life position – they are neither children nor adults, neither in college nor out of it.

In various ways, throughout the piece, these men's actions have been presented as liminal, situating them outside of the bounds of childhood/adulthood, boy/man, powerless/powerful, here/there, now/then, and present/future (as well as various other positions). It is crucial to recognize the reality that these men are still, in so many ways, the soon-to-be's and the inheritors. Lynne Huffer sets out that the duel burdens of ethics are "the acknowledgement of harms, and, second, the active elaboration of alternatives to those harms" (Huffer 2013, 31). This piece has elaborated on the alternative possibilities that these men are creating by positioning themselves liminally, and by creating the protracted potential of a permanent liminal status. That does not, though, mean that they at all points acknowledge the harms of the system or their continued role in it. As such, it is important to not project onto them a utopian queerness which they neither seek out nor would be able to fulfill.

In tabulating time and tempo, robbing nostalgia from the future like a thief, we must think back to the future that is both past, present and now. Thinking about the sketches and words being drawn onto them – the "them" being both the men themselves and the "them" of their futures to be, futures to be created. These relationships are intimately and intricately linked to ideas of homosociality presented in Chapter 1, and to an even greater extent to the understandings of place and space shown in Chapter 2. In exploring understandings of time, one necessarily brings into question ideas of space and place – which is why this chapter follows after Chapter 2 rather than before it. Chapter 2 sets the scene and provides the ethnographic moments of spatial understanding that temporal conceptions are rooted in. This chapter, beyond showcasing the unique and fascinating ways that these guys see and built time during university, also adds further nuance and depth to the homosocial relationships themselves. These relationships are not simply bounded by resources, capital(s), intimacy, or safety, but are dramatically loaded devices through which they transmit, enact, and react-to life, changes in life, and supposed futures. In positing themselves – and their homosocial relations – as both permanently liminal (while maintaining a distant recognition of the temporariness of them) they are creating, in the same way as they did with the Step, a situation that is neither explained by current understandings of homosociality, nor that can be adequately theorized by thinking simply through the university's and society's general understandings.

Rene Ricard once said, in relation to graffiti lines and signatures: "In these autographs is the inherent pathos of the archaeological site, the cry down the vast endless track of time that 'I am somebody,' on a wall in Pompeii, on a rock at Piraeus, in the subway

graveyard at some future archaeological dig" (1981). We will ask: who is the radiant child?[126] The question is both a reference to the title of Ricard's piece and is also meant to return us to the site of the future adult looking back at themselves, and seeing in that the burgeoning childhood of the university and the ways that the university sets up the space to be continuous and permanently liminal, even if temporarily.

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[126] The reference – 'radiant child' – is also an homage to Jean-Michel Basquiat, who is one of the artists Ricard is discussing in his piece.

Chapter 4 - Myths of Community: Materialist Practices, Residence Life, and Student Subjectivities

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Introduction

> A dormitory is a place to store possessions and sleep at night – but a residence hall is much more. It is an *interdependent community* where students care about and respect one another and a place where people can share and learn from one another – *Shaping a Community: A Guide to Residence Life at Rutgers College* (Moffatt 1989, 71, emphasis mine)

In Chapter 2, with the Man Cave Guys' discussion about the meaning of the Man Cave and what exactly the role of the space was for the community, the spatialized elements of 'community' came to the fore. These spatial elements were augmented with temporal understandings of self and group – through a formation of a cohort – that aimed at the idea of permanently liminal in the present through an idea of the *future past present.* These groups, while not entirely cohesive or consistent, had – or were presented as having – a shape, some semblance of temporality and a form, if a fluid one. The discussion surrounding the shape and meaning of the group during the Super Bowl was merely one instance of the types of discussion that served as markers for extending, contracting, and building what it was that the group itself was. One is able to see this as well in the varied definitions of who was included in the Step Kids, as well as in the ways that the Third Floor Group included and excluded various members on different occasions.

What everyone – from parents to faculty, from Student Affairs professionals to academics – tell students is that: "First-year housing is thus perhaps the most critical

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space for the formation of college friendships" (Armstrong & Hamilton 2013, 109). One Dean told Moffatt that "Dorm floors should be 'interdependent communities of caring individuals' who 'enhanced their college experiences' together" (Moffatt 1989, 71). This, while in many cases being (at least partially) true, informs, reforms, and shapes expectations of what the first year of college about; and, in setting up this space as the crux of one's college life (and life beyond), instill and generate what could be termed the 'myth of community'. By this I mean to suggest a number of things, which will be explored in the chapter. Firstly, that the 'community' and importance of first-year relationships is a self-creating mythology in some ways. Secondly, that university's attempts at forming and shaping a 'community' is in essence a Chimera. This myth is used by the university to push specific ways of interacting and socializing, and is simultaneously utilized by students to gloss over rifts, ruptures, and divisions between friend groups, individuals, and the exclusions that can occur. In all of this, one sees the ways that these myths, therefore, are used (by students, staff, and the university) to reinforce or reinscribe gender, class, and racial hierarchies and divisions.

Regan Hall is concomitantly a house for students, a home away from home. For Rebekah Nathan, residential life did not speak of home. "One year later it was clear that, at least in university housing, one could never 'go home'" (2006, 39). It bespeaks how far afield she was from others that she was not able to find a home, whereas so many others are able to do exactly that. She explains this very simply a few pages later when she says that "What holds students together, really, is age, pop culture, a handful or (recent) historical events,

and getting a degree" (Ibid., 42). It is shockingly dismissive of student life, student culture, and anything remotely close to connections that students make while on campus.

What students leave the familial home for is a sense of the 'college experience', which is intricately linked to ideas about gender, class, and social life. What we are seeing in some ways is a change of the ability of universities to furnish a diverse experience for an increasingly growing and diversifying student body. "In short, colleges can no longer make good on their promises: Most students are simply not getting enough of what they want out of higher education" (Bowles & Gintis 1976, 215). Further, this process is entangled with changes in class relations, aesthetics, and dispositions of sociality towards others. Put another way,

> "… the rapid transformation of the U.S. economy is from entrepreneurial capitalism, in which the middle classes maintain the privilege of controlling their work lives, to a corporate capitalism in which white-collar labor is proletarianized and bureaucratized. This transformation leaves children from relatively well-off families essentially declassed – part of a new wave of workers integrated into the wage-labor system" Bowles & Gintis 1976, 215).

While written in 1976, the statement has continued to describe the current situation with the rise of techno-white-collar positions and the emergence of corporations as individuals who now control greater amounts of people's outputs, going so far as to make sleep itself a negative trait in the marketplace (Crary 2014). This elimination of sleep and of the idea of downtime and relaxing plays a role in the ideation of the 'college experience' and the types of community that a university is seeking build and encourage. One can see this in

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the way that, for many, each experience is CV-ized; made into a demonstratable that can go onto their CV to prove their worth to future employers.

The notion of a 'myth of community' holds a variegated set of meanings that will be explored. These include the fictitious formation that the university propagates and fabricates external to the students; the fragmented 'community' of friend groups that the students themselves create and the dramatic configuration of the relations and mores; the mythos of the envisioned future; and the elusive semblance of the 'hall community' as it exists outside of the building. One might ask, following Michael Warner, if 'community' (or communities) are "queer creatures" (2002, 7)? Warner says that publics – a related concept to communities, stemming back to Aristotle and the *agora* – cannot be pointed to, counted, or looked in the eye (Ibid.). This inability to see, to state, to point towards is something that will come across clearly in the interstices present in the vignettes in this chapter and which will be pinpointed throughout.

This chapter will therefore explore in various ways the idea of 'community', its interrelation and linkages with sociality, and practices that both students and the university engage in as they work through and call into being forms of community. Through this, the chapter aims to explore the facets of student created community and the difference that this has from the top-down – and therefore unstable – idea of community that the institution enacts. Further, the chapter will explore some of the meanings of what community means to these men, the disagreements in definition both within the students and the staff, and between students themselves.

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Staff creation of community is premised on the idea that it is easier to create a forced sense of community rather than organically let one grow, giving the community the chance to self-govern and self-form. This is because the staff are trying to create possibilities for community but do so with particular values, ideologies, and dogmas. One of these is the specific way in which USJ and Residence Life sets up their communities as oppositional to alcohol. In these processes of community formation we see a dual process of both *abnegation* and socialized *denegation*. It is both, simultaneously, of their (the students) choosing and of the choices of others.

Throughout the chapter I argue that the sense and semblance of community being put forward by the Administrative University is fictive, fictitious, and frictional. The imagined nature of this community is far more excluding than including and is built on a mythos that is unsustainable and which the university itself never seeks to actualize more than vocalize. By constituting forms of *abnegation* (renouncing and rejecting) and *denegation* (forms of denial) – both of which are socialized through specific characteristics of distribution, message, and content – one is able to see the way that the university subtly not only dictates students' choices but also the choices of their choice and the through-going manner which they then seek to 'self create' communities. In this, the chapter deepens the ways that we are able to understand the students' sense of self and group in the process of creating, in a similar fashion to the way that Chapter 2 conveys the complex ways that guys and groups of guys are constituting spaces in unique ways, and Chapter 3 substantiated this further with an exploration of the ways that they –

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in tandem with space – fashion new formations of time. In each of this, and in this chapter, I argue that the university's role in setting up an idea of what 'university life' means is entwined with broader social prioritization of heterosexuality and a set of social relations that are meant to be primarily capital driven rather than intimate. The lived stories of these men complicates simple portraits of each of these, and the systemic dialectic between individual and institution allows for a more rounded perspective on the homosocial relations of these guys, as well as on the role that these relationships play in this period of their lives.

The Myth of Community

Michael Moffatt, in his ethnography of a Rutgers residence hall says that 'community' in the contemporary US is frequently "people who choose to live together or work together due to common interests" and that "the late-twentieth-century political meaning of 'community' tends to be 'people who *ought* to choose to live or work together due to some common interest, as defined by me'" (Moffatt 1989, 73). This form of community, particularly at university and when imposed, is far closer to what might be defined as a myth rather than something which is purely enacted. For Roland Barthes a myth is lived as at "once true and unreal" (2012, 239). The idea of community within the residence hall, as demonstrated by the quote from the residence life handbook above, is neither new nor entirely fictitious. This myth, though, has come to fruition through its spreading and the fact that "there always remains, around the final meaning [of 'community'], a halo of virtualities where other possible meanings are floating" (Ibid., 243). To call the myth of 'community' into question is not the same as to suggest it is not in many ways real.

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Calling something a "myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them" (Ibid., 255). By opening up this idea of myth, we are able to excavate the deep elements that construct the community, rather than seeing the community as itself singularly itself. Etienne Balibar also discusses the idea of the myth of community, saying:

> "The State is a manufacturer of abstractions precisely by virtue of the unitary fiction (or consensus) which it has to impose on society. The universalization of particularity is the compensation for the constitution of the State, a fictive community whose power of abstraction compensates for the real lack of community in relations between individuals" (Balibar 2014,48).

Here, the State is the producer of a falsified fiction that it imposes upon individuals on the premise of unity, and in the putting forward of this fiction is seeking to create the exact community that it puts forward. The State, in this formation produces an ideology that it implements onto the society.

The word 'community' has morphed its meaning in many ways, now being able to refer to the 'floor community', the 'hall community', the 'university community', as well as the 'community of college students [in the US]'. This myth of community is not just associated with an opening up of the meaning of the word 'community', but is specifically related to the form and formation of specific educational institutions.

It is crucial, at this juncture, to set up the university as a specific formation within a historical context and that both responds to students' desire as well as, in the form of a

Marxian *real abstraction* simultaneously creates them. Jerry Karabel (1984) suggests that US universities are "linked by objective relations such that the structure of these (material and symbolic) relations has effects within each of them" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 100-101). Here Karabel, who studied Ivy League universities, is referring to the elite and larger state schools and the way that these schools impact – in some ways – upon each other, shaping and transforming practices within the sphere.

These elite universities, then, form a *field* – in the Bourdieuan sense, discussed below - unto itself. In thinking about these universities as a *field* it is to think *relationally*. These universities thusly act not as bounded individuals (individual institutions), but are both agentic institutions while being dramatically imbricated in a system of operations and strategies that stretch beyond the individual campuses. Although they are particular to the US context in the 21st Century, educational institutions grasp on and over individuals is part of the bourgeois divisions of spheres. Habermas reminds us to "Recall here only those explicitly pedagogical functions that the bourgeois family had to hand over formally to the schools and informally to anonymous forces outside the home" (Habermas 1991, 156). These pedagogic functions shape and allocate a dramatic power and authority to educational institutions. "To a greater extent individual family members are now socialized by extrafamilial authorities, by society directly" (Habermas 1991, 156).

This externalizing onto educational institutions came along with a differentiation of the relation of individuals to both themselves as well as to the external and the 'public'. This

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change was marked, in part, by a change from familial "functions of control" to "functions of consumption" and as "a result there arose the illusion of an intensified privacy in an interior domain whose scope had shrunk to comprise the conjugal family only insofar as it constituted a community of consumers" (Habermas ,1991 156). In this way, the family contracted inwards at the same time as the 'private' was transformed dramatically. In so doing, it also changed the ways that the 'public' (the external to the family) impacted on families, ostensibly, in other words, the micro-community. The institution of education (at whatever level) was under the auspices of "semipublic authorities" that was able to determine and impact on the learning of children having done away with "the protection of an institutionally protected domestic domain" (Ibid., 159).

The increase in the authority of the educational institution also provided the *field* of education broader ability to impact, and, in a sense, create a further sense of community. Rather than speaking in terms of spheres, it is more fitting to discuss educational institutions and notions of community in relation to the Bourdieuan concept of *field*. In talking about education as a *field* it is important to keep in mind that "the concept of the *field* can be used at different levels of aggregation: the university… the totality of disciplines or the faculty of the human sciences…" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992,104 n57). In this way, education is not a singular field necessarily, but may have *subfields* made up by the system of institutions. Further,

> "In a field, agents and institutions constantly struggle, according to the regularities
> and the rules constitutive of this space of play (and, in given conjunctures, over

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those rules themselves), with various degrees of strength and therefore diverse probabilities of success, to appropriate the specific products at stake in the game" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 102).

As such, we are able to see both the regulations (or constraint of regularities) as well as the active elements of play that are always contested and internally manipulated. Developing the relation of *subfields* further, Bourdieu says

"Every subfield has its own logic, rules and regularities, and each stage in the division of the field (say the field of literary production) entails a genuine qualitative leap… Every field constitutes a potentially open space of play whose boundaries are *dynamic borders* which are the stake of struggles within the field itself" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 104).

These *borders* are neither static nor constructed solely by – in this case – the university. Students, through a number of methods, impact, shift, alter, and push the *field's* allowable boundaries and elements of possibility. Higher education is "not a product of total consensus, but the product of a permanent conflict" (Naidoo 2004, 459).

Elite universities within the US constitute a *field*, and a powerful one at that. It is important to remember that "fields may be inter- or intra-institutional in scope; they can span institutions, which may represent positions within fields" (Swartz 1997, 120). The University of St. Jerome, does not fall under the auspices of 'elite university'. In the marketized university-business, there is a necessity to keep up (as much as possible) with the Elite universities, and in this way USJ – as well as many other universities – seek to emulate a specific formation of university life that is put forward by these universities.

These universities are impacted by discourses about 'college life' put forward by movies, by the Elite universities, and students' desires - to a greater and greater extent as students become further inured into the *market* as *consumers* rather than merely as students. In this way the University of St. Jerome becomes *composed* of pieces of each of these, like musical notes taken from harmonious keys.[127]

One of the notes that rings out loudest in the discourse of the *university* is that of 'community', made into an abstraction and lifted beyond the lives of the actual students involved. In this way, the myth of community is in some ways a form of *alienation* that inverts the relationship between individuals and community, and, in so doing, the splitting up of "the real community of individuals is followed by a *projection* or transposition of the social relation onto an external 'thing', a third term" (Balibar 2014, 76). In this case, that 'third term' is a notional myth of community, divided from the intent of the community itself.

The community itself – the students – are removed from the act of creation and seen as passive agents to be worked upon rather than active agents in the creation of their own community. The university is able to utilize *strategies* to "produce, tabulate, and impose these spaces" of community, whereas students, using *tactics*, are only able to "use, manipulate, and divert these spaces" (de Certeau 1988, 30). These *tactics*, though, should not be seen as either ineffective or secondary. "These styles of action [and interaction]

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[127] It is harmonious keys rather than a chord to indicate the multi-dimension tonal registers that play a role in each chord that are then, still, harmonious with each other. So rather than suggesting it is tones that fit together (ie a chord), it is suggesting the multiplicity of tones fitting together multiply (ie chords that are harmonious).

intervene in a field which regulates them at a first level… but they introduce into it a way of turning it to their advantage that obeys other rules and constitutes something like a second level interwoven into the first" (de Certeau 1988, 30). By introducing new ways of using and bending the regularities of the *field*, these tactics allow the students to challenge and alter not only their individual lived realities but that of the university and adapting the myth of community as well. The following sections will aim to open up a discussion of the various myths of community at play and enacted by students, the university, and friend groups.

Beyond the *field* of higher education, one can also look to the *field* of masculinities as well. This idea is explored by Tony Coles who says that:

> "Within the field of masculinity, there are sites of domination and subordination, orthodoxy (maintaining the status quo) and heterodoxy (seeking change), submission and usurpation. Individuals, groups, and organizations struggle to lay claim to the legitimacy of specific capital within the field of masculinity" Coles 2009, 36).

Note the importance given to ideas of groups, organizations, and individuals and the inter-relation between them. Coles continues, stating that men in dominant positions "strive to conserve the status quo by monopolizing definitions of masculinity and the value and distribution of capital, while subordinate challengers look to subversive strategies, thus generating flux and mechanisms for change" (Ibid.). In the *field* of masculinities, it is crucial to recognize the broader societal stratas that are formed and shape the placement of the men of Regan Hall – in particular that of age. Within their

own groups age does not play a dominant role, but outside of that their *age status* situates them as 'boys', 'children', and ultimately secondary and subordinate. "Age reduces younger boys' access to hegemonic masculinity" (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill 2013, 111) and positions them in specific ways as children. This is itself contextual, as while on campus or in the hall this is not the primary mode of relation with other men. It is only outside of the campus limits or in dealings with parents, faculty, or the staff of the Administrative University that their status as in-between childhood and adulthood (the 'not-quite-adult') is determinate of their treatment. Amongst themselves they exist, as discussed in the previous chapter, in a *liminal* space that Michael Kimmel calls *Guyland* (2008).[128]

Community Formation, 'Community' Discohesion

The Step Kids were, from their genesis, a loosely bound group; with a number of smaller cliques within the broader whole. These cliques began, sometime around December, to become tighter with each other – having a greater number of members who were members of multiple branches of the larger group. At the same time, the size of the group allowed them to have a "collective identity and see themselves as sharing common interests and responsibilities to each other akin to the stereotype of community relationships" (Jamieson 1998, 89).[129] The Step Kids are, taking from Goffman, in many ways acting as a team. Goffman says, that a 'performance team' (or just 'team') refers to

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[128] For a fuller discussion of Kimmel's *Guyland* see: Karioris 2015.

[129] Jamieson here is exploring the connection between 'community' as related to nuclear households and kinship networks and the relation of these to social friendships. She also relates this to class dynamics, exploring research that suggests that working-class individual have tighter community (kinship) networks, while middle-class individuals have stronger friendship (social) networks, and ends suggesting that this is not always the case (83).

"any set of individuals who cooperate in staging a single routine" (1969, 85). The disparate routines of the three groups began to close in upon each other, shaping and focusing the language, actions, performances, and evocations of each member. Continuing, Goffman states that,

> "Whether the members of a team stage similar individual performances or stage dissimilar performances which fit together into a whole, an emergent team impression arises which can conveniently be treated as a fact in its own right, as a third level of fact located between the individual performance on one hand and the total interaction of participants on the other (Ibid.).

It is this set of both individuated performances as well as the way that the group itself acts, and the third level discontinuity in-between, that this section will explore. The Step Kids' dividuated beginnings allow for the variegated inclusion and exclusion, as well as changes and challenges to regimes of group identity. We can see her the way that, even amidst a general collaborative homosociality, there had previously been divisions, and that collaboration does not entail equality or equanimity, but often involves and takes part in non-collaborative engagements.

The Step Kids, while a group distinct from floor groups, was still party to those demarcations (as seen in the previous chapter). Most of the Step Kids believed that they were also part of the 'community' on their floor as well. In a similar fashion, Moffatt notes that, "Somehow 'community' made the dorm floor groups sound much more earnest and intentional than they really were in student experience… Rather than being communities, dorm floors, according to student conceptions, should simply be 'friendly

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places'" (Moffatt 1989, 72). This aversion to 'community' was, in part, a distancing from allowing the floor to "constrain or define the individual" (Ibid.). Already in the mid-80s when Moffatt does his ethnographic research one is able to see the influence of specific notions of what a community means and the ways that students are able to – and do – react.

The shorthand for much of the group's interaction was premised upon smoking (both tobacco cigarettes as well as pot) and attending parties together.[130] In many ways, one can see the "particular routines are [as] a vehicle by which both self-respect and companionship with the same people are maintained" (Duneier 1992, 39), as shaped for the Step Kids by their interaction with each other mediated through substances (Karioris 2014, 105-106). This is, at least, the impression they give off and the way that the university (as an institution) would see them. That said, this is merely a singular expression of the connections between them, and one which one can see the limits to in the case of Ben 'Al' Allan.

Al's Place in the Group

Just after winter break, near the end of January, and I walked out towards the front of the building after having talked with Isiah, the Resident Assistant (RA), for a couple minutes, when I saw Ben 'Al' Allan. He is Ed's (Chicago's) roommate, so we have hung out as part of that connection and as part of the Step Kids, but we had never found much time to just talk the two of us. Al always wears a baseball hat, it is almost part of his body. The

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[130] For discussion of alcohol and masculinity on college campuses, see Capraro 2010.

team or sport on the hat doesn't always matter, and he isn't necessarily a fan of all the teams that he has hats for. He wears a big metal cross around his neck and a wooden pendant of Jesus on a bracelet on his right wrist. He is shorter than average, with his hair cut short as well; he has some facial hair, but does not seem to be 'trying' to have a beard or mustache. He checks his phone constantly, with it in or near his hand at almost all times. He goes almost exclusively by the abbreviation of his last name – Al – rather than his first name Ben.

The night before he had gotten 'busted' (arrested) for possession of weed. Someone smelled marijuana on the wing and when the RAs came up to the floor they immediately came to his room to check. He told me, "I was smoking out my window. I only did it because I was drunk." When they came into the room they caught him with the pot, and, as par university policy, the city police were called in to address the situation. For any instance that involves illegal drugs the university is required to contact the police.[131] Although they involve the police, the university still manages its own – separate – process to address all issues that occur 'on campus'. I will discuss this process in more detail below.

Al was also caught smoking weed in his room right before all of the students left for winter break. This makes it two infractions in less than two months – most of that time

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[131] It should be noted at this point that this only includes drugs that are themselves illegal, and does not include other instances of illegal behavior (underage drinking). It is also a fascinating commentary on the role of the university's policing that sexual assault and sexual harassment charges do not warrant a call to the city police but are dealt with internally (for a fuller discussion of campus policing, see: Doyle 2015).

the students were away on break.[132] His second infraction happened so quickly that he did not go to the university's hearing before being caught for the second time. The original date for his hearing, the Friday after the second incident, is not being used to discuss both violations. After telling me this he said, "I went and talked to the hall director [of Regan] and told him the whole story, I just told you the snippets. He said that since they were two class A violations that it was grounds for suspension. He didn't tell me much else. I told him the whole story and he listened and didn't say anything really." His face was scared. He didn't know what was going to happen and was very worried about it.[133]

"I'm paying for college all by myself. By the end of this year I'll be $20,000 in debt," Al told me.[134] This incident has clearly marked him, and he is still trying to process the entire episode. His reactions and announced reaction is partially due to the fact that it had happened just the previous night, but it had also clearly dragged him out of a lull into which he had fallen. "I was smoking a lot last semester and over break I was trying to cut down, and I did. Last semester I couldn't sleep and was having a lot of anxiety problems, which is why I was smoking. It helps me sleep, you know? So over break I cut down a lot. I only brought a little back with me in case of emergencies. Sometimes I get anxiety attacks and it can help. So I only had it for that. I had started signing up for things, and for volunteering activities to try and find something else to do besides smoke."

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[132] Students are unable, except in exceptionally limited circumstances, to stay on campus during winter break. The residence halls close for the entire duration, from the middle of December to the middle of January. Students do not need to move their things out during period, they just need to vacate the building themselves.

[133] From notes: *I wonder if he had been talking Felix about this, or if he had been talking with Felix about other things to get this off of his mind.*

[134] For reminder, tuition alone is roughly $35,000, and room & board is roughly another $12,000; totaling to nearly $50,000 with books, fees, etc.

He tells me that he needs to call his parents and talk with them. "I am just going to be as honest as possible and see what they say. I'm not sure what I'm going to do if I get suspended. I'm not even sure I will be able to go back and live with my parents. I'm not sure they'll let me move back in." For him, the consequences and repercussions of the outcome of this hearing could be drastic academically as well as far reaching in his personal life. "I'm not even sure if I should buy books for this [winter] semester. I have the hearing this Friday and they told me I would probably hear back by next Friday. So that's only the second week of school."

He is deeply concerned about the process of the hearing itself, and seems to both feel limited in his knowledge about the process as well as seeking to mobilize the process to his advantage. "I'm getting letters from guys on the floor. I can bring in evidence to support my case, so hopefully they can prove that I'm trying to do better and that I'm trying to cut down [on smoking pot]. I'm going to just make them see that me being here is better for me than leaving." His strategy is to show them that he doesn't want to be involved with that kind of stuff and that he is really going to try to make this right. This is what he is telling himself, his friends, and what he will tell his parents and administrators.

A few days later, after the hearing, I stop by Chicago and Al's room to see how Al is doing. He is moving around the room and picking things up, putting them in different places, and trying to organize everything as he moves along. He hadn't unpacked since arriving back from winter break. After getting arrested and booked for possession he

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wasn't sure if he would be staying so he had decided not to unpack. This also put him in a stage of mental in-betweenness and unknowing.

I ask him how things went with the hearing. It apparently went very well because he was unpacking. The adjudicator for his case had apparently been very lenient with him. "I had Ed [his roommate] and Dave East there as witnesses. I couldn't have character witnesses, but they were able to help explain my situation. I then gave them some more details myself." Rather than getting suspended he is currently on university probation and won't be able to live in Stone Hall next year (the prized sophomore residence hall). Other than that, there doesn't seem to be any other punishment at the moment. Ed looks at me and says, "Yeah, but if you sneeze the wrong way they'll come down on you." Al seems to not see this as much of a punishment and is taking it very much to heart at the moment. He is actively trying to get involved with volunteer activities and to do something other than drinking and drugs. "I don't mind not being able to live in Stone Hall, it will probably be better for me to not live there."

Besides getting into trouble for pot, Al also had a rough last semester grade-wise as well apparently. So besides being on university probation he is also on academic probation. His reaction to his situation seems slightly indifferent. He doesn't seem to think that it is that much of a problem with his grades, or that it will be an issue. He says that things are fine at home, indicating that his parents are either not that upset or he does not care that much about what exactly they said.

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Al's Exile

Al's hearing brought many of the Step Kids together in Al's defense, with some writing letters and Chicago and Dave attending the hearing itself. The hearing served as a bonding event in many ways, bringing the entire Step Kids group together and strengthening the connections between the distinct subgroups. At the same time, though, it also brought into relief the position of Al within the group. From Al's perspective, the group seemed to abandon him; from the perspective of others, specifically Chicago, it was an entirely different picture.

During the first semester Al was good friends with Ed 'Chicago' - his roommate - and many of the Step Kids. "A common thread, however, running through the residential life system – especially for first year students – is the assumption that the residence hall should be a place where students can make friends and become more deeply involved in campus life" (Stuber 2011, 43). This was true for Al, as a member of the Step Kids, engaging with them both within the building and outside of it. As first semester came to a close and second semester started, he saw that the group of guys started pulling away from him. It was very clear to him that they were starting to exclude him from some activities. It felt particularly hurtful because one of his friends from high school – Dave East (from Herald Hall) - was still part of the group. Chicago and Dave had become really good friends and were leaving Al out of a lot of the activities that they would do. Chicago would come back to the room late at night and Al would ask where he was, and Chicago had just been hanging out with Dave in Herald. Al expressed disbelief at this, questioning what it was that they were even doing so late.

It is crucial to note that Al and Chicago's friendship formed from the fact that they were roommates. In this sense, there is an element of structure to the reasoning behind their friendship. "The rooms to which students have been assigned, and the residence halls in which they are located, are places of potential and possibility; the friendships they make and the connections they form with the university will bear significant implications for the student's first year on campus and conceivably for many years to come" (Stuber 2011, 33). This is true in both the larger sense of the place they are situated at within the university (which will be discussed below) and the exceptionally micro in that their roommates often act as agents of connection to various social spaces.

In talking to Al he doesn't understand exactly why the group started pulling away from him. He sees that part of it was because he got in trouble at the end of first semester (and again at the beginning of second semester), but doesn't see this as his fault - he sees it as them deserting him because they themselves didn't want to get in trouble. He sees it as that they don't want to get caught doing stuff and so don't want him to drag them down. Basically he puts it all upon them, and all but calls them cowards for this action.

One is able to see the deep influence that these relationships have on Al, and how immensely they are impactful on the ways that he engages with the others. Moffatt reports that a Dean at Rutgers recommended to the first year students that they "Ignore the peer group. Figure college out for yourself", a piece of advice that was "about the last thing the new college freshman… were doing at the time" (Moffatt 1989, 13). For Al, as

well as for the entirety of the Step Kids, they are in many ways putting a huge amount of trust in the other members of the group. Rather than finding out what 'college' was for themselves, most them were figuring it out together as a male homosocial act and practice. The individualization of students – particularly male students – underscores a specific ideological idea of masculinity found fleshed out in the "Self Made Man" that prioritizes individualism over groups or collaboration and collective action and practice. Moffatt's Dean is building up a masculine idea of college as individual, while simultaneously stating – opposite to this – that the students should actually be listening to him (the Dean) and the rest of the Administrative University staff and the 'community' discourse.

He sees the trouble that he got in - or at least narrates it - as a byproduct of a difficult period that he was going through. He recounts the difficulty that he was having with his girlfriend and her parents, who made her break up with him and wouldn't let him see her - it is all a bit Romeo and Juliet in the escape from parental control and the running away. After getting caught with pot at the beginning of the second semester (after having gotten caught with it at the end of first semester) he had a probation hearing. During the telling of this story he basically described the way that his friends tried to help him and the efforts that they had put in - writing him letters and showing up at the hearing. Even with this recognition, he made it seem like he had been deserted after the hearing. Later in our interview, as he was recounting part of the story he rewrote it postfact, adding the detail of their letters and then moving on quickly without further discussion of their role in his hearing.

At the end of the probation hearing – that was for both he first and second hearings - he was told that he would be allowed to stay at USJ, but would be on disciplinary probation. Rather than take this as a wake up call and rededicate himself to study, he found a new friend group. Initially after the probation hearing he joined a couple of campus groups to try and get out of his rut and to try and make a change. He then quickly dropped out of these groups and left them - ceasing his volunteer work that he had just started as well. He found yet another new group of friends, most of who were from his wing in Regan or nearby in the building. Of the six guys that he became good friends with, five of them were also on probation - with one guy having gotten caught with pot three times already. These guys now formed the basis of Al's friend and social group, pushing him further into pot. He started smoking pot more than he had before - even though he had, as part of his probation hearing, said that he was planning to quit smoking altogether.

All of this has contributed to the end of the line: he says, near the end of the year, that he is most likely not returning to USJ next year. Due to his disciplinary probation he wasn't really able to choose where he would live next year - they did allow him to give some preferences – and he has been assigned to live in Regan again next year. However much isolation he felt this year living there, as he explained to me, he sees as a hundred fold worse for next year. He is looking at applying to a local university in a different state because one of his friends is planning to go there next year. They have already found an apartment and Al knows that he is going to move to the town where the other university is. He is unsure, though, whether he will try to get into the larger state college in town or

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start off at one of the community colleges. His plans are confused, and he seems torn between a variety of options for next year. In seeking out various options it is difficult to tell if he is keeping options open or confused about what he wants. No matter what, however, he does not plan to return to USJ. He sees no purpose in it and does not feel bad about it. He doesn't think that he will stay connected with many, if any, of the guys that he has met here. What becomes clear is that the 'community' provided at USJ has not found a way to include Al nor has Al found a way to build his own sense of community outside of that that would be allowable from the university's standpoint.

The Group's Position

While Al believed that his exclusion from the group was because the Step Kids were not supportive of him, the group – particularly his roommate Chicago – told a dramatically different story. Al believed that he had been ostracized from the group and that it was because the others didn't want to get in trouble – because they also smoked (pot) and drank, and by hanging out with him (he suggested) they felt they were more at risk of getting into trouble.

Ed (Chicago) narrates the story very differently, and their distinct narrations dramatically showcase the role, shape, and place of community in the way that Al has figured within the Step Kids before and after the incident and exile. Ed sees the group's distancing of themselves from Al as a consequence of Al's actions and lack of respect. He told me that when Al came to them all of the guys came together to support him for the hearing – writing letters and finding lots of ways to give him encouragement. They hung out with

him a lot during the period between when he got caught the second time and his hearing; and tried to fortify his spirits to keep him from getting too down.

All of this was based on the notion that Al was going to start actually "getting his shit together." Chicago is very open about the fact that, yes, they like to party (go out to house parties and drink alcohol) as a group and like to drink a good amount. He says though that this shouldn't interfere with school, which is the whole reason he believes he is here. They firmly believed that Al had been slacking, and were concerned about his grades and the fact that he was on academic probation. This was, for them, a real sign that he needed to get his act together.

After the hearing ended and Al was put on disciplinary probation – without being given any other hardline penalties – they thought that Al would start taking school more seriously. Ed was surprised, then, that when they got back to Regan after the end of the hearing that Al asked them who wanted to go get high. Stunned in the moment, Chicago and the rest of the guys were even more discouraged as Al continued drinking and smoking heavily, quickly giving up many of the changes he had pledged to make.

While the Step Kids' activities, as stated above, in many ways revolve around alcohol and smoking, Al's continuation of his behavior was seen as both an excess (in that it harmed his ability to succeed in his courses) as well as a betrayal. Beneath the surface image of the group's core belief about what brought the community together was far more nuanced and firm understanding of the importance of their relations to each other

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and the reasoning behind their coming together as a group in a specific context. At the same time, Al served as a catalyst for changes within the group. His departure played a role in re-constituting the makeup of the series and set of relations within the group; and more mundanely may have made them each realize that they had to "get their shit together." While functionally a motive derived from the market, this act of "getting their shit together" is also fundamentally a survivalist and protective aim of the group and its members. At the same time, there is a sense of protection that is wrapped up in this, and that the essence of the collaboration of the group was being challenged or disregarded by Al.

In gradually excluding Al from the group, they make a claim to what *ethics* are requisite within their community. This is, critically, a making of what is acceptable and what is not. It is not Al's drinking or smoking that is itself unacceptable, but his inability to do this within the bounds of perceived *moral* requirements or virtues, and – more substantially – the notion that his failure to live up to the pledge to them broke with the *ethical* understanding the group had of itself and what relation each (person) had to the other.

Leaving One's Room for the 'Community' of the Cave

The Step Kids, as a group, exist in many ways outside of the strictures of the Resident Life program; in particularly they do not abide by or constrain themselves to the 'floor community' that the building staff seek to set up. On each floor there are four wings; each wing has roughly 30 students and one Resident Assistant (RA). It is the RA's job, as

they are told in their training, to form community on the floor. They are meant to do this in discussion with the Hall Director and, secondarily, with the residents themselves. To do this they are tasked with scheduling floor meetings, facilitating roommate agreements,[135] decorating the floor with bulletin boards and door decorations,[136] scheduling and coming up with programs for the floor,[137] as well as policing policy infractions.[138] The desire is that students find their *community* and friends within and on the floor. And, having found friends (on the floor), it is hoped that the floor as a whole will become a larger *community*. The process of community formation begins before students even are assigned rooms – as some guys came to Regan with a pre-selected roommate, while others found someone on Facebook before the school year started and (though they didn't know each other from high school) decided to room with each other. On Move-in Day, parents swarm through the hall, students rush around trying to figure the process out (and seeing what they have already forgotten or lost), and the RAs and Orientation Leaders try to corral students to the correct events. Roommates meet each other for the first time, figuring out commonalities, shared interests, and latch onto each other for the first meal on campus (and without parents). Jenny Stuber describes the process of movement and rapport building that occurs:

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[135] These agreements are between two roommates, and involve discussing things like sleeping and eating habits, TV time, etc.

[136] There is also usually a floor theme to go along with these, creating a sense of cohesion to the floor's aesthetic motifs.

[137] The year I was there they had just changed the system of programs to a more loose system of programming that did not have specific requirements or types of programs. Previously, there were very specific requirements for running both a numerical number and a variety of programs. The previous types of programs were (generally): spontaneous (unplanned movie night), spiritual (such as visiting a Buddhist temple – this was formerly named 'for the greater glory of God'), academic (study sessions), and a catch-all category. (Each type of program had a name in Latin, harking back to the Catholic roots of the university.)

[138] The role of the RA will be discussed further below.

"The moves of most dancers [metaphor for students, taking from Bourdieu] appear orchestrated to balance two seemingly contradictory goals: on the one hand, dancers do not want to be perceived as loners, so they anxiously pair up with dorm mates to make the nightly trek to the dining hall; on the other hand, they exercise a degree of selectivity, as they seek a group of friends with whom they have something in common and who may even enhance their own social prestige" (Stuber 2011, 56).

Stuber ends with the suggestion that this process of social engagement is primarily about social prestige. While this is certainly true to an extent, it dismisses a huge range of reasonings for why one becomes friends with another person, and functionalizes social interactions as solely premised on hierarchies and *capitals*. It also forgets that there are those within the searchers who either do not wish to search out social prestige (as in specifically oppositional to these matters) or those who are unable to enhance their own prestige to a marked degree.

For one of Armstrong and Hamilton's informants, her initial lack of social ties was due to her roommate, who was assigned randomly. That said, for Armstrong and Hamilton, "she conveyed entitlement to status in the college scene and that she would eventually prove a useful connection for others" (Armstrong & Hamilton 2013, 103). This vision of students as simply collectors of *capital* oversimplifies the complex sets of reasonings (multiple reasons form a set, and there are multiple sets of reasonings) that one forms relationships/friendships with others. At the same time, "They [the women] did not view the dorm floor as a potential community, or even a place to make friends, but as a

temporary residence until they got into sororities" (Ibid., 100). This is the tone that is dominant on the floor for Armstrong and Hamilton, which leads to the isolation of some members of the floor.

Those without strong connections on the floor, labeled as "isolates", socially "shut down as most came to realize that openness to friendship would be read as desperation" (Armstrong & Hamilton 2013, 105). This was not the case for those involved in the Man Cave, though this is primarily due to elements of spatial maneuvering. "As the isolates became invisible, socially integrated women took up more and more space…" (Ibid.). What must be added to the end of that sentence is that these women took up more space on the floor, specifically, rather than in the building more broadly. The Man Cave guys might well describe a similar process where the "socially integrated" on each of their floors took up more space; but it must be remembered that the Man Cave guys claimed other spaces for themselves in the process. Through this one must note and notice the ways that spatial claims are made not simply on a floor level but more broadly in the building – as discussed in elongated form in Chapter 2.

In conversation with each other, all of the Man Cave Guys openly state that the reason they ended up in the Man Cave (both the group and the space) is because they did not fit in with their floor or with their roommates. Allen told me that while he thought his roommate was a really nice guy, they just didn't share any interests at all. Others in the group were less positive about their roommates and roommate situations.

Leo's story showcases the feelings of many of the others. He told about his initial struggles to find friends and make connections. "I needed friends here that I could talk with and eat with. I usually just ate dinner every night with my roommate and the kid across the hall. But they're not necessarily… we don't have that much in common. We're all just… the only thing we have in common is that we don't know anyone else. That's the only thing keeping us hanging out together… So the whole day I had no interaction with people... I like talking with people. It was a struggle." He was searching out people to eat with, as eating alone was neither preferable nor socially advantageous. Not only did he struggle with finding someone to eat with – a daily concern – but he also worried about whom to hang out with and just spend time with.

His situation with his roommate, while not negative, was far from positive. "Its like living in a single, but you just don't get the benefits of living in a single." During first semester, he studied and got good grades, which is something that he wasn't used to. "I was missing my old friends [back home]. So I had no friends first semester pretty much. It was tough. I was like 'Will I ever make friends?' By the time next year, like, the housing thing, everyone's already made friends, who am I going to room with? The same roommate? Or what?" His anxiety is not merely about the present, but is about the future and what it is that he can expect. In setting up the myth of community, the university posits necessary success in one's social life; and from the success while at the University of St. Jerome a lifetime of friends and relations will emerge. The myth, in this case, is temporally shifting and shifted – elucidating a future that is contingent upon success in the present.

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For Leo and most of the other Man Cave Guys, at the beginning of the year they could not see themselves in the community myth with their friends in the future thirty years from now looking back on Regan with rosy eyes.

Leo makes explicit the disconnection the Guys have with their roommates. "I had been downstairs a few times, to the Man Cave. I think the thing that draws everyone in the Man Cave [together], is that everyone has a roommate that they don't necessarily get along with. I feel like they're not great friends with. [The Man Cave] is like their other room. They came down to the Man Cave because their roommate they're not great friends with. They want to make new friends."

They neither feel connected with their roommates, nor with their floor community. The very basis of the Man Cave Guys – as a group and as a community – is the failure or lack from the floor community. This is not to suggest that the floor communities are themselves a failure so much as to suggest that they are failure when the goal is for the entire floor to be a community. Each of their floors that they come from has some form of community on it, but it is not – as an entire entity – a community.

As their *in situ* (original) rooms did not provide what they were looking for, the Man Cave Guys searched out for their own community. This community has partly been described in the previous chapter, in the way that its position as a public space impacts the way that they utilize it, while simultaneously treating it as a semi-private space for

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their group and community. The two vignettes below will seek to elaborate further on the ways that the Man Cave Guys found, created, and maintained their own community; a community that sits within the auspices of the hall community (as it is a public space in the basement of the hall) and yet is outside of it (as it is outside the standardized [and institutionally mandate of desire] of floor community and roommate relationship).

Ping-Pong League Invitations

Sitting in the basement, the guys were playing a game of Ping-Pong, one of their favorite activities. They play most days, and on some days for multiple hours. They play it so much that they decided to start a Ping-Pong league amongst members of the group. They did this because it was something fun to do, gave them a level of competition, and allowed them to emulate elements from the sports TV they watched regularly. After a very quick game, Pat ends up losing to Alex. Alex is considered the best player, though he still gets fierce competition from some of the others. When it is over Pat seems fairly upset. The guys start making fun of him a little bit and he walks off and semi-storms out of the basement. He doesn't really say much before he leaves, but is obviously fairly upset about both the loss and the friendly mocking. The guys don't understand why he is upset or why he walked off so they go about finishing up the next match that had started and then sit down on the couch watching the basketball that's on TV.

A little while later Pat comes back down into the basement and sits down on the couch without remarking about his exit, absence, or return. Allen asks him if everything is alright and Pat tells him that he doesn't really want to be part of the Ping-Pong league.

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Concluding, he says "I added Shane to the league." They all look at him, and everyone seems blown away and really confused. Allen adjusts his position on the couch to look more directly Pat and asks him "What do you mean you added Shane to the league?!" Allen asks the question with tones of frustration, worry, and indignation. The guys had created a specific Facebook group page connected to the Ping-Pong league and it turned out that Pat had added Shane, a sometimes member of the Man Cave Guys group, to the Facebook group. Continuing, Allen says "Shane wasn't part of it for a reason. You just kind of created a problem. He is going to be mad at us cause we started it without him." Allen is not happy about this at all. Jeremy and Nick both seem to be confused by the turn of events, but don't seem as outwardly upset as Allen does, nor do they seem ready to intervene in the discussion as of yet. It turns out, as the conversation unfolds, that they have also excluded Penn from the league.

Allen, in exasperation, says, "This was not your decision to make. You didn't have to..." Nick, in seeking to calm the situation down says "Allen, just remove Shane from group." As the issue starting unfolding, Jeremy notes that "We went to comedy sports without Penn and he was upset," begging the question of how upset Penn and Shane will be when they find out that they have been excluded from the Ping-Pong league.

Pat didn't know what else to say except that he really didn't want to be part of the league and so figured that they needed another person anyways, so he just invited Shane. It is difficult to tell if Pat knew that he was putting them all into a tricky spot or not. His desire not to be part of the league stems from his frustration at his abilities in comparison

to that of the others, indicating the seriousness that he is taking the whole thing. Part of this feeling of frustration stems from the fact that he played tennis in high school and might believe that he should therefore also be good at Ping-Pong.

The reason for Shane's exclusion goes unspoken, but relates more than likely to some group member's frustration with Shane in general. Apparently Penn has not been spending as much time in the basement as he did last semester. According to the guys, they don't see Penn barely at all anymore. This behavior is new in second semester, and they think that he is spending more time with his girlfriend or possibly with guys from his floor. They aren't particularly upset about it, but at the same time are starting to exclude him from various activities. Jeremy tells me "Penn doesn't come down into the basement that often. He only comes down one time a day anymore."

Allen settles down a little bit and the conversation sort of moves forward, moving away from the topic of Shane for a moment. As I am in the middle of doing an interview, I ask Pat if he might want to do an interview with me. To my question he thinks for a second, and then he responds that he wants to be quoted as saying, parroting Ben Folds, "Bitches ain't shit but hoes and tricks." His statement is, to say the least, confusing. I ask for some clarification or to tell me if he doesn't want to do the interview (which would be fine). To this he says "lets just do it [the interview] now." I tell him that now doesn't work great but could we do it sometime soon. It turns out that what was happening was that he thought that I wanted to interview him about the Ping-Pong league, not asking him about if he might want to be interviewed by me for my project. After I learn this I tell him that

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no, I wanted to interview him for my project. When this confusion comes to light Allen looks at him and asks, "What do you think he does here? He interviews people. He doesn't just hang out with people." There is a tone of exasperation in his voice, as well as a feeling of putting him in his place. Pat looked confused, and asked "So you're not my friend?" The tone of his voice is that of a young child (or an older child trying to act young) asking 'did I do something wrong?' He is clearly unsure of his position amongst the group – in light of the frustration of his inclusion of Shane - and with me and is trying to, through emotional connectivity, regain some of this. When I tell him that I wanted to interview him for my project he says "Oh, I thought you were interviewing me for the ping pong league."

Allen: "You know what you need to do to get a Ping-Pong interview? Is be in the fucking league."
Pat: "Can I be an analyst?"
Allen: "You're lucky we let you be down here."

This brief exchange is one of half joke and half honest comment. Allen is not pleased by the turn of events. Allen is galled at the fact that not only does Pat put them in a difficult situation but also then he has the temerity to ask if he can be an analyst. By 'analyst' he is referring to sports analysts that give comment on sporting events; specifically not just sports reporters, but analysts who have a higher level of expertise on the sporting event. Allen's response seems to sum up the end of the conversation well. It also suggests just how deeply ingrained they, as a group, are with the basement. From a geo-spatial

position, Allen is stating clearly that the basement is the property of the group, and that the group is shaped by, and shapes the basement itself. It is also a claim about the priority of the community over the individual, and an exuming of some of the ways that this community is shaped and *called into being*.

Pat and I agree on a time to do an interview without too much other conversation. After this, Pat seems to either get a phone call or make one and again leaves the basement. As soon as he is out of earshot, Allen and Nick start talking about what they're going to do. They say to each other that they had left Shane out of it because he is obnoxious sometimes and they didn't really want to deal with that. After a brief conversation about it, Allen makes the decision that he is going to kick Shane out of the facebook group. Nick asks, "Do you think he'll see that?" Having discussed the mechanism of Facebook, they both agree that he probably would see that and decide that they need to accept that they are going to have to deal with the consequences now, and that it is done.

After this whole drama has finished and Pat has once again left the basement, Penn strolls into the basement. Before he can get too close, Jeremy says quietly to me "This is the one time a day", referring to the fact that Penn now just stops down into the basement rather than spend any great amount of time with them. What Jeremy (and the rest of them) are doing is integrating the temporal and geographic elements of the basement and their life together, and in so doing showcase the way that Penn has not only left the basement but has partially left the friend group in some way. He now takes up a fringe position and is excluded from some activities by virtue of this. There is a sense that they feel that he has

self-selected himself out of the homosocial space of the basement through his devotion to his girlfriend. They try to suggest that it might not be completely that by saying that he could be spending time with the guys on his floor, but it seems obvious that the real threat they perceive is from his girlfriend. This 'threat' though is a temporal one rather than a sexual or misogynistic one. Their issue with his girlfriend is that they feel – and, in fact, is – taking time away from Penn's interactions with the Man Cave (Guys). This frustration stems from the idea that the primacy of relation, at this junction – and up to this juncture -, has been and should be a homosocial one. This notion comes from a variety of places, including the fact that they live in an all-male residence hall, their experiences during the first semester which were almost exclusively homosocial in their enactment, as well as an understanding that social relations are almost by their nature homosocial under a heteronormative system which posits a requisite heterosexuality and therefore a sociality that is primarily homosocial.[139] On the other side of this, there is also a sense of *desire* for what Penn has (a girlfriend, an intimate relationship). In this case it is not *women* (or *a woman*) that is necessarily a peril for the group or individuals within the group but is instead the risk of loss, the fear of erosion, and the shame of lack.

The exclusion of Penn and Shane showcases the easy fissures that exist in these social relations, and the intra-relational dynamics at play in even the smallest thing. There is also a statement about dominance and power and who it is that holds sway within the group - particularly through the exclusion of Penn, who at points seemed to dominate the group dynamic. None of the guys seemed to have any problem with excluding Penn or Shane, and were going about it very happily in fact. Allen talks about the fact that he had

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[139] See Chapter 1.

specifically avoided any mention of it so that he wouldn't have to deal with it. What fear might have been involved (fear of their own exclusion) is hard to decipher.

The Movie

While the previous section showcases some of the incoherence of the group and the pressures exerted in specific directions, it is crucial to see the bonds and solidarity that is at play in the creation of the potent and compelling community that is the Man Cave Guys, and the way that this community is not merely enacted, but is both embodied and created through narrative and the practice of storytelling. In calling this both 'narrative' as well as the 'practice of storytelling' I mean to both explore the elements that make up the narrative ("plot, setting and characterization") as well as "inspecting the social role of stories: the ways they are produced, the

ways they are read, the work they perform in the wider social order, how they

change, and their role in the political process" (Plummer 1995, 19). This section will seek to make visible one of the stories that the Man Cave Guys told, and the narrative practice that they used to create communal identities and that projected themselves into the future, and concurrently reimagined the "who" of each of them.

One day, as the group was having a chat about TV, movies, and the like, the conversation shifted to a discussion about the group story. They had been working on a 'movie script'

over the weekend. While there isn't an actual movie script, per say, they had been having a discussion about a movie that they would write and that would include all of them.[140]

Allen: "I'm the leader in it. And Jeremy [Branch] is my right hand man, who feels he should have been put in charge and holds a grudge against me. So he tries to take over from me. Its kind of a gangster movie, and in the sequel Jeremy kills me with a poison dart."

Me: "There is a sequel? You've already written a sequel?"

A: "Well, not exactly. We didn't really write it or anything, we were just talking about the movie. But you were in it too. You're the big guy. You come in with a trench coat and glasses. You control the Northeast."[141]

Me: "Haha. Really? I control the Northeast?"

A: "Yeah, it takes place in Buffalo."

Throughout the discussion, it never really surfaces what exactly it is that they do as gangsters or what exact activities they take part of to make a living, but it just seems to be an ambiguous abstracted idea of criminal life. It is an imagining of life outside of the residence hall – and this age-period – that simultaneously omits them from the responsibilities of 'adulthood' (Kimmel 2008; Karioris 2015). Allen's description of the whole script and movie idea was fairly small, providing just a brief comment on the

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[140] This story takes place chronologically prior to the Ping-Pong league, and some (such as Leo and Nick) have not joined the group yet.

[141] This positioning of me will be discussed at a later juncture where I focus on reflexive practices and situating myself amongst them and what that means in the context of age and masculinity, power and authority, and 'knowledge' and 'selfness'. From fieldnotes: *"I find it interesting, to say the least, that I am the 'big guy' in the group, though one can see some reasonings in this. I come from outside of the group but am still part of the network of what is happening and am the big guy possibly indicating a difference in age."*

whole thing. We quickly moved on to other conversation, leaving the topic behind momentarily.

As Harris leaves we are joined by Thomas (Penn) who sits in on the conversation quietly for a minute before saying anything. I am standing up, getting ready to leave as he joins the conversation, and ask how he has been. The last time I saw Penn was at the Rave in the Cave where he was very upset .[142] He seemed to be in a fairly good mood today and shared that he had been working but was done for the night. With this he began to tell me about the movie as well.

Penn: "Hey, I need to tell you about this movie that we wrote this weekend. Its got everyone in it. You're in it too."

Me: "Tell me about it. Whats it about?" [*I stay silent on the fact that Allen had told me briefly about it earlier in the night.*]

Penn: "Its a gangster movie with all of the guys in it. It is perfect. Its going to be an absolute classic."

Me: "So you're going to make the movie?"

Penn: "No it needs to remain unwritten. It needs to just stay in my head. No words can fit it."

Me: "So who are the characters?"

Note the sense of authorial presence that Penn takes, and the role that he puts himself in here compared to the way Allen (above) described the process. While similar, they hold

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[142] See Sexuality Chapter.

different sway; it is interesting to note that Allen says that the movie is a "we" project while for Penn it is a "my" endeavor. For the movie to maintain itself, as a communal identification project, Penn says, it needs to be unwritten. He doesn't expound on this, other than to suggest that there could be no words that could adequately get across the fullness of the story; which could also be a statement about the affective quality of the story and the emotive resonance that the story necessitates that could not be contained by written words.

The first thing that Penn then begins to do is to describe the characters of the movie and who they represent from the group. Below they are listed, with the short descriptor that Penn used, as well as a quote the character might say in the movie. These descriptions (and quotes) come from Penn.

Characters:

Allen = The leader of the 'gang'.

Jeremy Branch = Right hand man to Allen, but also wants to be leader (see Allen's comments above).

Pat Daniels = He is the 'Family Man'. "He is the family man who gets in too deep. He ends up dying in my [Penn's] arms. Its a really sad scene. I say something like 'This isn't right. It shouldn't have been you!!!'"

Antony = Street hoodlum. "He is Gavroche basically. He dies in one of the street fights. The police find his body at the bottom of a pile, and the audience cries over it. Real sad stuff."

Shane = "Character that the audience hates but I won't kill him off. The audience really hates him but I just won't kill him off. I'll be at the [movie/fan] convention and they ask me if I'm going to kill him off and I'll be real coy like 'Who knows. There are some big twists and turns coming up.' But I won't kill him off."

Mason = "He is the tough black police chief. This is why it can't really be a gangster movie. Can't have a black police chief in the 1920s really, that wouldn't work."[143]

Penn, having finished a brief overview of the characters begins to describe the plot of the movie. "Allen is having trouble in Buffalo, oh yeah, it's set in Buffalo, and so he calls you - The Boss. You're like the head guy who comes in and fixes things. You're really cool and composed but you do some crazy stuff. You're like Mr. White from Reservoir Dogs. You're Mr. White. You come in with this song playing [plays beginning of 'Sympathy for the Devil' by the Rolling Stones on his phone]. You're wearing a long trench coat and as it hits the top you put your glasses on." The inclusion of me as a character indicates an element of inclusion in the group, but also exists as a commentary about the exclusion of an RA or staff from Residence Life.

While he makes clear that he is a part of the movie, he never clearly gives an indication of his role in the whole thing. He talks about the fact that he is involved (holding Pat as he dies in his arms), but seems to keep himself outside of the story in his discussion of it, seeing himself more as the director or writer of the movie. It is also unclear whether this is a movie or even a TV series. There is a lack of clarity in the definition and explication

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[143] It is an interesting note of historicity and racism that Mason, the only black member of the group, can both be the police officer (by virtue of his personality in real life) and cannot be (due to racial prejudices in the historical period).

of the story. Whatever final format he might imagine it as, he is the one writing and directing a large portion of what is happening. Penn is both active as an actor, and as a 'writer' of the group's story. This is the way that he tells the story at least. It is unclear exactly what role he had when they were originally talking about this, if that was his role or if others took more of a leadership or active role in crafting the idea.

He places himself at the heart of the matter and at the heart of the group, with everyone else surrounding him. At the same time, however, he deflects some of that. He makes Allen the leader of the group in the movie - which may be both part of the reality of the group as well as a statement about how Allen sees himself or Thomas (Penn) sees himself in the group.

The most crucial character description is that of Shane ("the character everyone wants me to kill off"). It is difficult to know how to interpret this and put this backwards into the reality and upon who Shane is. Is this a statement about the way that Jeremy sees Shane, or the group sees Shane, or the way Penn feels about Shane? One might guess that this is some of each, and that Shane's position within the group is up for discussion - sometimes positive and sometimes negative.[144] It could also be that Shane himself sees himself as a leader of the group at points and this causes conflict within the group about who is leading the group. A group can seemingly only have so many leaders at a time. With Shane pulling the group one way, it would be bound to cause conflict with the others who see themselves as leaders. At the same time, though, Penn won't kill Shane off, so there is the suggestion that Shane is a necessary part of the group. Each member brings their

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[144] This can be seen from the above vignette about the Ping-Pong league, where he is excluded.

own unique elements to the group and without each of them the group would not be the group that it is.

Beyond looking at individual characterizations, one should see the amount of group narrative being created by this. They are creating a sense of group, as well as a sense of group importance. Their lives are not only worthy of creating a movie involving them, but even without making it it is a masterpiece of sorts. We all like to think of ourselves in a specific way, and they have decided, for the moment, to see themselves in the fashion of a group of gangsters pulled together under the banner of an activity and working together to accomplish their goals. They are building boundaries surrounding themselves and creating a form of accomplishment that neither needs to be actuated and actually accomplished nor which can be taken away from them. Whereas in their daily lives they may feel powerless and at the whim of others, in this story they are the leaders and gangsters - setting the rules, breaking the law, and living as they wish.

RAs & Imposition of 'Community'

As discussed above, the floor *community* is one that is primarily facilitated by the hard work of the RAs, each of whom is given leadership over a wing of roughly 30 men. Michael Moffatt calls the RAs as the "bottom of the chain of deanly command" (Moffatt 1989, 36). During the first week on campus - 'Orientation Week' – the RAs and the Orientation Leaders act as liaisons between the university and the students, helping with all many of tasks. The Orientation Leaders show students around campus and act as agents of introduction to the wider campus geography, student body, and traditions, while

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the RAs far more seek not merely to introduce but induce and coax out of students the desired community. They also seek to bridge the "personal world of the students and the impersonal qualities of the official college" (Ibid., 5).

During the first week the RAs go around their floor, introducing themselves, meeting parents, assuring parents that everything will be alright, introducing students to the others on the wing, and starting to plan activities for the floor. During Orientation Week this is fairly easy, as the wider campus has a huge array of events already scheduled. They also begin the process of setting up boundaries and themselves as both friendly go-to's and disciplinary enforcers. Each RA has a floor meeting where they describe their role on the floor, have an icebreaker to allow people to start getting to know each other, and setting out the general rules of the floor/building. Frequently RAs will give residents an ability to create additional rules (never subtract really) to make them feel like they are in control of the floor community. And, most importantly, RAs make clear that one "could have lots of fun on our floor this year if we brought our freshman enthusiasm to the formal dorm programs fostered by the deans…" (Ibid., 6). This quote, while taken from Moffatt, aptly sums up some of the feelings of RAs at USJ and Regan. Here there is an equation of 'community' with the notion of following the rules.[145]

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[145] These rules could be additional quiet hours, specific public property or areas rules, or thoughts about communication. The only instance of 'rule subtraction' that I have seen was when male floors in Herald voted to allow women to be able to use the men's bathrooms (as single-sex floors, women were not supposed to use these bathrooms). This practice was disallowed though.

While the RAs play a vital role as both disciplinarians and paternal figures, the university and Residence Life still denies *in loco parentis.*[146] The dorms were places that were, in some ways, tightly controlled. While Residence Life staff "believed that they 'developed' the undergraduates through residence life – that the shaping of the students' extracurricular values was their expert task – the undergraduates, conversely, saw the dorms at their best as places for real student autonomy" (Ibid., 72). This disparity between perception of staff and student is in part due to the subtle impact of the programming efforts as well as a misjudgment of student's ability to escape the grasp of Residence Life. As Moffatt explains about Rutgers, "Power did not really exist in this voluntaristic world of deanly fantasy. Collective standards somehow emerged without agents; the deans were simply the custodians of an impersonal democratic process" (Ibid., 71). RAs, Hall Ministers, and the Hall Director are deeply impactful agents within the hall, though they most frequently like to narrate their role in the hall as positive and community building. In this way, 'community building' often comes as a euphemism for policies, punishment, and patrolling.

Though the RAs set up huge amounts of programs, bulletin boards, and posters, their reach was still limited. Rebekah Nathan inadvertently found out one of the limits of the reach of the building staff (and nosey anthropologists): room doors. Nathan says, "I found that much more of student life than I had initially though occurred behind closed doors and was not amenable to my participation or observation" (Nathan 2006, 32).[147]

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[146] Latin for: 'in place of the parent'. See Chapter 1 for discussion of *in loco parentis* and its role/place in higher education in the US.
[147] It is a telling sign about Nathan's ability to fully conduct an ethnographic study of a residence hall that she neither anticipated this issue nor seemed to be able to move past it and into the rooms of students to a

Even this, though, is not absolute, as RAs do 'rounds' while on duty actively listening for guys breaking the rules in their rooms.

In some cases, RAs are seen as friendly figures by the wing. This could be because they are the 'cool RA' (indicating that they let guys get away with a lot of things), because they share a lot of interests with the wing, or just by virtue of the interconnections that that specific RA has with his wing. Art described his RA in this way: "He doesn't come check up on us… He gets little updates on each of our lives… He'll stand in the hallway and talk with us. If someone gets too rowdy he'll write them up if he has to… I think he does, in a good way, as much as he has to but doesn't go overboard."

On the other hand, many RAs find themselves ostracized by their wing. This was the case for one RA in particular, Drew. Drew was a mid-year hire after the previous RA left for student teaching. The wing had loved the previous RA Ben, and felt like his departure was a huge loss for the wing. This relationship was brought into sharp relief one day when I was hanging out with Chicago. As we were standing there in Chicago's room chatting, Drew (RA) walked by and came into the room. He asks how I am doing and I tell him I'm just stopping in and saying hi to his guys. He asks what I'm doing "talking to the locals"[148] - which he includes Felix in, even though he lives on the 3st floor. Felix, for his part, say that "Yeah, I spend most of my time here I guess", so he thinks it makes

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great degree. This issue (student's rooms) also plays a role for Moffatt and Armstrong & Hamilton – not in the same way or nearly to the same degree. This is, most likely, related to the fact that all of these anthropologists were also faculty at the university where they were doing the study (whether covert [Nathan] or otherwise [Moffatt was incognito for the first few days, but came out to the students and continued openly as an anthropologist]).

[148] It is unclear if he was specifically making an anthropology reference here or if it was meant more in relation to them living in that space.

sense to be included as part of the room. Drew chats for a minute with me, though no one else in the room engages him or takes part in the conversation, and then leaves. As he leaves Chicago sticks out his tongue at him and everyone else has the look of 'thank god that's over' on their faces. They very clearly don't like him and their reactions as he gets further from the room get worse. Chicago looks at me with mild and mock humor. He says, "Damn you Frank. If you weren't here he would have just kept walking." They start calling him a number of rude names indicating both their dislike for him and that they think he is weird. One of the other guys asks "You think he'll find the ring in the bathroom?!" They are referencing and joking that he is like Smeegal from *The Lord of the Rings*. Smeegal is a slimy and disfigured creature that hides in darkness, and whom no one wants around. "We also call him Chunk from the Goonies" they tell me – another reference to physical traits and social undesirability. What is clear is that they don't like him and, more specifically, don't like him in their business.

The RAs act as both representatives of 'community' as well as invaders seeking to discipline students. The RA position attracts a number of types of individuals to the position – for a variety of reasons. It is well paid, with RAs receiving free room and board and a small stipend, and is considered a leadership position on campus. The position therefore draws many people who see it as an economic position or one to further their *social capital* – both on campus as well as post-college (as a resume builder). This low-level administrator position develop skills that will come in handy in the future. Bourdieu discusses these types of positions, saying:

"Some of the most characteristic features of the conduct of junior officials – a tendency towards formalism, fetishism about punctuality, strict adherence to regulations, etc. - are far from being a mechanical product of bureaucratic organization. They are in fact the manifestation, within the logic of a situation particularly favourable to its implementation, of a set of dispositions that also manifests itself outside the bureaucratic situation" (Bourdieu 1981, 312).

It is not merely that these positions create specific traits within the RAs, but that the RA pool self selects in some ways. At the same time, this is also part of the turnover rate of many RAs, a mismatch between desire and requirements. On campus there is a particularly high turnover rate of male RAs.[149]

RAs serve, in their way, as part of the broader system of the university; and, as such, assist in the continuation and creation of the 'college experience' and what exactly that looks like. As part of this process RAs function as mentors, signposts, and gatekeepers. Immanuel Wallerstein discusses the process of education, stating:

"Do the educational systems of the world actually create human capital, that is, train persons in specific difficult skills which merit economically some higher reward? One might perhaps make a case that the highest parts of our educational systems do something along this line (and even then only in part), but most of our educational system serves rather the function of socialization, of babysitting and of filtering who will emerge as the new middle classes" (Wallerstein 1991, 150).

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[149] This trend could also be explored in relation to Staff in Higher Education and the high percentage of females in this field. See, for example: Hunter 1992; Blimling 2002; and Lovell et al 1999.

While Wallerstein is fairly flippant about what education is, he points out both the fact that the educational system is not merit-based as well as that higher education functions as a control mechanism for class and race. So while the RAs serve to create a community, they are also delimiting the accepted, acceptable, and what serves as properly 'community' through the enforcement of policies that put forward specific ideological beliefs – in particular about the ways that individuals should relate, personal-space, drinking, drugs, noise, and relations with outsiders (anyone who does not live in the building).[150] This is of particular importance for a building with only men. In this way, the RAs served to regulate the lives of the students. Moffatt, discussing the purpose of RAs and Residence Life more broadly says:

> "From this undergraduate point of view, Rutgers officialdom was not a personal entity. Just as it did not treat the students as individuals, it was not a 'you' or a 'we,' and it was only sometimes a 'they'; more often, it an 'it.' And if you gave it half a chance, what would it do for you? It would certainly not care for you" (Moffatt 1989, 14).

He gets across the root of the RAs' position: to give a personal/human face to a university which is not always adamant about seeing students as individuals and acts in ways that are impersonal. This process is situated in a discourse of 'the student' as an idea, one that can be shaped. Regina Kunzel discusses the process of singularity that often takes place in seeking to shape a community, relating it to her study on prisons. She reminds us that we must remember that "…prisoners did not comprise a homogenous group who spoke in one voice. 'Prisoner' is not a coherent identity category, and prisons have always housed

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[150] I say this – related to the tactics of RAs - as a person who worked as an RA for four years, in two different buildings.

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diverse communities of inmates…" (Kunzel 2008, 10). In the same way, neither are students as homogenous as Student Affairs or Residence Life might have us believe, or as much as they suggest they have the ability to shape students into. The belief in the malleability of students is, partly, related to the treatment of them as outside the realm of adulthood and as constitutive of extended childhood. It is for this reason, amongst others, that Residence Life seeks to manage student's lives in such concrete and deterministic ways.

A Building Community only Outside the Building

As should be seen from above, the notion of community in Regan Hall is tentative, shifting, and dramatically shaped by both the guys' interactions as well as the university's desire for the hall. In a building of over 300 men, there are bound to be individuals one does not know. Most guys I spoke with only associated with a handful of others, said "hi" to a wider grouping, and knew (by sight) the guys from their floor and some others from the building. The building shares a common root in the fact that nearly all of them are first year students at USJ and have decided to seek out a university education. Beyond this, there is little that bonds them together as a 'community'. Lynn Jamieson, in her book on intimacy, in discussing the relationship between 'community' and 'friendship' suggests that, in part, the relation of the inclusion of broader groups of individuals with whom one might come into contact is related to the separation of commercial relations from personal life. As commercial life was, in many ways, dominated by men the changing economic involvement of women in the workplace has had a dramatic impact specifically on men's relationships. She says that "Not only was a new kind of friendship possible but also a new kind of stranger; to be not-a-friend was now to be a neutral and

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indifferent stranger rather than a dangerous individual who was potentially friend or enemy" (Jamieson 1998, 77).

The figure of the stranger is a powerful one, with deep resonances within Regan and a university residence hall; as almost all of the residents come to their new home *sans* friend or foe, but joining with a plethora of strangers at the ready. Put another way, one might suggest that rather than call these individuals 'strangers' to each other, one might more adequately (and geographically) call them instead 'neighbors'. This designation gets across much of the semblance of ambivalence that 'stranger' holds in Jamieson's statement, while also bringing us closer to an understanding of the ways that these men must (in the sense of 'do' rather than 'are forced to') act in relation to those around them.

For most of these men, this is most likely the first time that neighbors are so close to them – both spatially as well as that they become knowledgeable about their personal life. Not only that, but the number of neighbors is expanded numerically beyond the suburban idea of one neighbor on each side of the house, opening it up even further than most apartments where neighbors proliferate (in their numbers). With roughly 30 other men on their wing who they are told are all their neighbors, and another 270 or so neighbors existing in the building, it enumerates levels and numbers of neighbors. The figure of the neighbor is striking in the Christian ethos to "love thy neighbor as yourself", which, one might suggest, is ambiguous and "involves interpretive and practical aporias in all its individual terms, and even more so as an utterance" (Zizek et al 2005, 5). The neighbor for Reinhard exists "within an infinite series of possible encounters, one without limit and

without totalization, a field without the stability of margins" (Ibid., 8). This definition of the neighbor is strikingly similar to the *queer project of world-making* that Berlant and Warner describe. The neighbor here exists in relation to Carl Schmidt's dichotomy of friend-enemy, which, in light of this study and Jamieson's insight of the emergence of the stranger, allows the neighbor to act in both the concretized form and as the breaking down of the spatial "us" and them" (Reinhard 2005, 15). Reinhard continues, "where we divide the world into friends we identify with and enemies we define ourselves against, [the problem] is that it is fragile, liable to break down or even to invert and oscillate in the face of complex situations" (Ibid., 16). This gets to much of the root of the ways that the guys relate to others beyond those who have been partly constituted as part of themselves. The in-betweenness of the neighbor opens up the state-of-play for interaction, and yet is also specific to context.

As described in the previous chapter, most of the men who end up in Regan describe it that way: "end up" rather than "choose to be". This falls in line with the image of the neighbor, as one does not in most instances have choice over one's neighbors. One may choose one's neighborhood, selecting in this way the broad categories of individuals one would like to (consciously or subconsciously) live near: class, race, ethnicity, liberal/conservative, political orientations. This ability to choose does not, however, include direct influence over the neighbor in specific.[151] The men of Regan Hall chose their neighborhood broadly – choosing to come to USJ. Most though, in the metaphor of the neighborhood, were unable to choose which street they lived on (here related to

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[151] There are exceptions to this, where communities or neighborhoods vote on inclusion of new members, or otherwise allocate forms of choice in this matter.

which building), as most of the residents had given a preference to be elsewhere. This elimination of choice sets the residents in a different relation to each other from the outset, which is only furthered by the passing of time where residents do select their friends and then choose who maintains a position of the neighbor.

One could also detour from friend-enemy and neighbor to suggest the ways that these idea(l)s are related specifically to the gendered notion of fraternity. The idea of "… fraternity is *difficult* to study… because the idea works in the United States as an always-remote abstraction rather than as an embodied practice" (Nelson 1998, 19). Exploring 'national/white' fraternity, Nelson says that the difficulty is that it is "almost never what they get: a space where men can step out of competitive, hierarchically ordered relations and experience rich emotional mutuality of fraternal sameness" (Nelson 1998, 19). This idea of 'fraternity' from Nelson is both comparable to certain uses of 'homosociality', as well as misplaced in some ways in its application to the lived realities of men today. It represents one side of the Janus of homosocial relations. Fraternity, like community, is neither entirely fictitious nor concrete. To suggest, as Nelson does, that there is no space into which men might be able to escape competitive-based relations is to give up an idea of social life as including and necessitating *intimacy*, friendship, and a sense of self that is in relation to others in ways that are non-deterministic, non-pragmatic, and non-violent. In this critique of fraternity as a concept Nelson commits the error of abstracting what is often an embodied practice of the *fraternal*, and takes as the starting place for relationships a world that is ultimately agonistic and traumatic.

The reason that most men state they did not choose to live in Regan is because the hall is all-male – a paradox in that most of them then choose to associate almost exclusively with other men. As we saw in Chapter 2, Regan's status as the all-male residence hall situates it in a particular social location on campus in relation to the other first-year resident halls, most especially Herald Hall. Many of the guys spoke not just about their initial feelings that the building was not the "place to be" but also the way that once on campus their status as living in Regan positioned them in socially undesirable positions. Al talked about the sense that living in Regan immediately put one at a social disadvantage to others on campus. He discussed the ways that others thought Regan was a terrible place, and that it meant that he was unable to pick up women, due to lack of *capital* and women's (supposed) dislike of Regan. While for Al this social standing is in relation to women, many of the responses that others told me they got from others on campus (men and women) were homophobic suggestions that to live in Regan made one gay. This lowered social status furthered Al feelings of isolation on campus, and his sense of getting a raw deal. For him, it was clear that others were making fun of Regan and the guys who lived there and this dramatically impacted on feelings of self and community.

Within the hall, there is a cordiality to one's neighbors – premised as it is upon the middle-class idea of the stranger as a neutral force in one's life rather than as an agent of hostility.[152] That said, within the hall, they treated most the rest of the building members not so much as community – in the active sense – but as strangers who they were also

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[152] Here one might be inclined to examine Derrida's mediations on *hospitality* - taking from Levinas and ethics (Dufourmantelle & Derrida 2000) - and its relation and linguistic similarity to *hostility*; as well as exploring the conception of ethics that is necessitated in the relation to one's neighbors (Zizek 2005) and homosociality. These are statements towards future projects.

neighbors with. The injunction to treat one's neighbor as one's self came to the fore far more outside the walls of the building in fact. Mitchell Duneier observed something similar in his ethnography *Slim's Table* which examined relationships in a Chicago diner:

> "For most of a week in the middle of February, they [a restaurant] closed for remodeling… [During this period] small cliques of habitués, black and white, waved and nodded to one another, through windows and around booths. This collective consciousness replaced the indifference that had previously characterized relations between many of the smaller cliques in the restaurant. Members of these cliques now demonstrated a civil attachment to one another, founded upon the recognition of common participation in the Valois [the restaurant] way of life" (Duneier 1992, 87-88).

The disparate cliques that existed within the restaurant dissolved outside the walls of the Valois and brought them together as members of the restaurant 'way of life'. Similarly, the men of Regan Hall found themselves frequently connected and acknowledged each other to a far greater degree outside the walls of the hall as a sign of their, supposed, shared way of life (by virtue of living in Regan). This shared way of life came in part from the entanglement to the hall as a non-chosen way of life. In this way, it is a shared way of life that is an acknowledgement of the undesirability of that way of life itself. One might suggest that this form of relationality outside of the hall is a condemnation of Regan and a statement about the failure (in one fashion) of the institution to form a 'community'. It is only a failure in the sense that the community created does not emulate or resemble the community USJ strives towards, but is instead a byproduct of it and its interaction with the student's molding of their own relations. One can see this community

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outside of the hall as a repurposing of the Residence Life model of community for aims other than initially intended. Michel de Certeau suggests that actors often work through rules by subverting "them from within – not by rejecting them or by transforming them (though that occurred as well), but by… using them in the service of rules, customs or convictions foreign to the colonization which they could not escape" (de Certeau 1988, 32). This *tactic* opens up a reading of the rules that could not have been anticipated, painting the regulations in shades and tones unknown and illegible to the institution.

Practice in an All-Male Hall

The *tactics* of de Certeau are part of a broader series of practices which are necessary to discuss in that they allow for a grounding in the contextual gendered, aged, and classed dynamics that are at play within the *field* and which the agents (all men) are able to work with and through. These practices fall along various levels, from "individual practice, practico-inert, and the developed phenomena of groups" as Raewyn Connell argues (Connell 2003, 371). Continuing, Connell says that "There is a dialectical between levels…. This conception is useful in understanding a gendered organizational world that is full of incoherence, misperception, minor tension, change, and temporary accommodations" (Ibid.). This in-betweenness – in much the same way as in the connections between a *field* and *subfields*, is always in movement and dialectically altering each other. It is crucial to remember "… what exist[s] in the social world are relations – not interactions between agents or intersubjective ties between individuals, but objective relations which exist 'independently of individual consciousness and will,' as Marx said" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 97). By reminding us that what is at play and at

stake are concrete relations one is reminded not to forgo an understanding of the powered

interactions and maintain an understanding that gender is, "centrally, a structure of *social*

relations" (Connell 1997, 703).

Not only is gender a structure of social relations, it is also historically and contextually

created through practices. As seen in Chapter 1, male homosociality is crucially

integrated into the 'college experience' within the United States, and, in many ways, sets

forth practices premised on at least a partially fulfillable homosociality. The specific

tactics and practices of community formation described below are therefore neither

aberrations nor singularly true for all university life. These men impact upon each other

dramatically, but come to each interaction already impacted by the various social forces

surrounding them –from early familial processes of learnt *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977),

educational institutions, and previous socialized group learning. It is important to

understand that these men's socializations (currently) are shaped by all of the above – to

varying degrees – and that their practices (in the social present) act as shaping agents

themselves upon the other men around them.

The status of the residence hall as 'all-male' dramatically effects the form, type, shape,

composition, and practice of the 'community' desired, enacted, supported, and sought

after – both by the university as well as by the students themselves. Of particular

importance for gendered group dynamics, masculine joking is frequently pointed to as a

crucial element to their relationships. Duneier discusses this about the regulars of a

Chicago restaurant saying:

"Playful insults… enable… [individuals] to reaffirm the warmth that existed the last time they were together. Boldness and effrontery serve to remind men that although time has passed, each still has a place in the others' hearts. These ritual indications are symbolic of the stability of relationships, assuring men even as autonomous as these that their importance to others… is by no means precarious from encounter to encounter" (Duneier 1992, 38).

These forms of *intimacy* act as connectors between men as well as showcasing emotional commitments, demonstrating that male-to-male relationships are –at least partially – built on configurations of joking. Similarly, Danny Kaplan suggests "Humor in male subcultures is a central strategy used to refer to muted conflicts, offering culturally sanctioned safety valves to express potentially dangerous sentiments" (Kaplan 2006, 574). Joking is merely one practice, amongst a wide variety, that showcases specifically gendered frames of interacting – as individuals – that dramatically shapes the form of the community as a whole. Rather than seeing joking as a distancing mechanism, one can see it as an "ambivalent language of relatedness striving to produce a sense of *intimacy*" (Ibid.). Put another way, "'Looking after your mates', 'acting tough', 'having a laugh', 'looking smart', and 'having a good time' were key social practices" (Mac an Ghaill 1992, 56). These are just some of the practices that connect men in intimate fashions and are practices that also act as devices for working through formations of spatial and social feelings – caused either by one's position within the broader campus or by interactions with the institution itself.

In looking at both the individual methodologies for community shaping, and the institutional elements that hold sway and act as a powerful influence over the possibilities of the situation, we maintain sight of both individuals (single entities that are concurrently non-discrete) as well as the institution (neither all-powerful Leviathans nor disinterested non-entities). Michael Kimmel and Tracy Davis remind us that a *critical* approach "promotes both [an] individual and institutional level challenge to hegemonic masculine norms and patriarchal privilege" (Kimmel and Davis 2011, 5).[153] In this way, a form of critique necessitates a gender component that undergirds the discussion and which, in shedding light on the practices of men and the influence that their friends have on them, and the way that institutions pre-dispose spaces towards specific relational practices, this chapter means to call into question simplistic discussions of gender as individual (rather than relational) and those that omit shedding light on powerful institutions. This chapter is *critical* and seeks to shed light through the narratives of individuals and the ways that they counter dominant (both societal and institutional) ideas of the ways they should relate to each other. While the below events do not 'speak for themselves' to call masculine homosociality into question, they provide a vivid portrayal of it and in so doing are able to *enunciate* semi-autonomously. Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner remind us that "hegemonies are nothing if not elastic alliances, involving dispersed and contradictory strategies for self-maintenance and reproduction" (2002,192).

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[153] Note a distinction between 'hegemonic masculinity' and 'hegemonic masculine norms'. Connell developed *hegemonic masculinity* as a concept (1995; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005) and there are a wide array of critiques and re-evaluation of the concept (see, recently: Anderson 2011; Arxer 2011; Demetriou 2001; Hearn et al 2012; Hearn and Morrell 2012).

It should be noted that the *practices* and impact of the Residence Life Staff – all of which are men – differs dramatically from *fraternities* and fraternal groups organization of social life. While different in many ways, one of the primary ways is that there is no in-built hierarchy amongst the students themselves, which changes the way that groups are formed, social relationships are actualized, and the types of behaviors that are allowed – or which are encouraged based on fraternity traditions and the like (Anderson 2008).[154]

Conclusion

At root of much of this chapter is the return to relationality, pushing past demarked locales, groups, or institutional 'communities'. We are reminded that:

"To think in terms of field demands a conversion of the whole ordinary vision of the social world which fastens only on visible things: the individual, this *ens realissimum* to which we are attached by a sort of primordial ideological interest; the group, which is only in appearance defined solely by the temporary or durable relations, formal or informal, between its members; and even relations understood as interactions, that is, as intersubjective, actually activated connections" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 96-97 n48).

The group, in this sense, plays a constitutive role yet is always in motion. The Step Kids give strong proof of the fluidity and temporality of group relations. The chapter has meant to highlight the fact that it is crucial explore and give room for the material and symbolic ties of relations, and maintaining our sights on the linkages between individual experiences and institutional and objective powered relations (Wacquant 2013, 275).

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[154] For further discussion of this topic, and comparison with sports teams, see Anderson 2011

Further, what I aim to show is the way that 'community' – mobilized in dramatically different fashions by different actors – can play a role in the reshaping of the social in such a way that it reimagines the relational necessity and the ways of interacting. As quoted in the previous chapter, one might well come back to Berlant and Warner's desire for a 'queer world', as a "space of entrances, exits, unsystematized lines of acquaintance, projected horizons, typifying examples, alternative routes, blockages, incommensurate geographies" (Berlant and Warner 2002, 198).

Higher education has become far more a place of delimited pathways along which students are directed rather than through which they might choose freely. This process beings long before students arrive on campus, and extends well into the future which is yet unwritten for these men. The system of higher education is expressed by Bowles and Gintis:

> "Higher education has developed a multitiered system dominated at the top by Ivy League institutions and the great state universities, followed by the less prestigious state universities, state colleges, and ending with the community colleges. This system reflects both the social status of the families of the students and the hierarchy of work relationships into which each type of student will move after graduation" (Bowles & Gintis 1976, 209).

This insight has become more prescient in the 21st Century with the advent of 'for profit' universities and the expansion of prestige driven marketing by universities. The type of university (or college) chosen situates the choices one might make when on campus, and also pre-suggests a certain range of community forms that a university will push – and be

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tacitly requested to push by parents. University is, in no uncertain terms, big business, and is therefore impacted by the same pressures and makes the same pushes. As this is happening, we see a broadening of who is included that unfastens the traditional expectations from college:

> "As long as college students were destined for positions of leadership, the tradition of scholarship and unfettered inquiry was probably an appropriate context for college training. Yet with half of each age cohort [higher now] continuing to schooling after high school, it is clear that both leaders and followers are being trained. The educational processes best suited to training an elite are less successful in fostering quiescence among followers" (Bowles & Gintis 1976, 206-207).

The expansion of who attends university has opened up the ways required to teach and train on campus, a trend that has increased further since Bowles and Gintis originally wrote this. The desired outcomes as well as the students for whom these are the outcomes is changing and challenging the way that universities are framing students. A university degree no longer relates purely to the 'college experience' but is in many ways related to the drive for the diploma rather than the education. "This detethering of the credential from the actual practice is part of the commodification drive; *the credential* is one's goal, and the classes, any incidental learning that might take place, etc., are so many streamlinable means to that end" (Blacker 2013, 144). But we must be cautious at the same time not to suggest that universities are simply turning students into consumers outright. While this is true to an extent, class dynamics and the market are not so simplistic as to make us believe that all that is required is to transfer education into consumption models.

As I have sought to explicate at other points, in calling into the open forms of socialization and *methods* by which socialization occurs and is instituted I believe one opens to the blue sky the underbelly of *heteronormativity*. As Kevin Floyd suggests, "Queer though in this way operates in the context of… competing critiques of compulsory heterosexuality, which cannot be separated from practice, which both emerge from and feed back into practice" (Floyd 2009, 16). We must maintain a focus on the *practice*, and not merely on the practice of sex and sexuality, but as part of a larger whole that encompasses social life as delimited from sexual life and the ways and means that this is fashioned into existence. This will be the focus of the following chapter, which will built on the insights gained in this chapter while swiveling the focus towards sexuality explicitly. In showcasing the forms of community and creation that take place in this all-male residence hall the aim is to explore exactly this divide between sociality and sexuality, and the intertwined facts of practice through which heteronormative order comes into being. At the same time, there is an undertone of suggestion that in looking at homosociality for these men, we might see something queer in their social relations. By prioritizing their social relations over their sexual ones, these male students temporarily undermine the *heteronormative order* and push away from relational models premised solely on the heterosexual marital couple. These examples are crucial because they bring into relief the fact that "No relationship with school exists in isolation… we are speaking of forms of relationships, not *kinds* of individuals…" (Connell et al 1982, 92-93). At the core of this chapter, and dissertation, is a deep relationality. C.J. Pascoe, discussing this, found that the students she studied "defined masculinity as a publicly enacted

interactional style that demonstrated heterosexuality and dominance while at the same time repudiating and mocking weakness, usually represented by femininity or the fag" (Pascoe 2007, 166). Here, she uses the phrase 'interactional style' to describe exactly what it sounds like: the relation between actions, the inter-engagement between actions– and here we must add – between agents who come into focus through the interaction and inter-relation. These interactions are, simultaneously, oriented through particular spatial and temporal understandings, as well as perceptions of the relations in conjunction with these spatio-temporal elements.

This exploration of the conception of community is partial and semi-formed, as is the community itself. It has sought to explore these concepts and concerns in a variety of ways, particularly sociologically and anthropologically. It has avoided digging too deeply into conceptions of the subject or subjectivities, and the relation that subjectivities play in relating one to another – from *self* to *other* (with or without a capital 'O'). In further expanding and exploring the experiences of these men, one might well be enticed to go down this road, and could suggest from these vignettes stories about the creation of self (Nancy 2000; Agamben 1993; Derrida 2005; Critchley 2009; Ruti 2015) and begin to posit an *ethics of relationality*; or, to incorporate Warner (1999) and Berlant & Warner (2005), an *ethics of queer relationality* that seeks to open fissures in inter-action between always connected agents whose place within the university is continually fused to relations with students, staff, family, and the institution of the university itself.

Chapter 5 - Sexuality in Education: The University's Marital Pushes and Programs

Introduction

> 'The dynamics surrounding intimate relationships among Catholic college students is of special concern to Catholic families and educators, because these relationships often and eventually lead to marriage' (Hendershott & Dunn 2011, 3)

Much has been written about 'hook up' culture at US universities - whether through academic, newspapers, or personal experience.[155] It is something that has taken on a prominent place in almost all discussions about sexuality and its relation to university life. Without dismissing this aspect of the topic, I would like to discuss a closely related issue that sometimes gets lost in the vision of 'guyland' and a hookup culture dominated by men's demands, and that is the role of the institution in the creation and perpetuation of this iteration of sexual relations that is happening on college campuses throughout the US. To do this, I would like to discuss a number of events that showcase the powerful heterosexual prescriptions that are being transmitted through the institution itself.

I will look at the ways that two particular events discuss and place heterosexuality and the successful pairing off of students as key elements for the students and put forward a desired ideology surrounding courtship. Further, I'll look at how the events and the structure of them set up specific heterosexual couplings and set out a vision of the events and even the campus. The fashion that they create these events as a place for heterosexual pairing off and marriage is critical to the student experience and their perception of university as a whole. These university efforts are critical in the building and molding of men and women. While 'guyland' is diffuse and leaderless (Kimmel, 2008), the university is far more concrete and purposeful in its programmatic efforts. The Residence

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[155] A primary author on this topic is Lisa Wade, who has written about it in various contexts and for various audiences. See Wade and Heldman, 2012.

Life Office -in conjunction with the broader Student Affairs - spends large amounts of money and time organizing these events, seeing them as critical for the students 'success' in their first year. The university, in this way, is part and parcel of the creation of forms of sexuality, pursuing a specific and reified version – which is not to negate nuance or resistance – of the sexualized relationships on campus; and in so doing enlist a discourse of sexuality that is, in a way, productive. These iterations of sexuality are not merely repressive, but are encompassing and directive. As Foucault says, "What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induced pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse" (Foucault 1980, 119). These relations are, therefore, not merely productive – in that they produce actions, beliefs, relations, and behaviors – but are also integrated as a form of 'education' by the university; which, in much the same way as faculty teach courses, the Administrative University as a whole has taken upon itself to now educate its students in this as well.

This chapter examines two events, one held as a university-wide orientation program for freshman and the other; an event for two freshman residence halls, which showcase the ways that students experience sexuality in the larger university institution as well as in relation with their peers. In this chapter, I investigate these two events through ethnographic research data by providing detailed observations and analyses of the ways in which students react to and interact with these institutional events. These descriptions and analysis will particularly point to the spatial elements that are at play, building on Chapter 2's argument about the interconnection between space, time, and homosociality

– and, therefore, heterosexuality. In looking at these, I aim to demonstrate that heteronormativity is reproduced within a university campus at a very explicit level, and showcase some of the implications this has for university men on campus. In this way this chapter will provide students' engagement with the institution that is the University. It is not meant to provide students' individual accounts or experiences but to give perspectives on the university proper. It does this rather than prioritize the individual experiences of heteronormativity or the voices of the institution itself. Through putting it this way it, in some ways, plays with the Freudian teapot – both returned broken and never borrowed. In using this lens I mean to suggest that the ordering of sexuality at the university is neither exclusively what the university itself says it might and must be, nor is it the hookup culture that students themselves describe. It is a broken teapot borrowed and then broken, not the other way around. Further, this chapter should be read alongside Chapter 6 which will focus more on the ways that the students themselves discuss and interact with sexuality as a discourse and set of practices.

It should be noted, as above in the Introduction, that most of this material is distinctly related to what are broadly-heterosexuals. This is not meant, in doing so, to suggest that LGBT+ are not implicated in these events or the university's drive towards heteronormativity. It is, in fact, meant to demonstrate the ways that fairly straight individuals find themselves coming into contest and conflict with this system, and the implications this has for them. What it should also remind us is that gay, lesbian, and trans* individuals on campus are having an even more difficult time of things, by far. In this way, it should be read not as seeking to make further invisible the struggles of

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LGBT+ individuals, but as a statement about the explicitness with which the system engages heteronormative ideas and the importance it gives to hetero-marital relationships.

Sexuality and Sociality

It is critical to understand, firstly how we might conceive of 'sexuality' per say. One might start from Foucault, suggesting that sexuality is an "especially dense transfer point for relations of power: between men and women, young people and old people, parents and offspring, teachers and students, priests and laity, an administration and a population" (Foucault 1990, 103). This understanding of sexuality – rather than, say, Halperin's or Phillips and Bersani's (Berlant 2009, 262)[156] – is dramatically cast in light of particular historical processes and embodied enactments; that immediately throws open particular elements of the structuration of sexuality and sexual practices rather than the psychoanalytic elements or a focus on sexual identity. This is not to suggest an antithesis to these components, but to focus in on (at least for this portion of the chapter) the imbricated fashion which sexuality is made into an element of education, drawn into the auspices of schooling and the school, and to elaborate on the emblematic quality which the university's words (in the case of the President), actions (the sponsored events), and structures (the buildings themselves [all-male and all-female]) put upon the students.

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[156] Berlant is here talking about David Helperin's *What Do Gay Men Want* and Leo Bersani's and Adam Phillips's book *Intimacies*.

One of the first aspects which needs to be elaborated is the way that sexuality is not constituted unto itself, but is, in effect, established around a necessary form of sociality – as, from Aristotle we see the shape of eros in direct conversation with that of philia.[157] This, it must be said, is part of what undergirds the heteronormative system of order; for the constraints about who one should or should not sexualize are rooted, in part, in the constitution of who one should socialize with. For Michael Warner and Lauren Berlant, heteronormativity "the institutions, structures of understanding, and practical orientations that make heterosexuality seem not only coherent - that is, organized as a sexuality - but also privileged" (Warner & Berlant, 2002: note 2).[158] Further, heteronormativity is the fundamental motor of social organization in the United States, a founding condition of unequal and exploitative relations throughout even straight society" (Ibid., 13). Part of heteronormativity is the delimiting of intimacy only to the institutions of private life (Ibid., 193). The private sphere, or private life, is – in heteronormative Western contexts – linked exclusively to that of heterosexual marriage, therefore replicating the division not only between the genders, but also between sexuality and sociality. This division is takes rooted in the disparity of relations, and is composed of the indistinguishable particulars of everyday life. What will hopefully become more clear, from both the lengthy discussion of this topic in Chapter 1 and the particular events that follow, is that this linking and the creation of co-existent schemas for sexuality and sociality are, in every way, imbricated one on top of the other and are therefore co-constituted as part of the system of heteronormative relationships.

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[157] For more in-depth discussion of this, please see Chapter 1.
[158] This citation, and the next, come from the pdf version of the article downloaded from the University of Helsinki.

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One might well suggest that, rather than talk about 'discourse' we could just as easily substitute 'ideology' here. In so doing, we are able to connect the subjects themselves with the ideologue, recognizing the process of interpellation by which these subjects come not only to know themselves, but also create themselves. The incorporation of a "sexual identity and the incorporation of the dispositions associated with a determinate social definition of the social functions incumbent on men and women come hand in hand with the adoption of a socially defined vision of the sexual division of labour" (Bourdieu 1977, 93). Note, here, the intertwining of 'the social' with 'the sexual'; this is not merely of linguistic importance, but speaks to the critical relation that these two elements play in co-defining each other, as has been discussed above. These experiences are particularly embodied acts – as are the acts of dance described below. "What is imposed through a certain social definition of maleness (and, by derivation, of femaleness), is a political mythology which governs all bodily experiences, not least sexual experiences themselves" (*Ibid*.). In this way, not only are these experiences constructing specific events – in the singular sense – but are creating pathways of expression itself, and in this way bringing to bear the body unto the stage of education.

Students' First Impression

All of the freshman students sit down in the campus arena. They are seated in chairs on the floor of the arena and throughout the bleachers. The entire freshman class is in attendance, as well as a large number of parents and family members. There is eagerness in the air, with students talking with newly met roommates and floor mates. It is Commencement and this ceremony has all of the pomp and circumstance of graduation;

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with faculty in their academic robes and regalia. All of the Deans of the colleges are there as well as an invited speaker and the President. Just as in graduation ceremonies, the new freshmen are presented to the President as students of their college, shaping them as a group in the pursuit of graduation from the college.

The President gives a speech, talking about college and giving out some general advice. In amidst his speech is one sentence that sticks out for all of the new students. "You hardly know, in most cases, the people to your left, to your right, in front of you, or behind you. You hardly know them tonight. Yet you are about to plunge into the experience of your lives with them… So take a good long look around you tonight. Some of these people will become your lifelong friends, they'll dance at your wedding. They'll be with you to watch your children grow up. It is a good bet that your future spouse is in this room right now." A loud eruption of discussion, voices, and comments start. The President pauses in his speech to allow all of the students to think through this, to digest it, and to internalize it. The students all talk to those around them, seeming to be not fully sure exactly what to make of this statement, but at the same time realizing the enormity of it. The President, knowing he has made his point, moves on without a look back or another comment on the matter. While the use of the word 'spouse' possibly seems ambiguous, it should not be taken as open to interpretation based, if nothing else, on the fact that the President is an ordained priest. The idea that this leaves wide the space for same-sex marriage it would require a leap of faith: to suggest that an ordained Catholic priest would publically state that same-sex marriage was acceptable would be a scandal.

The President is knowingly beginning a process of the enactment of a will to institutionality; which Ferguson defines as the incorporation of "modes of difference and the calculus that seeks to determine the properties and functions of those modes", further stating that "the will to institutionality not only absorbs institutions and modern subjects; it is itself a mode of subjection as well" (Ferguson 2008, 163). He is acting as agent of the will to institutionality – in a variety of ways – and focusing not merely on the institution of the university, but linking it to the institution of the family. The President is continuing the discursive effect of sexuality (*Ibid*) that is constituted not merely through discourse but in the active, agentic techniques of power that the university mobilizes.

As the commencement event finishes, all of the students swell out of the arena onto the street and outwards towards their first-year book discussion groups (a general part of the Orientation, discussed in previous chapters). These groups will follow up on the speech that the author gave at commencement, and act as a beginning position towards academics at university. Immediately following the book discussions is one of the largest social events of the year.

A Campus Tradition

Part of the orientation on campus has, for a long time, been a large outdoor dance put on by the orientation staff. It is a multigenerational tradition at this point, so students whose parents attended USJ already have an idea of exactly what it is. The tradition (of square dancing) has been held onto while the larger event is made to seem more contemporary. This year, the dance is called the Mix-Up and includes a musical act that will perform at

the end of the dance. This contemporary addition allows the university to play on forms of modernity while maintaining the tradition of the square dance.

The dance is held on the campus quad, a big green open space on campus that is tucked between various buildings. At one edge of the lawn, a small stage is set up with a turntable and speakers. At the opposite edge is another small stage with lights and speakers set up for the musician playing later. The announcer, DJ, and MC for the dance is a man who goes by the name Giant John and he is exactly that, standing at more than 6 and a half feet tall. A large group of orientation leaders are busy setting up the final elements of the dance, including putting out the soda and pizza for students. One of the leaders tells the students who start arriving that they should "Break up, meet new people, feel uncomfortable."

Students arrive in groups ranging from two to twenty. Some have come with just their roommates while others their entire floor. In either case, most have come to the event through their residence hall or with their book discussion. With a class of just over 2,000 students, there are a lot of people to spread out on the grass. Giant John tells everyone to form large circles for the dance and the orientation leaders start wrangling people in this way. With the circles starting to form, large numbers of people form in more amorphous groups outside of these. At any given point there are probably only 30% of the people dancing, with the majority sitting on the sidelines watching, talking, and seemingly meeting people.

Part of the ethos of the event is the explicitly old-fashioned, throwback nature of the dancing. Students stand outside the circle talking about how awkward the event is, and how stupid they think it looks. Yet part of it is giving in to the supposed stupidity of the event and knowing that everyone looks foolish. By making everyone seem awkward, they displace their own feelings of awkwardness onto the group and the event. This element is built into the dance, and is a purposeful tool utilized to break people out from the groupings that they come in, and to challenge them to regroup.

Giant John steps to the front of the circle and starts giving some general directions on how to do the dance. All of the students watch and then try to repeat it. One of the first directives that John gives is for the "boys [to] pair up with girls." He says this repeatedly, with the sound echoing over the entire collected grouping of students. Continuing, he tries to convince the boys to go, find girls and pair up with them, telling them to go find a girl and ask her to dance. When there is not much movement at the first suggestion he says it again, repeating the prescription and necessity that they break into heterosexual couples. More and more students start forming couples. John looks around the crowd, and with the help of the orientation leaders tries to assist those still not coupled up find someone. "There is a whole bunch of girls over here, so guys come this way."

While there is no necessary intention besides sharing a short, awkward dance with the other person, the event is set up for this explicit coupling. The couples are put into what amounts to 'mini-dates' with each other. Though John is the one leading the pairings, the orientation leaders and Resident Advisors (RAs) are each involved in their own way. The

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RAs each brought over members of their wings, anywhere from 20 to 35 students. It is a requirement to live on campus for first year students, and the RAs play a large part in getting these students to the event. RAs served "as cheerleaders, encouraging incoming students to 'get involved'…" (Nathan, 2006: 10). Each of these actors plays a role dictated by the university, with the very explicit aim of coupling students off into heterosexual pairs. Further, it is always the men who are called to action; as the one opening up the symbolic 'dance' without the necessity of opening to a presentation of sexuality, which falls under the unspoken realm of the women (Bourdieu 1977, 92).

Standing with a group of three male RAs from Regan, John, Tim, and Jack, each of them spoke about their residents at the dance; and as some of their residents met women or seemed deep in conversation with a girl, they showed a sense of pride in that their guys were engaging with women and were being successful in the terms of the event. Regan has a lot of connections with what is called their 'sister hall', Kemp Hall, the all-female residence hall and many of the Regan RAs had taken their guys and met up with their 'sister' wing from Kemp; an arrangement that they had made with their individual 'sister' RAs.

All of the students, RAs, and orientation leaders know of this tradition. RAs John and Tim talk about how many guys they think will meet up with women that night, trying to come up with a percentage. The freshmen are told about the fact that the dance is where many people meet their future husband or wife - they are told this by student leaders, as well as their parents and the administration. In fact, it is such a well-recognized idea(l)

that one alumnus, Eric, said when I interviewed him years afterward that he did not initially want to go to the dance because he thought the entire purpose was to find someone to marry, and since he already had a girlfriend he figured there was no purpose. For him, the event was so loaded with this intent that it became its almost sole focus.

In a similar way, one of the current students, Ted, speaks of the way that he perceives the dance as a springboard for meeting someone and this, in fact, has led to an interest developing between them. This dance, which occurred at the beginning of the year, is still a referent in Ted's relationship with Hannah; when we talk about it months later he says he is interested in pursuing a relationship beyond friendship. So while he feels like something has happened between them, there is nothing concrete enough to suggest that it is anything more than friendship 'at the moment'. It is this continued impression and impact, which the RAs and Orientation leaders prophesied, has come to pass. In setting up the dance as a piece of pre-formed relational building block, it has created in it a form of mythology that is predetermined as a moment of nostalgia. Or this is the hope. The creation of a nostalgia - by suggesting that students frequently find their future spouses - helps create the thing that it sets out to validate.

The University as Institution of Social & Familial Production

It is crucial to discuss the facet of the university not merely as a site of the reproduction of forms of singular relations, but also as an institution that constitutes relations and interrelations as well. In other words, we must focus not solely on the discursive and ideological impacts upon the individual, but on the way that these subjectivity formation

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processes intertwine with an undertaking of intra- and inter-relationship demarkations. Particularly, for this chapter, one must recognize the breadth of the impact that the University (with a capital U) has upon not merely economic relations, but on the broader auspices of life.

Foucault, in *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, suggests that the nouveau techniques of power which came into focus in the 18th Century – which were "present at every level of the social body and utilized by diverse institutions (the family and the army, schools and the police, individual medicine and the administration of collective bodies)"[159] – and that "acted as factors of segregation and social hierarchization, exerting their influence on the respective forces of both these movements, guaranteeing relations of domination and effects of hegemony" (Foucault 1990, 141).

The connection between education and sexuality is made eminently clear in that 'pedagogy' had as "its objective the specific sexuality of children" and played a role in enacting a secularized necessity of sex itself (Foucault 1990, 116). He is, here, not referring explicitly to 'pedagogy' as demarked to the classroom, but instead to the broader conception of its meaning and intent – education writ large, its edges and seams stretching beyond the boundaries of formal classrooms and out into the extensive depths of the institution of edification. To bring to bear Foucault's pedagogy of sex here, it is crucial to ask the question: are these university students children? This may seem an odd

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[159] Note the interesting punctuation, leaving 'schools' and 'the police' in the same clause. There is something particular to this reading that allows us better to see the exceptionally powerful (pouvoir) and forceful implications of educational institutions – even within the broader scope of the field of the market (or of power).

question, or even a tangential one, but one that crucially underlays the way that the university (as well as society more broadly, and their parents) treat these students. The pedagogy of sex is premised on the notion that "practically all children indulge or are prone to indulge in sexual activity… [and that] this sexual activity posed physical and moral, individual and collective dangers (Foucault 1990, 104). One could very easily see the discussion around US university students' sexual activities fitting into this particular discourse. C.J. Pascoe, in her investigation of high school boys, points to the "twin assumptions that American teens are too innocent to know about sexuality and too sexual to be trusted with information" (Pascoe 2007, 29), which is of the same type of discourse around sexuality as Foucault documented. "Parents, families, educators, doctors, and eventually psychologists would have to take charge, in a continuous way, of this precious and perilous, dangerous and endangered sexual potential" (Foucault 1990, 104). In a sense, the Administrative University staff has added itself to this list,[160] even in light of their denial of *in loco parentis*.[161]

This production, though, is not seamless, nor does it fully obscure itself from the view of those it is seeking to entrance under its spell. These machinations – in particular the President's speech - dramatically differ from the subtle invisibility of the nuanced elements that are already at play in these students' lives. Education, as a system (and system of systemized institutions), has long been the replicator and transmitter of arrangements and divisions between men and women (Bourdieu 2001, 86) – even now

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[160] I would hesitate to suggest that the staff of the university are educators in the sense that Foucault uses the word, though they themselves would suggest they are.

[161] Latin for "in place of the parent". This phrase is a large part of the original locus of the university, particularly in the US. See the discussion in Chapter 1.

the joke about an M.R.S. degree holds sway.[162] Not only does it delimit what should be done, but, by its very nature, signifies what must not be done, which in this case, as an instantiation of heteronormativity, is homosexuality (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill 2013, 12).

The Rave in the Cave

While Heldman and Wade (2010) discuss the idea that hook-up culture may have been facilitated by co-ed dorms, they leave open the extent to which single-sex buildings fit within the broader construction of hook-up culture (327-328).[163] Often times hook-up culture is seen as ethereal at university, dislocated from a particular spatial confine. Part of what follows is an example of the way hook-up culture is neither the only sexual-relational paradigm nor is it set in script. There are competing groupings and actors seeking to set the tone. One of those actors is the university itself, which, as discussed above, seeks to push its own sexual-relational scripts. Beyond freshman orientation, the university seeks to do this through various programs that center—especially on residential campuses—on residence halls. In much the same way that Armstrong and Hamilton (2013) suggest that the university's policies and pathways set out a classed and class-divisive campus, USJ sets out a pathway towards heterosexual courtship and coupling.

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[162] The "M.R.S. Degree" is a 'joke' about the fact that some women come to, or are told they must come to, college solely to find a husband, and thusly become Mrs. Rather than Miss.
[163] I use the term 'single-sex' rather than 'single-gender' as housing decisions are based on sex categories, and the assumption made by the university follows that gender categories will be in line with this.

On one end of campus sits Regan Hall, the 330 person all-male residence hall. On the other end of campus sits Kemp Hall, the almost 400 person all-female residence hall. Though single-sex dorms were the norm until the 1960s - with coed dorms still written of as "these new institutions" in the 1980s (Moffatt, 1989: 181) - they are now atypical and becoming less and less frequent in the US.[164] They are located on opposite ends of campus; yet share a particular relationship to each other. Both halls are almost entirely first year students. Residents of Regan talk about Kemp as their 'sister hall', even going so far as to having 'sister wings'; and Kemp residents speak in a similar way about Regan. So while Moffatt found that there was no 'kinship taboo' keeping students from engaging in more-than-friendship relationships within the residence hall that he studied (Moffatt, 1989,: 185), this is not exactly the case for Kemp and Regan. These halls do share somewhat of a created kinship taboo, though the reality is that this boundary is played with and is malleable. Sharing such a close connection, these two single gender/sex halls frequently plan various programs and events together to strengthen the residents' social ties. One of these events is called the Rave in the Cave, an annual gathering since 2008. Hosted by Regan hall, the gathering is held in their basement nicknamed as 'The Man Cave'. The program has previously won the Residence Hall Organization (RHO) award for 'best program of the year', demonstrating how impactful the event has been on the students' social lives on campus. The Rave in the Cave is meant as a dance and a mixer, a way to bring students from two residence halls together. It builds on an earlier event called 'speed friending', which is a barely disguised way of giving men the chance to meet women, and women men.

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[164] Residence halls at USJ which are not single-sex are all adjustedly coed halls, in the sense that there is a time after and before which students of the opposite sex are not allowed onto the floor.

Down in the basement, the entire floor is filled with music and the lights are turned off, with only the DJ's lights flashing. The emergency lights are covered with black trash bags to try and dim them. The side entrances to the basement have been blocked off, and the entrance which is normally only an emergency exit has been opened. This is so that residents of Kemp can come into the event without having to check into Regan with a resident. The emergency exit leads directly out to the front door, while the side entrances lead up directly into the building. Not only does this keep people from sneaking into the building, it also keeps those who live in Regan and who do not attend, from being disrupted as much. It is therefore, a way of controlling the movement and flow of peoples in and out of the building.

Andrew Jenkins stands by the entrance to the event, holding a metal counter, clicking it as each person comes into the basement. When I ask him why he is standing near the door he tells me, "I'm counting the people and I want to say hello to everyone. Also I don't like to dance." He is part of Hall Council and is taking his job very seriously; it is also a way for him to avoid the supposed awkwardness of social situations as well.

Heading back down into the dance at 8pm, its technical starting time, there are very few people there. The scene has all of the flourishes of a high school dance. The few people at the dance stand apart from each other, keeping a large distance between the groups. At the far end, away from the DJ, there is a table that has some cookies, chips, and various

drinks for everyone. On a pool table in the middle of the space, there is a large piece of paper set up for everyone to sign and write something on.

Guys come down in groups from the building, while women make their way across campus. Each influx of people has an impact on the dance and the way the people are interacting, especially at the beginning. When I first arrive they are all standing separated from each other, not talking to other groups, though their long glances around the room show their eagerness to meet new people. At first, the basement is filled with far more men than women, which is in part due to the fact that they have less distance to get to it.[165] As more people arrived, the various groups start moving around the room, with some of the male-only groups beginning to merge and shift, separating and coming back together. The women seem to be less inclined or able to circulate and meet other women or men, with each female group maintaining their boundaries.

At about 8:30 there are roughly 20 guys and 9 women in the basement. Even though there are very few women, they are the entirety of the people who are on the 'dance floor' section of the basement, with the groups of men standing away from the DJ and the dance floor - either munching on a cookie or talking off to the side. Walking towards the snack table at the back end of the basement, and I saw Stephan sitting on a couch that had been put up onto the platform at the top of the stairs which lead to the rest of the basement. He is quietly overlooking the entire dance. Sitting down, I looked out with him onto the

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[165] Distance seems to be a large issue for students, and though it is a fairly short distance, it should not be underestimated as a deterrent for some. It is only 5 blocks, or somewhere around .5 miles.

entirety. We talk briefly about the fire code being broken multiple times over and laugh at how awful it would be if a fire happened right now.

One of the ways that I have always found myself, and others, to act at dances is to walk around the room; to get a feel for the whole space and be able to see everyone and everything. It is a tactic for both seeing and being seen. It is both a display as well as a way for exploring other displays. I did this throughout the night, using it as a way of mingling as well as getting a feel for the ways that groups shifted and altered.

About forty-five minutes into the dance, a number of larger groups of women danced their way into the room. With the arrival of these groups of women, bringing the ratio of men and women to almost parity, the men all subtly moved closer to the dance floor; taking one or two small steps closer, yet remaining outside of the dance floor itself. Though closer, they still were not dancing, or dancing with the women. In avoiding dancing, they were creating a form of dance or movement. The distance left between the men and women brought into light the implied sexuality that was being attached to dancing together, and the specific implications each of them had for this. No one seemed able to dance together with individuals of the opposite gender without having an implicit sexual motive; this beginning position made all of them wary of each other.

More groups of women arrive to the dance, making the men seem more relaxed and willing to dance. Their dancing is staccato and only with the other men in their groups. They stay within their groups, circling up in many cases, to avoid having to mingle and

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risk anything. It is clear that for them there is a heavy amount of risk involved in talking with these women. Their nervousness and unwillingness to even approach women sometimes signals the fact that they see this as a risk-heavy venture. These men do not seem strong and powerful and in charge, not here at least. They are unsure of themselves and unclear about the way to go forward.

Talking with Neal, who is sitting off to the side, shaded by darkness and eating some chips, he says, "I'm trying to be the awkward guy, plate of food and punch." He is purposefully negating and rejecting the supposed performance that was meant to occur. What is meant to happen is for the men to meet the women and for pairing off to occur, and in this way Neal is pushing at this root desire of the event. At the core of his action however, seems to be the desired outcome of meeting people; while he mocked the performance of others dancing, he still hopes to talk to people and meet women.

As the dance floor became more crowded, the groups started getting closer to others of the opposite sex without seeming like they were meaning to. It allows them to get physically closer while still putting up a front of innocence. The initially segregated groups now forms large circles that include both men and women.

Though the groups have merged, there is both success and failure in attempts to meet up with others. Ted has found a woman and they have started dancing together - slowly at first, performing what could be called a progressional intimacy dance. Her shirt says, "Call me Maybe", while his shirt says "Yeah Buddy". It seems fitting that they would

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wear shirts that in effect call out and answer one another in this way. They start dancing together, with their groups both joining together to dance as one group. The dancing starts with basic separated steps and slowly turns into a very loose form of grinding - the rhythmic movement of two bodies together, maintaining proximity to one another. Beginning to grind could be seen as a statement of sexual or intimate intent, so to deflect that, she begins talking with her female friends to defer the sexual statement being made. He goes along with it, chatting off and on again with his friends as well.

Much as Nick is having success, there are other examples of people not succeeding in coupling off - or not coupling off in a fashion to the mutual enjoyment of both parties. I use the word 'success' here to denote the idea that the event is aiming to get these men and women into contact with one another; and in this way there are those who are being more 'successful' than others. One guy grinding with a girl is seemingly not fond of being a part of it. She puts up with his advances for a moment before moving forward and closing ranks with her friends, leaving him standing outside of them and outside the possibility of further dancing with her. Another guy, Henry, is trying to dance with a girl and is not having much success, with her keeping her distance. He is trying to dance with her, placing his hands on her hips but she keeps backing away from him. After a while he gives up and continues dancing around the room. These failures are more important than just to showcase the fact that the dance does not always succeed at its aim, but for the fact that these 'failures' showcase the necessity for continued repetition as well as the fragility of these encounters. This is not merely a dance where they are meant to meet their

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spouse, but it is a training session in the ways that love and sexuality are to be encountered.

Both the success and failure is uncomfortable. One resident, in seeing two people grinding and dancing said "it's getting awkward with that couple having sex over there." He doesn't know how to react or how to continue to act with them around. Any sense of sexual act or sexuality was making him feel less than comfortable.

The whole atmosphere is one of uninhibited volume and darkness. Shades of darkness envelope the dancers, allowing safety from sight and trepidation of what lies in the darkness. The one thing that is missing from the high school dance atmosphere is a fog machine. There is no fog machine billowing out faux smoke, giving off that particular dinted smell of watery must. From its titular positioning as a 'rave', it has the beginning necessities, with glow sticks provided by the Hall Council to further emphasize this feel.

By the end of the night 223 people had come and gone - just under a third of the total population of both Regan and Kemp combined. Back at the front desk many of the people who had attended the dance had come up and checked into the building in groups of two and three with various residents of Regan. Looking at the box holding IDs of those checked in one can easily tell that there is a substantially greater number of people checked in tonight than a normal Friday. The dance seems to be successful in bringing people together, giving them another opportunity for coupling off and succeeding in accomplishing one of the assumed goals of college: finding a spouse. The larger than

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usual amount of people checked in suggests that not only was the initial event 'successful', but that the event itself was quickly superseded in favor of other activities which could occur inside students' rooms rather than in the basement. These activities certainly contain the possibility, or the Derridian *perhaps* (Derrida 2006), of sex, but the far likelier possibility is of drinking or other less amorous activities. The drinking inside the hall is, again, often a prelude to heading out to a party somewhere on campus rather than seen as an end of the night activity.

Events like the Rave in the Cave are not merely a representation of hook-up culture in action.[166] They are the building blocks upon which hook-up culture is allowed to flourish and through which competing life choices are played out. Students at USJ are required to live on campus for their first two years, after which they can live anywhere they choose - with a variety of on-campus apartments, off campus apartments, and nearby houses.[167] Many second year residents choose their accommodation with a large group of people they've met first year and with whom they've shared a connection. This is part of the importance of the first year experience.

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[166] The 'Rave in the Cave' section of this chapter is merely one instance of a broader set of events that the residence hall planned throughout the year. In the full chapter, the other events will be added, expanding on the ways that the staff and university push a specific set of sexual(ized) interactions and relationships. In brief, at the beginning of the year there was an event called 'Speed Friending' where students from the all-male hall met women from the all female hall. This was followed by the 'Rave in the Cave', where students were meant to interact deeper and 'get to know each other' – meaning begin seeing each other as sexualized subjects. Near the end of the year there was a 'Formal' where students were meant to bring dates. Without knowing it, the hall set up a clear trajectory for the way they assumed relationships should work: friendship, first date, and then couple. This, though, did not, in large part, work – as most residents did not find 'success' in this format, or through these events. Which is not to suggest that the students did not understand the channel they were being funneled into, but that the road opened was not successful. In this sense, though, the university had pre-empted failure, giving students multiple opportunities and routes towards the 'successful' destination of coupling. All of this will, in the full version of the chapter, be discussed and expanded on – giving more details of the events and the way that students reacted to this.

[167] Students may choose to continue living in the residence halls past their sophomore year - though this is rare and housing preference is giving to first and second year students to make sure their housing needs are accommodated.

These students see - and are told to see and understand - the relationships that they make their first year at college are the ones that will last the rest of their lives. The friendships that they make during their first year for some of them will be these life-long relationships, for many others they will be exercises in figuring out who they are, who they want to be, and the types of relationships they want to have. In some sense, I think talking about the first year experience is akin to a mixture of rite of passage and a liminal situation. These guys will most likely never have to be so open to meeting so many people, and so willing to diverge from ideas of relationships previously experienced.

Conclusion

It is no surprise that Book II in Bourdieu and Passeron's book *Reproduction in Education* is titled 'Keeping Order' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990: 69); and though they most likely were not thinking explicitly of the residence hall or freshman orientation, the view of the reproductive method of education translates easily to these situations. The keeping of order at these events does not start from a neutral position, but stems from predetermined class, gender, racial, sexuality, and other positions – and built on particular spatialized moments and components. Just as Jenny M. Stuber (2012) discusses the way that class differences encourage or discourage individuals from participating and forming the social capital that results from forms of socializing and networking (a point similarly made by Armstrong & Hamilton [2013]), so too do these forms of social capital and capital building allow certain students to maneuver within and through the confines and structures of these university events, obtaining from them what is desired.

As I was finishing the interview with one of the residents, Ted, months after the Rave in the Cave, one of the things that kept coming up was the sense of repetition that was involved in the occurrences of coupling. There is an implied and understood notion of accepted failure that is inevitable and inbuilt into these interactions, which demands therefore a large number of occasions. The square dance, speed friending, the Rave in the Cave, and other similar events all presuppose a necessity to give men and women multiple chances to seek out coupling. These events are not singular instances but are instead overlapping, ever-present, and continuous. The notion that college is about finding a husband or wife is far more prevalent than one might assume, particularly at St. Jerome where the President claims this as one of the outcomes or goals of students' university experience.

The university wants people connected without touching, in love without sex, married without the implications. Conforming to these necessities enables students to gain social, symbolic, and structural benefits – both from the university as well as beyond it. It is setting up those who are 'successful' to gain from incorporation into the broader system (Rubin 1984, 12).[168] In the incorporation of these students into a heterosexual order, they are one component in "the subjugation of a whole diversity of sexual practices and subjectivities - transsexuality, nonmonogamy, cross-generational intimacies, endogamous and nondomiciled relationships… to the privileges of normative and socially sanctioned domestic practices" (Ferguson 2008, 164). These events hold a lot of elements in them, and one thing that has not been discussed is the Catholic identity of the university.

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[168] While Rubin is talking about queer individuals who conform, the statement is none-the-less true for heterosexuals and the ways that they are brought into the system.

Though many students see religion's role in their life as minimal, the university aims at bringing a 'multicultural' Catholicism - open to other religions and beliefs - to each student. Part of this Catholic identity is the distancing of sex. It is because of this that events such as the Rave in the Cave and the Orientation Dance can be suggested as places to meet a spouse, while in both instances the actual connotation of sex is never mentioned. This desexualization - or desired desexualization - is not translated to actions as students build on these educational experiences, and as they inform future student-organized events.

For the reality is that this is not merely about setting up chance encounters for men and women to couple off for heterosexual rendezvouses, but is far more about the deeper concerns of 'family' and the future. These deeper concerns are mirrored through the Rave in the Cave's structured setting up of relationships with people of the opposite sex as necessarily intimate. By proposing a split juncture in the relationship that these men and women have with each other - between kinship labels for 'sister' and 'brother' wings, and the created notion that one should be engaging in heterosexual coupling. As much as hook-up culture may dominate in some circles and at some points, the university continues to see itself as not just an educational space but one which sets up social networks - one of the oldest and most prominent being marriage. These successes and failures are not just examples of random meetings between college students, but are purposeful and determined efforts by an institution to assist in the consolidation of symbolic and social capital.

While previous sections of the dissertation have focused on the methods of individuals, and groups of guys, working around and through the university's expansive influence, this section has striven to showcase the very explicit forms that the university takes in these students lives, and the very substantive consequences this has on these students' lives. In particular, what we will see in the next chapter is the way that sexuality, while engaged by the university (as discussed above), is something that the university itself takes no responsibility for and does not see as part of their purview. Yet its impact is clearly felt in the interrelations between students at the University of St. Jerome, and implicates forms of relationality – delineating the 'proper' and 'improper'. If we understand the formation of individuals as constituted through the interaction(s) between everyday practices, ideological (and discursive) structures, and subjectivities then we can see this chapter as situating a particular form of ideological praxis, while the previous chapter and the following chapter focus much more heavily on the everyday practices and subjectivities of individuals. In this way, this chapter assists in making visible the systemic dialectic between institutional arrangements (of space, time, relations, and sexuality) and individual maneuvers through and around these and the dispositions that are simultaneously built on and build of these.

Chapter 6 - "Lets Bang!": Heteronormativity & the Divide of Sociality/Sexuality

Introduction

> *Through me forbidden voices,*
> *Voices of sexes and lusts, voices veil'd and I remove the veil,*
> *Voices indecent by me clarified and transfigur'd.*
>
> *I do not press my fingers across my mouth,*
> *I keep as delicate around the bowels as around the head and heart,*
> *Copulation is no more rank to me than death is.*
>
> *I believe in the flesh and the appetites,*
> *Seeing, hearing, feeling, are miracles, and each part and tag of me is a miracle.*
> Walt Whitman- 'Song of Myself'

This chapter seeks to push back against ideas of men's desires for hooks up (which has already been, in part challenge) and contends that, in fact, there is a wide variety of discussions and discourses happening that exist alongside and within "hooking-up" as an idea. Building on one specific discussion about the topic of hooking-up, this chapter will reflect on the narratives that these students use in relationship to sex and sexual practices that runs counter to dominant ideas in the broader society (that of hooking up as a common practice) while not falling distinctly into the marital discourse of the university (as discussed in the previous chapter). In this conversation, we can see the influence of both of 'hook up culture' as well as the religio-patriarchal-heteronormative ordering and prioritizing of martial-based coupling formations.

Part of what I will argue in this chapter is not that hook up culture or practice does not exist for these students, but that its weight is far less than we are often told it is; while recognizing that the students themselves also do not see the university's set up and set out pathway for marriage as something which they'd like to be on at this moment. Through this, I will suggest that part of what we are seeing is the way that the sociality/sexuality

divide is being challenged by both hookup discourse and student practice, and the ways that this challenge to the supposed binary creates new forms of relationality and calcifies in the margins and lacunas when sex is disinterred from its place as an isolate away from and outside of friendship. These changes have opened up new relational paradigms that are built on ambiguity and forms of sociality that do not necessitate exclusion of sex; simultaneously, through the conversation, we can see the ways that sex need not necessarily be called forth or practiced in action for it to have an impact on these relational ideas. In this, then, one is able to see the building of new forms of relationality that are modeled and molded together with ideas of intertwined intimacy, and the expansion of intimacy beyond its limited previous confines.

The chapter is divided into three broad sections. The first will address issues related to thinking on sex on campus and the way that we are thinking about this – picking up on some threads left open from the previous chapter. The second section will provide an analysis of a conversation taken from my ethnographic fieldwork. The third, and final, section tackles this topics in conversation with ideas that I am labeling 'queering the social' and ambiguity. This topic has been touched on in previous chapters, and the section will build on this conversation while putting it directly into conversation with ideas of the "is" and "ought" of social relationships and the ways that these reformations (both re-formations and reformations) of sexual relationships (hooking up, friends-with-benefits, etc) are, themselves, assisting in changing and challenging particular ways of relating socially.

This chapter, rather than being written in a linear fashion – and thereby through form and method promoting a linearity to the story – is written as an enacting of *bricolage* and *pastiche* (Lévi Strauss 1962; Hoesterey 2001, 10). Putting together pieces, placing them side-by-side, tearing the picture, refracting a reflection. In this, the chapter itself and the practice and process that it describe work in tandem, with each pasting together older practices and elements into something new; something undone and undoable. In this way, it should not be read singularly as a straight narrative, it is meant at creating a circular, rhythmic effect; with *leitmotifs* coming in and out of focus.

Who's Having Sex, and Who is Being Intimate?

For all of the discussion in the mainstream media about hooking up (Bogle 2008) and the rampant amounts of sex that we are told is happening on college campuses (Kern & Malone 2015), it was a surprise to find that – even by the end of the year – almost none of the hundred or so guys who I knew (well enough to know this) from Regan were having sex. Out of the groups two or three guys that I knew, near the end of the year, had found girlfriends and might be suggested to have been having sex. This runs counter to what Freitas says, that "In today's college culture, sex is something students fit into their schedules, like studying and going to the gym" (Freitas 2013, 1). Put another way, "particularly among the more privileged youth who participate in the party scene, hooking up was build into notions of what the college experience should be" (Armstrong & Hamilton 2015, 86). This is the vision we ("we" here being a broad referencing not simply to current students, but to incoming students, parents, family members, and teachers) are told of university life. The conflation of 'hook up culture' with 'university

culture' has taken on drastic proportions – seen in movies stemming all the way back to *Animal House.*

While the hook up fueled debauchery is a myth, on the other side of this, we should not be lead to believe the counter – that these students are choosing celibacy, or celibacy in the permanency of "until marriage" at least. As Emily Win says,

> "Chastity, for our case, is not merely abstaining from sex, but waiting until marriage. College students, whether they know it or not, have a choice between the two — to engage or to wait. It seems the general perception of college culture promotes the idea that most students do have sex and that it happens frequently" (2016).

Win's belief in the choice – simple as she makes it seem – that students can and do make, one should not give in to this narrow reading of either the "ought" ('what students ought to do') or the "is" ('what really is happening'). Unlike either Win or Hendershott & Dunn (2011), I am not seeking to present an "ought" in relation to sex, hooking up, or individuals choices surrounding sex – or positing celibacy as simply related to marriage (Dean 2015; Kahan 2013). In my fieldwork, sex was far more the thing that was in the air but not being had; more steam than water.

"Most hookups do not involve intercourse – only about 40% report intercourse in their most recent hookups" (Armstrong & Hamilton 2015, 86). Though sex as a practice and act was far less often engaged in, this is not to suggest that the relationships of the guys I studied with did not contain intimacy. Through a challenging and rerouting of intimacy

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many of the guys I studied with are finding themselves struggling, not with hook up culture, but with stringent and strict notions of the "wheres" and "hows" of intimacy – with other men as well as with women.

It should be noted that the place, the space, the designated locate, of hook ups is – in the discussion – far more often (and least when discussed problematically) university than anywhere else. This relation to schooling, to education, is not insignificant. Jen Gilbert reminds us that

> "Education incites sexuality; our sexuality finds a playground in school where the taunts and raucous laughter and loneliness help us know who and what we want. Sexuality animates education; teaching and learning are invested with an erotic frisson that propels and sabotages the practices of education" (Gilbert 2014, x).

For Gilbert, it is the laughter and taunts – the most often negative ramifications of queer sexuality. At the same time, the underlying principle of connectivity between education and sexuality is to be recognized as principally not only as a pedagogic element, but also one that relates to the 'age of learning.' The fact that one need state such a thing as 'I'm a life-long learner' is indicative of the fact that, for many, we see education as constricted in the bounded notion of 'childhood' or 'youth.' As I have sought to show in the previous chapters – throughout and dispersedly (though primarily in Chapter 3) – the university is a boundary and border zone for these markers; and, as such, allows for play. 'Play' here meaning not merely that which (and here we see again the border) what children do (when was the last time you asked someone to play as an adult), but also in the sense of a play with words.

Cuddling, Banging, Making-Out, Hooking Up, and – Finally – Sex?

On college campuses, we are told that "The script, according to this ritual [hooking up], is: First you fuck, then (perhaps) you date. Or, more likely, you just continue to hook up, creating a long-term relationship — minus feelings, theoretically — out of a series of one-night stands" (Kern & Malone 2016). The authors acknowledge that this is not everyone, saying, "It appears to be the case that, faced with either hookups or nothing, many students are simply opting out of college sex" (Ibid.); but this statement could be read as still clinging partially to the notion that hooking-up is basically the only game in town. They acknowledge that they "encountered an almost bewildering variety of sexual experiences" (Ibid.).

The topic of hooking up came up one afternoon while I was standing at the front desk of Regan with a group of RAs, a Hall Minister, and – by virtue of the location – a Desk Receptionist. The two RAs – Junior and Lucas – were both first year RAs, with Junior a dark skinned guy coming from Haiti and Lucas from just a few hours away, both of whom were second year students. Anthony, the Hall Minister, works at the university in one of the offices and as a way to save money gain further connection to USJ. He attended a Catholic university near the East Coast for his undergrad, and is taking graduate courses at USJ now. The DR, Jenny, is a perky final year student whose friendly disposition makes her a favorite of both the RAs and the residents.

As we were standing there all chatting casually, the topic of how to ask a girl out came up. Lucas asked "If I asked a girl to go to the Torch [university-owned sports bar and

restaurant] and its not like a date and she's like 'he just wants to go as a friend'…" The hesitancy in his sentence gives away some of the confusion he is clearly feeling about this, the ambivalence of "how to" that was wrapped in a "what if" of reaction. Anthony, the oldest person out of the group,[169] says "It depends on how much the girl knows you though. Cause if she, if you just asked her regularly then its nothing. But if you asked her out of the blue, like…" Lucas interrupts and says "I guess when you don't know someone and you're just like 'hey, do you want to go to dinner?'" The conversation starts revolving around the follow up question: "But what if you become interested when you're friends?" This situation has happened to Lucas before, but seems to want to know more about how it could be handled. He says, "Say you're friends with this girl, and you hang out all the time, say you go get dinner, you go to the mall or something. And you develop feeling, you want to go on a date with her, but you do those things already: you go to dinner with her, you hang out with her, how do you develop that thing?" Rather than prioritizing or putting forward a specific outcome or desire (hooking up or sex), it is the transition between states that is causing him confusion and tension. Anthony tells him that "the best thing to do is drop subtle hints" and quickly follows it up with worry of his own. "Do you allow yourself vulnerable and say "hi, so remember last week when we did this? Well how about we go on a date?" And like, at one point do you allow your…" He is interrupted by Jenny, who points out that "You could ruin your friendship."

We see the immediacy of the call towards friendship and the way that it can be destabilized through the complication of a push towards an emotive and intimate

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[169] Anthony is a few years younger than I am, though he is the oldest person in relation to the rest of the group.

relationship. Not only that, we can see the vulnerability of the movement; the ambiguity of transition. We are harkened back to a *nouvelle* iteration of liminality that is taken out of its place as a personal – or singulated – transition, and seeing it as part of a relation; a state and place of practices of relating. At risk, in this transitory liminalism, is not necessarily pain or heartbreak (associated with an *eros relationship*), but the loss of friendship (an *agape relationship*). This is not a new phrase ("ruin your friendship"), but one that takes on a different meaning in light of the changes in what "friendship" means if friendship can include things outside the borderzones *agape*.

What these students are getting at is that, for them, there is both a serious risk towards asking someone out on a date, but a risk that they have all felt and which is something desirable in a way. This is distinct from what Armstrong and Hamilton found, that "Hooking up – or at least being present in the erotic market – has thus usurped the role once played by dating in determining college women's erotic status" (Armstrong & Hamilton 2015, 87). For these men – who are the primary drivers of the conversation – (and Jenny [so that we are appropriately recognizing the gendered components of this specific conversation, as well as the broader gender dynamics]), it is not the erotic market that drives the conversation, it is in fact the disclosed lack of understanding of said market-space, such that to reference the erotic market Junior simply says "Wink wink!"

As this conversation settles a bit and the group simmers on the idea of loss of friendship, postulating a fading away of the fade of infatuation rather than risk loss of friendship, we are joined by Liam, another RA. Liam is another first year RA in the building with a

massive personality that exudes quirky to the extreme. Like Lucas, he's both white and middle-class from the area. Beyond quirky, Liam has an exceptionally buoyant disposition that would make many think he is on a heavy dose of some narcotic. I ask him the same question that we started from , "have you ever asked someone out on a date?"

With an enthusiastic "Yes!" I ask how he did that. Lucas, following up on this, "Do you ask her, 'like, hey, do you want to go out?'" The tentativeness and hesitancy in Lucas's question is thick in the air. Liam's "That's weird" is followed up by Lucas continuing, "Or was it more casual like, "hey, do you want to go grab lunch?'" The question(s) emphasis the point that "Friendship is central to the school experience. The school experience is, in part, an experience in contested ideas of socializing youth… [and socializing in] gender… and sexuality" (Burke & Greteman 2015, 57). Lucas is not merely asking a question, but seeking out answers and learning (education *sans* the classroom and outside of formalisms).

"Not like an official date date" Liam clarifies, "It just kind of happens. When I said 'official date' that I went on, like, we went to the rocks [by the lake]." It turns out that he had asked this woman out on this date via text. Moving from this story, Liam tells us another story about asking a woman out. "It was like, we started talking, it was the beginning of the summer, and we spent like an all-night program afterparty, and we stayed up all night talking and walking to the beach and walking back. And then, the next, then we just started hanging out after that. And I asked her officially like after hanging out if she'd like to go on a picnic. So we set up the picnic, and figured it out."

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Jenny chimes it that "That's official." Continuing, Liam tells us that after that, one day after that, after hanging out so many times, I asked her if she wanted to make it official. It was really corny. It was really cheesy." Notice the distancing immediately of his self from the asking ("it was really cheesy"), and the safety which this allows his self.

Continuing, almost rapid fire, through is relationships, he tells us about another woman who he dated for a while. Talking about the intimate and physical elements of the relationship he said that "We cuddled on my bed, but we didn't do anything. We cuddled." It is almost wispily innocent in its nature compared to the supposed raunch of the hook ups.

He finishes the stories, telling of a recent breakup before saying that "I had a 'fling' freshman year of college." I ask him "what 'fling' means?" as it is not a term that has, so far, fit into the categories we have been discussing. "A fling is where you're hanging out, occasionally making out a couple times, but not putting any labels on it; slash she was seeing others guys at the time." I ask him if there is a differentiation between 'fling' and 'hook up' for him. "Yeah, because there's still like hanging out. Hooking up is just like, hooking up. I think there is a differentiation." I say, "So 'fling' means that you are more friendlie, hooking up means…" To which he responds, "Just hooking up. Yeah."

Breaking his silence, Lucas says "That's a better way to describe it, using two different words for it." This sets up the conversation to dive into what each of them means by 'hooking up'. Liam says that "its just making out. I don't think its sex." While Junior

responds bluntly "No. No" it isn't just making out. Liam, in response says, "I don't know what the term for having sex would be." Seeking to gain a different opinion, Liam asks "What would you [directed to Jenny] describe hooking up as? Cause I think it depends on where people put it as." As the only woman in the group – and also being slightly older than Junior, Lucas, and Liam – her opinion is certainly desired. She tells that, "If someone told me that they were hooking I'd think they're banging, but not like really hanging out of talking or anything."

Seeking to ground the situation more contextually, Liam suggests a further deepening of the framework of meaning. "I think it depends on the person though too. If they're a freshman and they're like 'we're hooking up' I think that's just making out every once in a while. But if you're talking a junior or a senior, a mature – not a mature – but a sophomore, then I don't know." Anthony shares that for many of his friends – who say "I hooked up with five guys tonight" – it simply means making out; and for Junior "it depends on the context." What is clear is that there is no standard definition for 'hooking up' – either amongst themselves or as a group.

Out of this confusion of Liam asks: "What happens if someone said they 'banged.' I've always wondered." Everyone sort of sputters; Jenny, "Oh that's..". Looking around, Liam with surprise, "Oh, that's sex?!" Jenny, with firmness, says "Absolutely," to which Liam similarly questions "Are you serious?" Nearly shouting, "Banged?!" Jenny's tone of voice gives away the almost incredulous disbelief she has that Liam could have thought that 'banged' was anything but sex.

The comic nature of the conversation takes flight when Liam tells us that "I tell people 'I banged' all the time. That's, like, my word for cuddling." The group bursts out laughing and Liam quotes himself jokingly "'I've banged so many girls.'" Responding to his own statement, "I've cuddled with so many girls." The laughter subsides a little and Liam asks plainly, "Wait, I can't say that?" Junior states clearly that "its widely known" that 'banged' means 'sex'. The discussion focuses on people's opinions of cuddling – with some pro-cuddling, and others not being fans – before returning to Liam telling us that "I say 'you want to bang?' and they just start cuddling with me." Anthony, Lucas, and Junior all ask a variation on the question of whether the people Liam says this to know, beforehand, whether they will just be cuddling or not. Without a solid answer, Liam merely responds, "I assume." Continuing, "I don't say 'Lets bang,' I say 'Do you want to bang?' and then they say 'Yes' and we start cuddling. Do they expect sex? Oh shit! So I've been leading a lot of girls on and pissing them off." Jenny wittily retorts: "And then you just lay there and cuddle? Yikes!"

Thus begins an interesting demonstration of nuance and dystrophic linguistic clarification. In suggesting that the statement "let's bang" relates to sex, Liam corrects the group clarifying, "Not 'let's bang,' 'do you want to bang?' He goes on, "'Let's bang' is like, 'do you want to have sex', but…" Jenny interrupts slightly to call out the reality that "That's what you're asking people though." Seeking to find his own statement Liam utters "No, I'm saying it in a different way though." Concluding his reflection, "I just thought it was quicker and a lot easier. Oh man. Alright, so I'm not, are you kidding, it works though. No, it doesn't work I guess."

Liam's confusion is a demonstration of the multiple meanings and misunderstandings – if a word so forceful and (to Junior, Anthony, Lucas, and Jenny) commonly understood as 'sex' is able to be transposed, then certainly one must recognize the tumbling spin with which 'hook up' would find. It is not, though, simply a semantic set of confusions that is running through the conversation – nor merely an educational lecture informally and collectively given on the topic of sexual relations.

Heteronormativity and Queering the Social

This conversation is at the spark point for ideas and mobilization of changes in the division between social/sexual, and the demarked placement of where the supposed (tentative, groundless) line between the two exists. As discussed in previous chapters, this divisive and oblique division is neither simply existent nor invisible. The distinction between 'fling' and 'hook up' espoused by Liam and the group is one that befalls a moaning presence of this exact dividing. The 'fling' implies and brings with it a notional form of physical intimacy (with sex not precluded) while it retains the intimacy of *agape*, the pleasures of friendship; the social associations. The notion that a 'fling' is someone who you hang out with demonstrates the segregatory idea of 'hooking up' which all but necessitates a lack of recognition publically, a refusal of public civility or consideration; an oblique distancing outside of the bedroom.

It is important, in examining this discussion to go back to understand the ways that we see heteronormativity playing out through this, and the ways that these students are pushing back against this through their practices and discussions of socializing that is

inclusive of physical intimacy of various kinds. Michael Warner and Lauren Berlant define heteronormative as "the institutions, structures of understanding, and practical orientations that make heterosexuality seem not only coherent - that is, organized as a sexuality - but also privileged" (Warner & Berlant, 2002: 309 note 3). They note that "heteronormativity is a fundamental motor of social organization in the United States, a founding condition of unequal and exploitative relations throughout even straight society" (Ibid., 205-206). Heteronormativity in this way inflicts a necessary format for sexuality, putting itself as the only acceptable option.

Before moving from this into hook up specifically, it is crucial to understand the ways that heteronormativity is tied in to the challenges and resistance that are always at play in pushing beyond it, and the ways that this is frequently seen through – recently – the lens of ambiguity and queer. Queer is the sense of queering, challenging, or the making of other possibilities. This definition of 'queer' should not be seen as de-sexualizing or de-politicizing queer, but should instead be seen as challenging broader heteronormative elements in society. Tim Dean says that by suggesting "the category queer is defined in opposition not to heterosexuality but to heteronormativity" (2009: 9) it allows for a broader spectrum of anti-heteronormative behaviors, as well as anti-homonormative ones as well – thus breaking down hierarchies of norms rather than mere sexual hierarchies.

From here, one sees the fabricated public and private spheres and the way that they do not merely sit alongside a heteronormativity, but actively reinforce and build upon it - and, of particular importance for this discussion, the ways that this division self-

perpetuates itself through an interlocking assemblage of necessitated heterosexuality and homosociality bounded by a constrained intimacy. The private sphere is, according to Habermas, related directly to the "restricted, nuclear family…" while the public sphere is the "space of political participation, debate, and opinion formation…" (Fraser, 2013: 27). In this sense, the apriori conditions of the division, and the spheres themselves, is heterosexuality.

Continuing, Warner and Berlant say that "the normativity of heterosexual culture links intimacy only [or exclusively] to the institutions of personal life," in other words a form of the private sphere (Berlant & Warner 2002, 193). In using the phrase 'heterosexual culture' they mean to showcase the fact that it is not a unified or solidified set of practices but that it is - in its form as heteronormativity - a hegemony, and that hegemonies "are nothing if not elastic alliances, involving dispersed and contradictory strategies for self-maintenance and reproduction" (Berlant & Warner 2002, 192). In setting intimacy as a condition of solely the private sphere - linked to heterosexual marriage - it in that way puts it outside the bounds of homosocial relations, in that any relation between men is immediately outside the realm of the heterosexual couple. In discussing Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* (2001), D'Emilio and Freedman showcases the way that the poem and its reception give light to the expansion of public discourse on sexuality and "blurring the distinction between private and public that characterized middle-class life in the previous century" (D'Emilio & Freedman 1988, 277). It is significantly telling that they use *Howl* as the example, stemming from the Beats, an almost all-male group of writings, roustabouts, and (to the media at the time) 'sexual deviants.' Homosociality then, must be a part of the

public sphere and through its necessitated separation from the intimate, form relations that are categorically determined. In this sense, it is possible to see homosocial relations not as emblematic of forms of hegemonic control (whether through patriarchy, violence against women, or androcentric structures) but as symptomatic of a larger constructed set of relations born out by a heteronormative system. What, then, does it look like to see homosocial relations that are given priority over heterosexual ones, and which are not bounded to a lack of intimacy?

Intimacy, for Berlant, is the enigma which "links the instability of individual lives to the trajectories of the collective" (Berlant 1998, 283). She suggests that rather than subscribing to the prescriptive idea of the private sphere, we can move past it. To do this, Berlant and Warner suggest seeking out the (a) queer world that is "a space of entrances, exits, unsystematized lines of acquaintance…" and which requires "the development of kinds of intimacy that bear no necessary relation to domestic space, to kinship, to the couple form, to property, or to the nation" (Berlant & Warner 2002, 198-199). Their suggestions bears true not just for sexual relations, but also for intimate forms of friendships.

Kern & Malone's article (2016)(discussed above) is attached with multiple short interviews with (or quotes from) individuals who are all exploring various aspects of college/university life and sex (Tsoulis-Reay 2016). What becomes exceptionally clear from many of the stories is the way that the stories are not simply about sex or sexual relationships, but are entangled tightly together with ideas of friendship. In fact, one of

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them is titled "Addison and Sarah really like each other. Just don't tell them they're in a relationship." Addison says that "My relationship with Sarah … it's casual. I'd say it's more like a pretty close friendship than an actual relationship"; while Sarah says "At first I was kind of worried about it holding me back, but because of the type of person I am, and the type of person Addison is, it's not keeping me from doing anything. I'm still in the loosey-goosey first-semester college mentality" (Ibid.). Another one of the stories is titled "Caroline likes to cuddle" where she sees cuddling as part of general social interactions – going up to two guys she doesn't know at a party and inviting them to cuddle with her. In another story we hear from Darcy who says about her relationship with Leor that "We went from friends to really good friends to very good friends but also with a physical relationship" (Ibid.).

For all the noise being made about the amount of sex being had through hookup culture, some studies have showed that the actual amount of sex itself is not changing that much. A new study by Martin A. Monto and Anne G. Carey suggests that, in fact, "respondents from the current era did not report more sexual partners since age 18, more frequent sex, or more partners during the past year than respondents from the earlier era" (Monto & Carey 2014, 605). "Among the 1988-1996 cohort, 65.2 percent reported having sex weekly or more often in the past year, compared to 59.3 percent of college students from the 'hookup era'" (Fowler 2013). Kathleen Bogle, in response,

> "argues that what is now called hookup culture began in the 1970s, after birth
>
> control became widely available and the age of marriage began rising. At that point,

the couple ceased to be the center of college social life, and dating with the aim of

marrying in college or shortly thereafter fell out of style" (Szalavitz 2013).

It is a dramatic stretch from casual sex & hooking up to dating without the aim of

marriage; though I am certain that Hendershoot and Dunn – who title one of the sections

of their article on hook up culture "A damage assessment" (2011, 3) - might not agree.

What one is seeing in this explanation is the left unsaid new formations and forms of

relational practices that are no longer delimited by marriage in the same way that they

used to be. This changing of notions of relations away from marriage entails new ideas

about the shape of both intimate and non-intimate relations, pushing these two marked

relational categories closer towards each other. It is, as mentioned above, an iterated idea

of transition, liminalism, and rupture. Rather than concentrating on a fixity of marital

status (in the sense of gaining status, and a state of being) there are new openings up of

practices of relating that are more transient without necessitating a loss of durational

forms of intimacy or connectivity.

CJ Pascoe, in writing about high school, masculinity, and sexuality, notes, "students

graduating into adulthood… moved into more highly dichotomized and sexualized

gender difference" (Pascoe 2007, 40). University students sit in that space between these

always unstable labels of adulthood and childhood, pressing and pushing on the

boundaries of each as a bridge pushes on either shore. What does it suggest to us that the

new 'Tinder-style' app solely for university students is called Friendsy? In the app -

rather than just swiping left or right like Tinder (right being "like" and left being "nope")

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- one is able to choose "from three buttons: friend, hook up or date" (Flynn 2015). What is fascinating, further, about this is that "App interactions on Dartmouth's [U.S. university] campus were divided between 28 percent for 'friends,' 13 percent for 'hookups' and 15 percent for 'date,' a Dartmouth campus representative reported in January 2014" (Ibid.). The application, in its splitting of the split up – from yes/no, to a complex, interrelating version of relationality that puts on the front-foot its desire. One is able to see, though, still, the division that friendship does not include physicality, and that physicality that is not included under the roof of dating is relegated to 'hook up'. In talking about sex on campus, Bennett ask:

> "And what about the larger cultural framework? How do you tackle these concepts [of sex, hooking up, and consent] in a world where women are empowered to say yes — but taught that they must be coy when they do it? When they've been socialized to think that 'yes' means you're a slut, 'maybe' means you're a tease, and 'no' means you're a prude — or that, from the male perspective, as one friend recently put it, 'no is always negotiable'?" (Bennett 2016).

While seemingly tangential, it is crucial to recognize and astutely put into play the notion of the larger picture, that includes not simply consensual hook ups but coercion; and that the interplay of friendship and sex is something that is frequently tinged with dark clouds rather than sunshine. What this, further, requires us to think through is the ways that these negotiations about sex are – of course – gendered. In many cases where sex is involved, we must recognize the inescapable concern of assault and rape.

Through looking at this queer social set of quietly out-of-bounds relationships, it is crucial to – as part of the larger dissertation – point to the explicit connection this has to homosociality (as alluded to above) as a formation that, through its intimate and collaborative forms, can act as a destabilizing effect on heteronormative orderings that seek to simplify and reify an ordered order that divides sexual life as heterosexual and therefore functions to constrain the social life, similarly, to the homosocial – a social world comprised almost entirely of the same gender. The thread through which the homosocial is able to become anti-heteronormative is when it refuses to give in to the push of primacy for heterosexual relations by overemphasizing the social (Karioris 2015). Put another way, in seeking out social relations as primary and putting sexual relations as part of the category of heterosociality – which under the heteronormative order all but impossibly is non-existent – it sets forth a world that does not and is not constrained by marital relgio-hetero-patriarchal orderings. Which is not to say that it is not still, concurrently, part of the system nor that it is not part of a replicating of possible worlds that allocate constraints of heteronormative norms of social worlds to parlay themselves into deep ramifications.

The elision between the homosocial relations and the heterosocial relations that are imbricated with sex and sexuality allows for a revaluation of the spatialized and temporal importance given to the process and practice of marriage – something that neither the students hooking up, nor many of those not hooking up (such as those involved in the conversation), are prioritizing.

Conclusion

In an article from the Huffington Post about sexting, a woman whose husband was sexting with another women – but was not having any physical contact with her said: "I think it's cheating. I think any type of intimacy that you have outside of your marriage with somebody else is a form of cheating" (Adams 2014). It is this constraining of intimacy that this chapter has meant to dislodge; meant to tear asunder from its place as the sole legitimate means and space of intimacy. Part of the undermining of heteronormativity lies in the dissolution of spheres of sexuality and sociality, which lies – at least for these men, or this author – in the opening up of spheres of intimacy between men, rather than excluding intimacy from their lives and loves.

The dual story being played out is often one of sex-fuelled and filled lives that are premised on one-night stands, lacks of intimacy, and a dissolution of deep relationships, or the negative side-effects of hook up culture and the ways that it is harming students (often women more than men) – a critique that has been rooted in religious reasonings, moral panics, traditionalism, sexual health concerns, or as a sign of the increase in rape and sexual assault. In their book on hook ups, Donna Freitas tells us that:

> "Students play their parts – the sex crazed frat boy, the promiscuous, lusty coed-
> and they play them well. But all too often they enact these highly gendered roles for
> one another because they have been taught to believe that hookup culture is normal,
> that everyone is enjoying it, and that there is something wrong with them if they
> don't enjoy it, too. What could be better than sex without strings? Yet, in fact,
> many of them – both men and women – are not enjoying it at all" (Freitas 2013, 2).

What is left unquestioned in this sentence is: what about the students that are not having sex, what are they doing? Similarly, while we may know where students are having sex (or drinking), where are they not having sex?

In discussing a number of stories of parties, hook ups, and sexual assaults, Armstrong and Hamilton say that these stories "point to the role that peer cultures play in creating the headlines that colleges and parents fear" (Armstrong & Hamilton 2015, 93). While they are certainly correct that the media plays off some of the most over-the-top stories, we should be conscious, at the same time, of the fact that the media plays on these stories and presents them as the standard with which to experience college life; and, in doing so, perpetuates the mythological status of hook up culture and the amount of sex that students think that others are having. In this way, the fictive nature of media as representative – particularly in the U.S. where media has long history of deflecting certain events in favor of inflecting crises and panics (Herman & Chomsky 2002; Chomsky 2002) – of the reality of college life needs to be put in conversation with the on-the-ground stories of students who are living on the borderzone of hook ups – both personally and socially.

In the same way as, for Jonathan A. Allan, the anus is complex and ambiguous (Allan 2016, 8), so too is the socializing sexuality of the heteronormative-undermining practices and discourse surrounding hooking up and the homosocial relations that play out in relation together. Reading these relations through a lens that neither submits to paranoia, nor gives-in fully to unknowability, it sees the reparative reading of these placed

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positions and relations of sociality and sexuality - "like lovers' fingers braided together" (Ibid., 13) – as necessarily implicating a queer reading of themselves together. This chapter has meant to unhinge and dislodge – dislocate and disinter – the ways that university students, and men in particular, are – through relational practices such as flings, banging, hooking up, and friends with benefits, and relational practices that are intimate or homosocially or heterosocially driven beyond marital positioning – seeking out new ideas about connectivity and intimacy that undermines simplistic divisions between social and sexual worlds; and, in so doing, forgoes and bypasses deterministic outcomes necessitated by heteronormativity's ordering practices.

Conclusion - Sociality in Education as a Form of Pedagogic Becoming

Introduction

"It so happens I am sick of being a man.
And it happens that I walk into tailorshops and movie houses
dried up, waterproof, like a swan made of felt
steering my way in a water of wombs and ashes.

The smell of barbershops makes me break into hoarse sobs.
The only thing I want is to lie still like stones or wool.
The only thing I want is to see no more stores, no gardens,
no more goods, no spectacles, no elevators.

It so happens I am sick of my feet and my nails
and my hair and my shadow.
It so happens I am sick of being a man.

Still it would be marvelous
to terrify a law clerk with a cut lily,
or kill a nun with a blow on the ear.
It would be great
to go through the streets with a green knife
letting out yells until I died of the cold.

I don't want to go on being a root in the dark,
insecure, stretched out, shivering with sleep,
going on down, into the moist guts of the earth,
taking in and thinking, eating every day.

[4 stanzas omitted]

I stroll along serenely, with my eyes, my shoes,
my rage, forgetting everything,
I walk by, going through office buildings and orthopedic shops,
and courtyards with washing hanging from the line:
underwear, towels and shirts from which slow
dirty tears are falling" ('Walking Around' Neruda 1993, 28-31).

It is not an accident of history or literature that the above poem, starting with "It so happens I am sick of being a man" by Pablo Neruda was translated by Robert Bly, a man out-of-fashion and yet necessarily part of where the field of Men's Studies comes into

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being – even if in contradistinction to. The poem describes a longing to stop, to cease, to find a way out from the meanings and makings of "being a man." Opening the conclusion with this, I mean to point to the fact that in learning how to be "a man" many times it requires us to simultaneously learn how to stop being a man – demonstrating once again Michael Herzfeld's the distinction between "'being a good man'… [and] 'being *good at being a man*'" (Herzfeld 1985, 16). This dissertation is, at its root, about learning – in a variety of registers – and the modes through which men at university do so. This learning comes not merely from peers or from 'adults' or from the friend group or the university. The poem – and, in many ways, Bly himself – provide scenes of these types of learning, to whit one may find sustenance and succor, or the that-which-entraps of requirement. The men throughout this dissertation showcase the ways that this entrapment can occur, as well as the innovative and fascinating ways that they are able to work through the brick and mortar of masculinity as fluid actors. These guys have made of themselves and their relations a form of pedagogy that is both induced by necessity and experience, and are conducive to processes of collective and mutual learning that Higher Education and the classroom do not often prioritize. Throughout I have argued that these guys' homosocial relations are critically linked to rearrangements of spatio-temporal arrangments that constitute dispositions, that are themselves embodied through the homosocial relations and the way these relations are given priority over heterosexual relationships. Thusly, I have argued that these relationships are able to open up an understanding of the ways that guys at university see their time, create their space, and work through and against the university itself. Further, they give an understanding of a particular middle class creativity that is both allowed via the circumstances and yet

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pushes against the supposed long term aims of job, house, and wife that are circumscribed by a heteronormative, gendered, and classed system.

In each chapter I have provided insights not simply into the forms and methods of the institution of the university, but – more importantly – provide concrete and detailed lives that depict, demonstrate, and showcase the impacts, ramifications, and modes of learning that come beyond the university *proper*, but fall under the guise of either Student Affairs or as 'learning masculinity' between men.

This conclusion will aim to reflect on some of the broader themes that emerged during the research and writing of the dissertation, and think through some ways that this research demonstrates broader changes in Higher Education in the U.S. and thinking on men & masculinities in the 21st Century. This conclusion, then, is not meant as either a summary of the dissertation itself, or simply as a positing generalizability. The first two sections of this conclusion will situate the dissertation in the broader context of scholarship and work in Student Affairs/Higher Education and the broader disciplines from which it draws. From that it will showcase the ways that this research provides new ways of thinking through the changes in the U.S. and the ways that this is impacting on men and masculinities. Building off this, it will suggest ways of thinking that about social relations that are 'not just friends' and the importance of these relationships. It concludes with a 'state of the university' call to action and commentary about the challenges to Higher Education that have occurred recently, and what it means for this study and what ways this study might assist us in understanding these forms of resistance.

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Student Affairs, Higher Education, and the Necessity of Critique

As shown in the Introduction, the role of Student Affairs in U.S. Higher Education has taken on greater and greater roles in the university – both administratively as well as educationally. It has transformed itself into a vehicle under which discipline, education, learning, diversity, gender & equality, living spaces, student government, and 'university life' (through its masses of funding) are all now fall under the same rubric and administrative heading.

Student Affairs has, itself, developed into its own world and discipline in its own right. There are entire MAs and PhDs devoted to studying Student Affairs – with various focuses, from studying abroad, Residence Life, and Greek Life. Each region in the U.S. has its own large-scale annual conference, more or less focused on one particular area. For example, there is the Great Lakes Association of College and University Housing Officers (GLACUHO) and Northest Association of College and University Housing Housing Officers (NEACUHO). Nationally and internationally, there is the Association of College and University Housing Officers – International (AUCHO-I). The organization members:

> "include thousands of campus housing professionals from more than 950 colleges and universities that house approximately 1.8 million students worldwide. Our members also include more than 200 companies and organizations whose products and services support the profession's needs" (ACUHO-I 2016a).

Each year ACUHO-I has an conference for the larger organization, while having 'smaller' conferences for sub-branches of the organization in 'Living and Learning

Programs,' 'Business Operations,' 'Housing Facilities,' and a 'Chief Housing Officer

Institute' (ACUHO-I 2016b). Annual membership fees for ACUHO-I range from $41 for

non-U.S. students to $174 for individuals employed in residence halls at a university. In

the more broader Student Affairs category, there is the Student Affairs Administrators in

Higher Education (NASPA), which was formerly known as the National Association of

Student Personnel Administrators. This organization boasts 15,000 members at 2,100

institutions, in all 50 states in the U.S., and 25 countries internationally (NASPA 2016).

With membership fees for individuals from $26 to $242, the organization is not small or

without funding.

Not only has – as I pointed out in the introduction – the number of Student Affairs

professionals increased, but they have a consolidated based from which to act and grow

further – in their networks, organizations, and academic course offerings. For all of these

reasons we must present a critique of the field; one not merely a criticism, but a critique

that seeks to redress and point towards possible futures and successes that could be had.

This type of work is being done with the creation of the *Journal of Critical Scholarship*

on Higher Education and Student Affairs. "The journal strives to provide meaningful,

intentional, and actionable scholarship that can effect change on and with campus and

community, understanding their interdependence and interrelated nature" (JCSESA

2015). Run by Doctoral Candidates out of Loyal University Chicago's Higher Education

program, the journal has just published their first issue – book ended with an article by

Henry Giroux about the future of higher education (Giroux 2015).

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All of this is particularly important when one notes the fact that many universities are struggling to maintain a 40% population of men on campus (Fried 2011,vii-viii). Not only this, but it is well recognized that men on campuses are more at risk for bing drinking and attend programming at far lower rater than women. In fact, University of St. Jerome planned programs that were specifically for men to try and increase attendance – such as the live-action warfare style game *Humans Vs Zombies*. Building on these concerns, Jason A. Laker and Tracy Davis (Laker et al 2016; Laker 2008,[170] 2009a, 2009b) along with Shaun R. Harper and Frank Harris III (Harper & Harris 2010; Harper et al 2010; Harris and Harper 2014; Harper 2013; Harris III et al 2015) have published extensively on the topic of men on campus, seeking to provide "the empirical evidence, theoretical support and developmental interventions for educators working with college men in and out of the classroom" (Davis & Laker 2011, xiii). Ranging from seeking to understand campus violence and drinking, to the ways that men of color learn at community college, this work has sparked new trends in thinking about masculinities and Higher Education.

This work is dissimilar from the other large-scale ethnographies on university residence halls: all of the other studies have been done at their own universities where they were faculty. Similar to this, the work done by these amazing thinkers on Higher Education often comes from within the model and forum of Student Affairs, and therefore sways it in a specific direction. This dissertation runs in distinct directions to many of the narratives and goals that these scholars take, and therefore - rather than being mere

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[170] Note, that this is a NASPA publication.

criticism or rejection of the work – aims to open up the discourse to that which has, until now, not taken on the full consideration in the conversation.

Between Anthropology, Critical Pedagogy, and Critical Studies of Men & Masculinities

Particular to this study – and its scholarly placement – is that it seeks to blend and bend various disciplinary contexts, forms, forums, and formulas. This dissertation has sought to demonstrate the necessity for not simply 'interdisciplinarity' in the sense of utilization of various methods, but to point to the fact that we must interrogate the underlying assumptions that run along within disciplines, putting these into conversations with the lacuna of other disciplines, and emerging from these in the way rivers run together and out into the sea.

Tackling the issues of men and masculinities at university, ethnographic methods provided the raw data from which to cull narratives and stories. Pulling theoretical threads out of the field of Critical Studies of Men & Masculinities allowed the dissertation to place these men into conversation with broader structures, institutions, as well as discourses surrounding masculinity and the attendant power structures. Bringing a critical and political critique to the fore, Critical Pedagogy allows the study to recognize and work through these pieces in ways that themselves are situated and act as tools themselves in the action. One of the outcomes of this dissertation is to push further for interconnected ways of thinking through these situations, utilizing varied and vast sets of disciplinary beliefs, methods, concepts, and tools. I have been told by Anthropologists

that there is nothing left to study related to gender; and I've been told by Gender Studies Professors that class and structural issues are not worthwhile to study. Neither of these groups *en masse* seem to give full enough importance to the form of learning taking place, the pedagogic moments and strategies that the university is enacting, or the innovative forms of learning and educating that students themselves are using. There are fantastic subfields in each of these broader categories – for example, the Anthropology of Education (Anderson-Levitt 2013) – but it is the intertwining that creates of these disciplinary limitations that this dissertation is able to provide new insights.

These insights are particularly important when it comes to the way that we think about pedagogy and learning. Frequently, we think of education outside of the class as 'informal education,' and through this marker set up a situation where we distinguish between the learnt-in-class and the learnt-out-of-class. What would it look like for us to suggest that these two things – that are always happening at the same point and time – are not, in fact, distinct from each other but build off of each other's points of disposition and departure? In this, the dissertation sees itself building off of the foundational efforts of Mairtin Mac an Ghaill's *The Making of Men: Masculinities, Sexualities & Schooling* (1994) and CJ Pascoe's *Dude, You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School* (2007). These two books set the stage for an understanding of men and boys' learning in high school settings. Building and developing from this, this dissertation has added to these works through continuing the educational trajectory of boys and men into university settings.

Further, this dissertation seeks to push the field of Critical Studies of Men & Masculinities to think more deeply about the ways that it discusses education and learning, and the ways that it sees homosocial relationships. Through a nuanced and detailed viewing of homosociality one is able to address and work through the complex and interrelated concerns of violence and intimacy, and the links that they have between each other. Through a reevaluation of the concept, and providing deep insights into lived examples of homosocial relationships, the dissertation aims to open up further discussion on the ways that these relationships are an integral part of these young men's lives and that they act not just as spaces of misogyny, violence, or capital formation and gain, but as intimate spaces of learning.

Rather than focus solely inside the classroom, this dissertation has explored and explicated the ways that pedagogy works and is entailed in relations outside of the classroom, destabilizing the centrality of the classroom (and therefore the University) as the primary or sole mover and motivator of education and learning.

Changing Men in Changing Times

While all research is situated in a particular context, location, and time, it is important to seek to understand the ways that it can move – tentatively and partially – outside of this small locus of origin and provide understanding for ways of viewing and thinking of these issues. In the introduction I provided a broader picture of some of the general context unto which this dissertation came into being, and above I have sought to situate it in particular sets of literatures.

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With changes in attendance rates on college and university campuses, and the growing economic disparity between the richest 1% or 2% of the U.S. population and the other 98-99%, the purpose of university education is shifting massively. With the opening up of MOOCs and alternative education forums, the tradition 'brick and mortar' university is beginning to look at risk of being taken over by new learning institutions. What we have seen those in the past years is not a simple decrease in attendance rates – though there have been some slumps. What is at issue is that the "where" and "which" of university choice is still dominated by a small number of factors: fit, location, and ranking. For all the noise caused by MOOCs, they are often seen not as replacements for traditional education, but as diversionary and individual means of education. Katy Jordan, a MOOC student and PhD student, has compiled pass rates for MOOCs and found that in all but three individual courses the pass rate was below 40% - with a Princeton run (Coursera) history course having the lowest pass rate at 0.7% of the students enrolled passing (Jordan 2015). What is important about this is that there is something that is still critical and crucial about the campus experience for a large percentage of people. This means that the campus – and 'brick and mortar' universities – are not going anywhere for a while at least.

Student Affairs scholars might tell you that this is because 'campus community' is such an integral part of the university experience, while pedagogues might be inclined to suggest that in-person teaching is bound to be more intellectually stimulating and give the students more of a chance to engage with each other, the faculty, and the discussion.

Anthropologists, Sociologists, and Critical Pedagogy will point to the structural elements and capital accumulation that is part the university and that allows it to maintain its position while simultaneously holding MOOCs themselves – a situation similar to cigarette companies paying for anti-smoking ads.

The ways that these guys created space – not as accumulated resistance to the university but as and out of need and desire – is part of the way that university life is being set up by universities all across the country. Rather than the rarefied protests (discussed below) these guys represent ways of living-with and living-through. Rather than the now uncommon movement against, the ways that these guys work to avoid the institution of the university and to create their own environments and sense of belonging outside of institutional paradigms is both something that is happening all around the country, as well as is a starting place for asking questions about the ways that Student Affairs needs to rethink the "men problem" on campus as one not simply of alcohol and drugs – though these are certainly problems (and not just for men) – but also think of ways that they can encourage and allow for students to take ownership and agency of their educational trajectories and time on campus. What would campus programming look like as decentralized (outside of both Student Affairs and Student Government) efforts to encourage student's interests? In fact, what would majors look like with more flexibility involved? For this, at least, there are some small-scale examples. The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington is set up on exactly this principle saying: "Choosing an Area of Emphasis puts the power in your hands" and that "you'll develop a pathway that meets your goals and interests" (Evergreen 2016). Another alternative university, Naropa,

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is set up on Buddhist principles and practices. "We think of being involved in school offerings as more than an elective—it's a key part of how to live. You'll find Naropa is a school of action, involvement, and commitment—teeming with activities and opportunities to develop your spirit of contribution" (Naropa 2016). While these provide alternative opportunities, they also showcase the applicability of this dissertation through an understanding of the ways that this research pushes at the boundaries of what current models of university life are built on in most university settings.

The shapes and practices of these young men and their view of masculinity is dramatically different than that of their fathers. This research demonstrates and opens up a discussion about these men in a period of life when they are most open to changes and – often – when they are most exposed to different and new opinions and environmental factors. These research insights thus become marker lights for ways of thinking through the impacts that factors such as, not simply university choice (a factor that we are well aware of), but also placement within the university, the networked knowledge students come into these spaces with, and the ways that universities are themselves pushing for specific ends.

As masculinities change and alter moving onwards in the 21st Century, it is crucial to recognize and reframe our understandings of the way that their homosocial relations are a part of the formation of their masculinity, the connection between these relations and structural inequalities & power, and the role that institutions play in sustaining and creating these networked sets of relationships.

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Searching for Education: State of the University at Present

The research for this dissertation has been conducted at a time when universities around the U.S. are being challenged in ways and forms that we haven't seen to any large degree since the 60s and 70s. The nationwide protest movement Black Lives Matters has reignited questions around racial inequality in the country, and this political momentum has had deep ramifications on college campuses as well. For example, one can look at the Afrikana students at Oberlin College & Conservatory protests. In January of 2016, a group of Afrikana students at Oberlin College & Conservatory released a wide-ranging series of demands to the college's board of trustees and its president. The series of "DEMANDS" run to 14 pages, and lists as its primary goals the increase in "Black and students of color represented in the institutions from the Americas, including the Caribbean and Africa," as well as increases in Black faculty and administrators, divestment from prisons and Israel, "exclusive Black safe spaces on campus," "active elimination of institutional complacency that allows violence against Black students to thrive and persist," "eradication of hegemony" from the curriculum, "end of Oberlin College functioning as a gentrifying institution," and an "end to the erasure of Black contributions to this campus" (ABUSUA 2016). The document goes on to list – in specific ways – that these goals can and should be achieved.[171]

Further, this year has seen an explosion of sexual assault and rape cases on colleges, and an expansion of protests and policy reforms on this front. With new policies and widespread protests, the issue has taken on a heated strength. This has, not surprisingly,

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[171] This paragraph is taken from a work in progress exploring ideas on pedagogy, labor, and the university in neoliberal times through bell hooks.

caused its fair share of policy initiatives aimed at offsetting the university's responsibility

in these matters and creating a situation where students are treated not as adults whose

rights and safety need to be defended, but as children in need of de-sexing and protection.

At Northwestern, the university banned all faculty from having any form of relationship

with students. Laura Kipnis, in her own personal blend of drama and untactful scandal

creation, published an article decrying the policy and was hit with multiple Title IX

lawsuits.[172]

With all of these protests, universities have responded in various ways. The University of

Missouri President was forced to resign due to the protests over racial inequity on campus

(Stripling 2015). Assistant Professor Melissa Click, at the University of Missouri, sought

to 'protect' students called for "muscle" and tried to kick student journalists out of a

protest occurring on campus has been suspended by the University of Missouri Board of

Curators (Chappellet-Lanier 2016). 2015 has also been the year of "trigger warnings" in

classrooms (Blanchard 2016) and the push back against 'coddled students,' such as the

President of Mount St. Mary's University of Maryland saying that "faculty members stop

treating them [students who are struggling] as 'cuddly bunnies" and 'drown the bunnies'"

(Mangan 2016).

What this dissertation has sought to do, though, is to push beyond a dichotomy where

'student centered' necessarily allocates overt and excessive space for the consumptive.

Rather, these students are opening up their own centeredness and doing so on principles

that are not directly linked either to resistance or consumptive necessity, but are instead

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[172] See Karioris 2016b for further discussion of this.

profoundly connected to ideas of intimacy through relational practices that act as pedagogic forms of becoming. If we see these men's relationships not just as reproductive practices, but as pedagogic becomings through collective learning and education, we are able to see the ways that they are challenging what they are being told – by their coursework, their parents, and by the university. In these men's relationships, which sit between class (and their class positioning) and friendship, we are able to see the ways that homosociality can provide sources for and ways of doing that enable and encourage new forms of connection that are practiced together, and are, in this way, opening up rather than closing down. As with everything, one must be cautious about being overly optimistic or grandiose. Like most spaces of opening, there are risks and resistances even to these new openings. This dissertation has pointed towards new research, and thinking on the ways that men's homosocial relationships provide crucial outlets for the men, and yet recognize that these relationships are also impermanent. Stuck in a phase of life, these relationships do not continue *ad infinitum* throughout these men's lives, but exist as temporally loaded and liminal relations.

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