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14	Abstract	This article concerns alcohol use as it pertains to the construction of White masculinity through an analysis of students' accounts. Seventy-eight face-to-face interviews were conducted with volunteer female and male, African American, European American, heterosexual and homosexual students at a mid-sized university. Results suggest that the meaning of public drinking is to express a form of masculinity. In students' gendered descriptions of their own and peers' drinking behavior, alcohol use among White men was found to symbolize the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity. Masculinities were constructed via drinking stories, the body's ability to tolerate alcohol, and the relevance of drinking too little or not at all, which symbolized weakness, homosexuality, or femininity. Implications for social policy and future research are discussed.	
15	Keywords separated by ' - '	Hegemonic masculinity - Embodiment - Gender - Gender norms - Gender differences - Alcohol - College - Qualitative research - Deviance	
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3 ORIGINAL ARTICLE

4 College Alcohol Use and the Embodiment of Hegemonic 5 Masculinity among European American Men

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11 **Abstract** This article concerns alcohol use as it pertains to
12 the construction of White masculinity through an analysis
13 of students' accounts. Seventy-eight face-to-face interviews
14 were conducted with volunteer female and male, African
15 American, European American, heterosexual and homosex-
16 ual students at a mid-sized university. Results suggest that
17 the meaning of public drinking is to express a form of
18 masculinity. In students' gendered descriptions of their own
19 and peers' drinking behavior, alcohol use among White
20 men was found to symbolize the embodiment of hegemonic
21 masculinity. Masculinities were constructed via drinking
22 stories, the body's ability to tolerate alcohol, and the
23 relevance of drinking too little or not at all, which
24 symbolized weakness, homosexuality, or femininity. Impli-
25 cations for social policy and future research are discussed.

26 **Keywords** Hegemonic masculinity · Embodiment · Gender ·
27 Gender norms · Gender differences · Alcohol · College ·
28 Qualitative research · Deviance

29 The reduction of alcohol-related problems among college
30 students remains a formidable task. "Alcohol-related prob-
31 lems among college students" may be a euphemism for
32 "European American (EA) college students who are men"
33 given that the vast majority of college students are EA and
34 those students who experience alcohol related problems are
35 disproportionately EA men (Peralta 2005; Wechsler and
36 Kuo 2003). An important aspect in promoting social and
37 behavioral change is to understand the racialized and gendered

underpinnings that shape the desire to engage in heavy drinking 38
in college. 39

High profile media reports have documented alcohol- 40
related deaths and violence among college students. The 41
recent alleged rape at Duke university by athletes at an 42
underage drinking party is just one recent example (Saraceno 43
2006). Parents have filed suit in courts alleging that 44
university campuses are unsafe and have been negligent 45
in protecting their children.¹ Settlements have acknowl- 46
edged the shared responsibility of universities in the culture 47
of alcohol abuse that occurs on college campuses.² 48

The literature suggests that alcohol use or abstention from 49
alcohol has been used for gender construction purposes 50
(Campbell 2000; Montemurro and McClure 2005; West 51
2001). Although college campuses have been described in 52
the literature as settings where men and women "do 53
gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987), alcohol use among 54
college students has received relatively little gender 55
accomplishment analysis (for examples of gender analysis 56
and college alcohol use see Miller et al. 2003). 57

¹ In 2000, a university settled with the parents of a student who died of alcohol poisoning; they gave \$1.25 million for a scholarship and \$4.75 million in compensatory damages. More recently, this university settled a wrongful death suit with the parents of another student by agreeing to fund a limited number of students in pre-orientation programs (Rivoire 2005).

² To put these individual stories into context, Hingson et al. (2002) estimated that in 1998 that more than 1,400 students aged 18–24 enrolled in 2- and 4-year colleges died from alcohol-related injuries (including motor vehicle crashes). Of the eight million college students in the United States, more than two million drove vehicles while under the influence, and over 3 million rode in a car with a drunk driver. Five hundred thousand full-time 4-year college students were unintentionally injured while under the influence of alcohol, and more than 600,000 were hit or assaulted by a student under the influence. More than 70,000 college women experienced date rapes perpetrated by another student who had been drinking.

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58 Research has documented the epidemiology of alcohol
 59 use by gender. Sixteen general population surveys from ten
 60 countries (Wilsnack et al. 2000) show men more likely than
 61 women to drink. Male drinkers consumed alcohol more
 62 frequently and in larger amounts, and were more likely than
 63 female drinkers to have alcohol-related problems. Differ-
 64 ences in the magnitude of gender differences across
 65 countries have been found to be strongly influenced by
 66 socio-cultural factors (Gilbert and Collins 1997; Streifel
 67 1997). This suggests that the relatively small biological
 68 differences in how alcohol affects women and men are
 69 magnified by cultural norms for how women and men
 70 should or should not use alcohol. Drinking behavior may be
 71 a useful way to symbolize more general differences in
 72 gender practices and to make gender role differences more
 73 conspicuous. Thus, many societies with major differences
 74 in men's and women's practices have also largely forbidden
 75 women, but not men, to drink (McDonald 1994).

76 National studies by the Substance Abuse and Mental
 77 Health Services Administration, and the Monitoring the
 78 Future survey, each indicate that drinking quantity and
 79 frequency rates peak between the ages of 18 and 25 years.
 80 Whereas illicit drug use is higher among non-college
 81 students, alcohol use/abuse is higher among college
 82 students than among their non-college peers, which sug-
 83 gests normative age-related social patterns (Dowdall et al.
 84 2002; O'Malley et al. 2002). Problematic alcohol use is of
 85 special concern for college students based on these national
 86 estimates.

87 A nationally representative study (Wechsler et al. 1998)
 88 showed that 42.7% of students had been binge drinking in
 89 the 2 weeks before they were surveyed. Twenty percent of
 90 these students binged three times or more per month.
 91 Gender differences in alcohol consumption by college
 92 students continue to be reported routinely in the literature,
 93 although differences are dwindling (Wechsler et al. 1998).
 94 Nineteen percent of female students and 24% of male
 95 students in one nationally representative study (see Wechsler
 96 et al. 1994, 1995a, b, 1998) reported frequent "binge
 97 drinking" (defined as imbibing five or more drinks in a single
 98 sitting for men and four for women) three or more times in a
 99 2 week period. Twenty-three percent of those who drank three
 100 times per week drank ten or more drinks per week.

101 Although these studies provide important insight into
 102 college students' drinking, large nationally representative
 103 studies of college students overlook important sociological
 104 issues that pertain to gender. For instance, Wechsler's
 105 (1995) analysis of gender in college students' alcohol use is
 106 limited to only three gender-specific qualifications. The
 107 first is a gender-adjusted measurement for "binge drinking"
 108 (described above). Second, Wechsler reported prevalence
 109 differences between men and women where women had a
 110 slightly lower prevalence rate of abusive drinking. Third,

Wechsler's data suggest that women face a disproportion- 111
 ately greater risk than men do for violent victimization. 112

113 Survey research has shown significant differences by 114
 115 gender, however, the researchers have not satisfactorily 116
 117 interpreted the nuanced impact of gender on the epidemi- 118
 119 ological distribution of drinking. In other words, we stand 120
 121 to gain from a more sophisticated understanding of the way 122
 123 in which drinking is implicated in creating and sustaining 124
 125 variant forms of masculinity. Although we know that 126
 127 gender differences exist, we have not fully understood their 128
 129 origins, their meanings, or the ways in which men's 130
 131 drinking exists in relation to women's or subjugated men's
 132 drinking (see Peralta 2002 for an analysis of women, fear of
 133 weight-gain, and alcohol use). Given the pronounced and
 134 routine differences reported in the scientific literature, it is
 135 important to investigate how gender accomplishment
 136 influences drinking behavior among college students. This
 137 approach provides insight into the meaning of alcohol use
 138 that is not possible within the traditional epidemiological
 139 approaches used by Wechsler and others.

Research on Gender: Performance and Masculinities 131

132 Several aspects of gender have been established. Gender is 133
 134 not static nor a mere "pre-assigned" role. Gender is 135
 136 behavior that emerges actively from deeply held and 137
 138 typically unreflective beliefs about men's and women's 139
 140 "essential" natures. Gendered behavior is accomplished in 141
 142 the presence of onlookers. Furthermore, multiple forms of 143
 144 masculinities and femininities, rather than single dimen- 145
 146 sional categories of men and women comprise gender 147
 148 (Connell 1995; Donaldson 1993; Messerschmidt 1993; 149
 150 Messner 1992). The internal complexities of masculinity, 151
 152 however, have only recently begun to be researched. 153

154 A dominant ideology of what it means to be a man or 155
 156 woman is reinforced, reproduced, and recreated through 157
 158 group consensus and the social interaction that is informed 159
 160 by this consensus (Komter 1989). "Hegemonic masculinity" 161
 162 describes a culturally specific ideal masculinity (Connell 163
 164 1995). Hegemony is a concept that embeds certain notions 165
 166 and actions of consent and participation by subordinate 167
 168 groups (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Men in a given 169
 170 society are socialized to identify with a dominant definition 171
 172 of masculinity (Messerschmidt 1997). The ideal or hege- 173
 174 monic man in contemporary Western societies has been 175
 176 described as EA, young, heterosexually active, economi- 177
 178 cally successful, athletically inclined, and self-assured 179
 180 (Connell 1987). Recent researchers have moved beyond 181
 182 an analysis of "traits" to thinking about work in the paid 183
 184 labor market, the subordination of women, heterosexism, 185
 186 authority, control, competitive individualism, indepen- 187
 188 dence, a capacity for violence, and the driven (hetero) 189
 190 191

Q1

Q1

Q2

161 sexuality of men (Connell 1995; Messerschmidt 1993) and
 162 most recently the role of the *body* in masculinity construc-
 163 tion (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

164 Crucial theoretical advancement on gender and mascu-
 165 linity has begun to emphasize men's and boys' practical
 166 relationships to collective images or models of masculinity
 167 (rather than simple reflections of them). As Connell and
 168 Messerschmidt (2005) iterated, regional hegemonic mascu-
 169 linites provide cultural frameworks that are materialized in
 170 daily practices and interactions. The making of masculin-
 171 ities and the experience of men's bodies coincide in the
 172 production of gender (Connell 1987). The use of the body in
 173 risk-taking behavior among men and the subsequent harm that
 174 occurs has been well explained in the masculinity literature
 175 (Kimmel 1987). Ironically, Connell and Messerschmidt
 176 (2005) noted that, in attempts to express masculinity, the
 177 body is at risk for harm as self-injuries are quite common in
 178 competitive athletic endeavors. Similarly, alcohol researchers
 179 routinely address the physical damage on the body caused by
 180 alcohol use (Wechsler et al. 1998).

181 Sport and masculinities research and theoretical discus-
 182 sions on the sociology of the body have bolstered support
 183 for the study of masculinities as a social construct.
 184 Messner's (1989) work on professional athletes and their
 185 use of their bodies as symbols of masculinity is exemplary
 186 of this research (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).
 187 Analyses by Connell (2005) and Messner (1992) support
 188 a "body-reflexive practice" where the body is seen as both
 189 an active agent and as an object of practice used to receive
 190 and produce gender differences. Use of the body to help to
 191 create a certain kind of masculinity (e.g., playing football)
 192 enhances the accomplishment of hegemonic masculinity yet
 193 the risk of injury undercuts the power of the body. Similar
 194 arguments can be made to suggest that men use alcohol to
 195 demonstrate their stamina, self-control, non-conformity, and
 196 willingness to take risks (Gotoh 1994).

197 **Where These Literatures Converge: Alcohol, Gender,**
 198 **and Normative Performances**

199 The present study contributes empirically to the theoretical
 200 literature on gender construction by presenting illustrations
 201 of how alcohol is associated with the "doing" of masculin-
 202 ity and illuminating the process of masculine embodiment.
 203 This work is in accordance to Connell and Messerschmidt's
 204 (2005) renewed call for empirical research on existing
 205 hegemonic masculinities analyzed at the local level with
 206 face to face interaction strategies. The evidence presented
 207 here documents college students' alcohol use as it relates to
 208 gender accomplishment.

209 The cultural processes of reward and punishment linked
 210 to gender conformity and gendered deviance appear to

influence alcohol use by both men and women (R. W. 211
 Wilsnack and S. C. Wilsnack 1997). Research reveals that 212
 gender norms largely determine abstinence versus moderate 213
 or heavy drinking in women. For example, in communities 214
 where women's drinking is not socially acceptable, drink- 215
 ing rates are relatively low for women (Montemurro and 216
 McClure 2005; R. W. Wilsnack and S. C. Wilsnack 1997). 217
 Other ethnographic research shows that women's and men's 218
 drinking patterns diverge significantly where gender roles 219
 are most clearly divided (McDonald 1994). Indeed, many 220
 cultures stigmatize women's alcohol use, which limits the 221
 development and maintenance of drinking behaviors among 222
 women (Gomberg 1997). 223

It has been suggested that men use alcohol to express 224
 their presumed superiority over women and marginalized 225
 men, who are prohibited from the same type of alcohol use 226
 (McDonald 1994). Belonging to male-dominated institu- 227
 tions (e.g., social fraternities) increases the likelihood of 228
 engaging in heavy drinking behavior, as does being youn- 229
 ger in age, male, involved in organized athletics, and EA 230
 (Wechsler et al. 2000). Athletes report more binge drinking, 231
 heavier alcohol use, and a greater number of alcohol-related 232
 injuries than do students in general (Nelson and Wechsler 233
 2001). 234

Some research (West 2001) suggests that alcohol is a 235
 facilitator of certain types of gender expression within 236
 specific contexts. Accordingly, alcohol may be used to 237
 avoid stigmatization and to conform to specific gender 238
 norms. For instance, the consumption of beer by blue collar 239
 men seems to be a potent resource for the enactment of 240
 "compensatory masculinities" (Hemingson et al. 1998; 241
 Janes and Ames 1989; Kaminer and Dixon 1995). More 242
 generally, Landrine et al. (1988) have suggested that 243
 "drunkenness may be an aspect of the concept of masculin- 244
 ity" (p. 705). In Western cultures, for example, advertise- 245
 ments display excessive alcohol usage exclusively as a 246
 men's activity (e.g., Ratliff and Burkhart 1984). Research 247
 has demonstrated that retrospective accounts of drunken or 248
 drinking behavior have implications for theories on the 249
 construction of identity (Giles 1999) as has discourse 250
 analytic research (Gough and Edwards 1998). Evidence 251
 suggests that stories about drunken behavior are an important 252
 part of identity construction (Giles 1999; Moore 1990), and 253
 this might be especially true for masculine gender identity. 254

Although there are numerous studies that link masculin- 255
 ity with alcohol use and abuse (e.g., Boswell and Spade 256
 1996; Capraro 2000; Cohen and Lederman 1995; Schacht 257
 1996), the *Journal of Studies on Alcohol's* (Goldman et al. 258
 2002) supplemental issue on college students' drinking 259
 virtually ignored the role of gender and the expression of 260
 gender in its review of the state of science on college 261
 students' drinking. Nevertheless, researchers are beginning 262
 to reveal how alcohol use becomes an expression of 263

264 masculinity among college students, a group for whom
 265 alcohol use is a serious problem (Locke and Mahalik 2005;
 266 Wilson et al. 2004; Young et al. 2005).

267 The relevance of gender dynamics to the problems of
 268 alcohol use and alcohol-related violence is emphasized here
 269 in sociological terms. The present study focused on EA
 270 masculinity situated in a youthful context where the body is
 271 often used to express gender. Here, I explore the ways that
 272 drinking behavior is part of “doing gender” as men socially
 273 construct their identity as masculine.

274 **The Current Study**

275 In the present study of alcohol use, I took an interactionist
 276 approach to view gender as (1) dynamic, (2) as emerging
 277 from situated interaction, and (3) as produced and rein-
 278 forced through accomplishment (Coltrane 1989; Pyke
 279 1996; West and Fenstermaker 1993; West and Zimmerman
 280 1987). I interpret students’ accounts of alcohol use as
 281 reflections of their conceptualization of gender and the
 282 alcohol-related behaviors as necessary to engage in doing
 283 masculinity. I argue that alcohol is used by EA male
 284 students to align with hegemonic standards of masculinity. I
 285 use accounts from EA men and subjugated men and women
 286 (e.g., African American [AA], gay) enrolled in an institu-
 287 tion of higher education to illustrate this process.

288 The purpose of this research was to explore the process
 289 of local hegemonic masculinity construction (as opposed to
 290 regional or national constructions) via alcohol use among a
 291 diverse sample of college students. Is the process of
 292 drinking and, in particular, heavy drinking a form of
 293 masculinity construction? Are ideological assumptions
 294 about masculinity expressed through drinking behavior in
 295 a social location where such expressions are accepted,
 296 legitimized, and often expected? Does heavy alcohol use
 297 among men become a resource where presumed “essential”
 298 characteristics of manhood can be expressed? Juxtaposing
 299 the experiences of AA, EA, homosexual, heterosexual, men
 300 and women was a critical aspect of analyzing the local
 301 construction of this form of masculinity.

302 **Method**

303 **Participants**

304 Respondents were a volunteer sample of 78 undergraduate
 305 students at a medium sized state university in the mid-
 306 Atlantic region of the US (See Tables 1 and 2). Sixty-nine
 307 percent ($N=55$) of the total sample was EA, and 27% ($N=20$)
 308 was AA. Forty-four men and 34 women participated.
 309 Seventy-two percent ($N=56$) self-identified as heterosexual,

Table 1 Student interviews: race by gender (N) %.

Race	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
EA	(32) 72	(23) 66	(55) 69
AA	(10) 23	(10) 31	(20) 27
Latino/a	(1) 2	(1) 3	(2) 3
Asian	(1) 2	(-) -	(1) 1
Total	44 (100)	34 (100)	78 (100)

22% ($N=17$) self-identified as gay or lesbian, and the
 remaining 6% ($N=5$) self-identified as bisexual. Two
 respondents were both Hispanic and gay. One respondent
 was self-identified as a gay Asian man. Two AA men
 identified as gay; the remaining gay participants were EA
 ($N=17$; ten EA gay men; seven EA lesbians).

The respondents were evenly distributed across the college
 years; almost one-third were either freshmen ($N=24$) or
 seniors ($N=25$), 15% were sophomores ($N=11$), and 22%
 were juniors ($N=18$). The average age was at the median
 point of age of traditional college students: 20 years,
 5 months. Fifteen percent ($N=11$) of the sample reported
 that they were members of a fraternity or sorority. Nearly all
 (95%) respondents reported themselves as “middle” or
 “upper-middle class.”

Procedure

The University Office of Human Research reviewed and
 approved the protocol and granted ethical approval for the
 project. Data were collected primarily by the author of the
 study between 1997 and 2001. Twenty-two of the 78
 interviews were conducted by a female research assistant
 trained in qualitative methods. I decided that it was necessary
 to obtain interviews with both a male and female interviewer
 to reach saturation with minimized interviewer effects based
 on gender. Interviews were 1–3 h long; the mean length was
 1.5 h. The age difference between interviewers and partic-
 ipants was not large (median was 7 years), which possibly
 aided in the establishment of rapport.

Students who were between the ages of 18 and 24 and
 who were attending the university at the time of the study

Table 2 Student interviews: sexuality by gender (N) %.

Sexuality	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
Heterosexual	(33) 74	(23) 69	(56) 72
Homosexual	(10) 23	(7) 19	(17) 22
Bisexual	(1) 2	(4) 13	(5) 6
Total	(44) 100	(34) 100	(78) 100

340 were the only criteria for inclusion. Twenty-four percent of
 341 the sample (18 students, all EA and heterosexual) was
 342 recruited with the assistance of the Dean of Students'
 343 office. These students were undergoing discipline proce-
 344 dures for first-time, minor alcohol-related violations (most
 345 of which were for possession or underage use) at the time
 346 of the study. The remaining 80 students were recruited via
 347 class announcements and advertisements posted on campus.
 348 Minority students were purposely over-sampled to give
 349 representation to those who have been traditionally exclud-
 350 ed from research. To encourage minority student participa-
 351 tion, \$10 stipends were offered to minorities for completion
 352 of the interview.

353 Rapport was established by assuring confidentiality;
 354 providing a safe, secure, and private interview space; and
 355 establishing a non-threatening, non-hierarchical atmosphere
 356 where the student was informed that he or she was the
 357 expert in the area of college students' alcohol use. All
 358 students were free to skip any question or to discontinue the
 359 interview at any time (all students completed the interview
 360 in full). All data were audio-taped and transcribed with
 361 participants' permission. Pseudonyms are used here to
 362 protect informants' confidentiality.

363 Data were analyzed using grounded theory techniques.
 364 Grounded theory as a methodology is the appropriate
 365 approach to these data because it was my intent to
 366 illuminate the social processes of gender in the context of
 367 alcohol use. I specifically intended to generate theory from
 368 data at the outset of the study. Themes were inductively
 369 generated from these data using a line-by-line open coding
 370 method (Strauss and Corbin 1990). My analytic goals were
 371 to identify the meaning in the relationship between gender
 372 and alcohol use, to discover how the social construction of
 373 masculinity contributes to alcohol use in a college context,
 374 and to generate concepts and hypotheses directly from these
 375 data (Glaser 1995; Glaser and Strauss 1967). I took a
 376 constant-relational approach to gender (Emirbayer 1997), so
 377 as not to abandon the central tenets of gender or masculinity.

378 An initial independent analysis of themes was done by
 379 both the author and the research assistant, and then the
 380 results were compared. We looked for gendered features of
 381 alcohol use and alcohol-related behavior in the accounts by
 382 listening to, reading, and re-reading interview data. It was
 383 necessary to read through all interview data several times
 384 with a focus on accounts of activities that reflected gender
 385 construction in general and masculinity specifically. After
 386 we had established agreed-upon emergent themes, I
 387 refocused on gender by placing gendered drinking activity
 388 at the center of my analytic framework. After compiling
 389 these data using this framework, patterns of gendered
 390 alcohol use were categorized. I also explored the contexts
 391 and influences that made these experiences possible. After
 392 having established agreed-upon emergent themes, I selected

representational accounts from these data. These accounts
 are used as illustrations of themes that stem from the
 analytic framework used in coding and organizing these
 data.

The understandings generated by the original interviews
 were augmented by the use of field notes, observation of
 students on campus, discussions with my colleagues about
 these data, and the data collection process. Field notes
 included documentation of students' characteristics (e.g.,
 dress, voice inflection, the extent to which students became
 animated in discussing their drinking accounts).

Measure

A semi-structured, open-ended interview guide that consisted
 of 12 main questions was developed and pilot tested by the
 author of the present study. Demographic questions were
 asked in addition to questions about drinking quantity and
 frequency, attitudes toward drinking, reasons for drinking,
 expectations of alcohol use, and consequences of drinking
 such as blackouts, inability to stop using, injuries, and failure
 to meet responsibilities. Questions were expanded through the
 use of probes and projective questioning to reduce the
 response effect of sensitive questions (e.g., I asked questions
 about friends' use of alcohol in addition to questions about
 interviewees' own use of alcohol).

Some of the main questions included: "How do you feel
 about getting drunk?"; "What have been your experiences
 with alcohol use on this campus?"; "Have you experienced
 alcohol-related violence?"; "What do you think of students
 who drink very little or who abstain?"; "What do you think
 of students who take risks when drinking?" Most relevant
 to this research, students were asked to discuss and
 elaborate upon any perceived gender differences they
 personally had experienced.

The terms "heavy alcohol use" or "heavy drinking" are
 used in this article to refer to accounts where five or more
 drinks were consumed in a sitting for men and four or more
 for women (Wechsler 1997). This quantity of consumed
 alcohol for men and women has been described as
 "abusive" or "problematic" in the literature due to it's
 correlation with increased risk for violence, injury and
 morbidity (Wechsler 1997). "Alcohol use" and "drinking"
 in this article refer to accounts of alcohol use that
 constituted less than five drinks in a row for men and four
 drinks in a row for women respectively.

Results

The data presented here are based on over 100 h of
 interview data. Three themes that emerged from the
 interviews are reported here. I grouped the findings into

441 three distinct—yet interrelated—categories to demonstrate
 442 how masculinity operates and is understood within the
 443 context of alcohol use and heavy alcohol use. These three
 444 themes together exemplify the association between alcohol
 445 use and the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity con-
 446 struction for a specific group of men: EA college men.

447 Markers of embodied masculinity: stories and trophies

448 Drinking and heavy drinking is understood to be a form of
 449 “macho” or masculine behavior. Table 3 shows that a
 450 majority of students (70%), including similar numbers of
 451 men (68%) and women (73%), endorse this belief. Thus
 452 men and women alike believe that drinking, especially
 453 heavy drinking, is indicative of masculinity accomplish-
 454 ment for those who drink. Thus *evidence* of heavy drinking
 455 via stories and trophies (e.g., physical evidence of alcohol
 456 use) are used as markers of masculinity.

457 Because the majority of students in this sample asserted
 458 that alcohol use expresses a form of “macho” or masculine
 459 behavior (70%), these data suggest that drinking is within
 460 the repertoire of behaviors associated with “masculinity” as
 461 it is defined in this specific college environment. Although
 462 many students’ associated drinking with (EA) masculinity,
 463 the tone of men’s responses differed from that of women’s
 464 responses. Men’s stories about their own alcohol use and
 465 the use of alcohol by their peers were in reference to their
 466 own perceived power and strength as men. This power was
 467 evidenced by the extent to which their *bodies* could endure
 468 and withstand the effects of alcohol consumption. These
 469 qualities were demonstrated by their stated ability not only
 470 to withstand heavy alcohol use, but also to *enjoy* the act of
 471 drinking heavily. For example, Ronald, an EA heterosexual
 472 student, discussed the party he had planned for his
 473 fraternity:

474 ...so I went and got 25 cases of Corona, got a sorority
 475 involved...We consumed about 19 of the 25 cases!
 476 There were about 30 brothers and about 40 girls, and
 477 we did it all in one night!

t3.1 **Table 3** Percent who assert that drinking is expressive of masculine behavior by gender, race, and sexuality.

t3.2		Percent	Number
t3.3	Men	68	37
t3.4	Women	73	30
t3.5	EA students	76	50
t3.6	AA students	53	15
t3.7	Homosexual students*	71	18
t3.8	Heterosexual students	62	49
t3.9	Total**	70	67

t3.10 *Includes gay and bisexual students

**N=67 due to missing data

Ronald was boastful in his story telling, as were many EA 478
 male interviewees. To illustrate further how men discussed 479
 alcohol excitedly and with pride, consider Keith, an EA 480
 heterosexual student, who said: 481

One night last semester we started drinking at 10 A.M. and 482
 didn’t stop until 4 A.M. the next day! It was like 18 hours 483
 of drinking. That was straight beer. The hard alcohol part 484
 started out at a brewery...we had three beers there, then 485
 we bought a 6-pack at a liquor store, went to a micro 486
 brewery, had three big beers there, had dinner, went to a 487
 bar, and started doing shots, and then went to some other 488
 bar, and after that we don’t remember. We just woke up. 489
 And this one time, I put down a whole bottle of vodka 490
 just straight down! 491

EA male undergraduates talked about their alcohol use 493
 as if “drinking” and “getting drunk” were badges of honor. 494
 It is perhaps not surprising that it was EA men who more 495
 often discussed alcohol as an approach to a local construc- 496
 tion of hegemonic masculinity, as previous researchers have 497
 found that EA college men are among the heaviest of 498
 drinkers. EA men’s drinking accounts often had the tone of 499
 battle stories told by war veterans. They were more likely to 500
 discuss their alcohol use and their male friends’ alcohol use 501
 with awe and as symbols of essential masculine strength, 502
 ability, stamina, and, most important, power. 503

Drinking stories for men are important because they are 504
 expressions of a specific type of masculine identity—one that 505
 is wild, tough, popular, youthful, aggressive, competitive, 506
 confident, and anti-feminine (Schacht 1996). This identity is 507
 reminiscent of regional hegemonic masculinity, as discussed 508
 by Messerschmidt (1993) and Connell (1987), where power 509
 and control are tantamount. The telling of drinking stories, 510
 particularly heavy drinking stories, is part of the imagery of 511
 gender accomplishment for this particular local setting. The 512
 reference group is specific: the college students’ peers. This 513
 style of drinking did not take place in front of older adults. 514
 This is important and perhaps relevant to the tone of their 515
 accounts. Students may have exaggerated their drinking 516
 experiences. But regardless of the actual amount consumed, 517
 their efforts to convey a particular image reflect “doing 518
 gender” in general, and “doing masculinity” in particular. 519

An AA heterosexual man and former university athlete 520
 spoke of his heavy alcohol use as if it were an achievement 521
 in and of itself. In fact, he had “trophies” to prove it. His 522
 account paralleled that of EA male students’ accounts. 523
 Consider Adrian’s statement: 524

Like I said, last year we used to drink all the time. As 525
 a matter of fact, we had this, I wish I had a picture to 526
 show you, we had bottles along the whole shelf on the 527
 wall. Empty liquor bottles across the whole thing. 528
 There must have been 40 bottles...would buy a bottle 529

530 of something, or maybe someone would bring some-
 531 thing over, and we just collected them. We just saved
 532 them all. And we looked back on that and we were
 533 like, wow!³

535 A recent history in active athletics participation has been
 536 typified as a component of hegemonic masculinity (Messner
 537 1992). It is interesting that empty bottles of liquor are
 538 displayed much like athletic trophies might be displayed as
 539 a measure of athletic accomplishment. Adrian's description
 540 demonstrates how evidence of alcohol use is associated
 541 with pride and performance. Men counted the number of
 542 bottles consumed as evidence of masculinity accomplish-
 543 ment. In the need to address masculine standards as defined
 544 by their reference group, empty alcohol containers were
 545 used as symbolic markers of achieving that goal. These
 546 men drew a sense of pride from the amount and frequency
 547 of alcohol use. Kristen (EA, heterosexual) substantiated this
 548 observation by saying: "Guys value that (drinking) more
 549 than girls. Guys pride themselves on that and they have to
 550 prove they can drink and hold their liquor." The types (e.g.,
 551 beer versus wine coolers) of drinks appear to serve as
 552 trophies as well. Take Karen's statement (EA, heterosexual)
 553 as an example: "Girls are supposed to drink girly drinks,
 554 and guys are supposed to drink beer."

555 Many men interviewed were brimming with pride when
 556 they discussed their heavy alcohol use.⁴ If excessive
 557 alcohol use among men is perceived to be an expression
 558 of masculinity, power, and authority, what is the perception
 559 of women's alcohol use according to respondents? Women
 560 who openly drink heavily were regarded as infringing upon
 561 traditional masculine behavior according to both male and
 562 female respondents. Seth, an AA man, for example, said:

563 I think that if a female is tanked [drunk], like I don't
 564 think that she is at all attractive. I'm not being sexist,
 565 but there is something about a woman chugging back
 566 a beer that looks so masculine, you know what I
 567 mean? Just like why doesn't she just burp or fart in
 568 front of everybody or something? Men drink. They get
 569 violent, rape. When women drink, that is really
 570 masculine. It looks masculine.

³ Note that AA students in the present study did not drink as often or as much as EA students. This student was an exception. Perhaps his identity as an AA college student athlete explains his use of drinking symbolism to compensate for hegemonic masculinity given his required association with EA college men.

⁴ "Heavy" alcohol use, as a term, is based on research that suggests that the amount of alcohol consumed on average by those who were interviewed (college students) exceeds that of the general population and is often referred to as "heavy alcohol use" (Johnson et al. 1998).

It appears Seth, similar to other male respondents, does not
 approve of women drinking because it violates gender
 norms, which calls into question her gender status and also
 his.

Alcohol was often said to be the primary reason for
 men's get-togethers. Masculinities, however, were under-
 stood by women to be embodied in men's ability to tolerate
 heavy alcohol use. Respondents assumed that men's bodies
 can absorb more alcohol than women's and are more likely
 to withstand its effects. Succinctly put: Men reminisced
 proudly and boasted about their alcohol use in terms of
 masculinity accomplishment. The use of it in and of itself
 was meaningful. Heavy alcohol use demonstrated bodily
 power and superiority. Ironically, however, heavy and
 prolonged alcohol use in fact *weakens* one's body.

"Liquid courage," "beer muscles," and "case races": alcohol
 induced risky behavior, aggression, and competition

Body practices such as risk-taking behavior in the context of
 alcohol use were evident in the present study. The gender and
 masculinities literatures illustrate how hegemonic masculin-
 ity emphasizes the representation and use of men's bodies as
 a process of social embodiment. Male students "do" a
 specific type of masculinity by reproducing hierarchical
 images of what a "real man" is thought capable of doing.
 Here, alcohol use is assumed to fuel strength, aggression and
 confidence creating contexts where risky behaviors are more
 apt. In this context, competitive activities surrounding
 alcohol use also emerge. This section exemplifies how the
 use of alcohol in risk taking, aggression, and competition is a
 form of gender embodiment which is different from the
 gender construction involved in story telling and trophy
 display discussed above.

Risk-taking behavior and feeling invincible are central to
 the construction and embodiment of local masculinities
 (Kimmel 2004; Messner 1992). With what is known about
 the deleterious effects of heavy and long term alcohol use,
 alcohol is a form of risk-taking in of itself. Beiner (1987,
 p. 335), for example, noted that heavy drinking is a "risk-
 taking style which is accepted, if not expected, in men."
 The vast majority of students discussed the associations
 among alcohol use, risky behaviors, and the induced sense
 of courage or "invincibility" that occurred particularly
 among EA men. Table 4 reveals that a majority of all
 groups think that alcohol use in some way induces feelings
 of invincibility or courage among men.

Being "courageous" and engaging in risk-taking behavior
 are indicative of local hegemonic masculinity (Messerschmidt
 1993). Courage is a sign of power and thus a potent
 ingredient of masculinity. "Liquid Courage" was defined by
 students as the courage that emerges because of alcohol use.
 Six men reported feeling "invincible" when drinking. An

t4.1 **Table 4** Percent who assert that drinking induces “invincibility” or courage in men.

t4.2		Percent	Number
t4.3	Men	73	40
t4.4	Women	75	29
t4.5	EA students	73	50
t4.6	AA students	60	16
t4.7	Homosexual students*	70	18
t4.8	Heterosexual students	69	50
t4.9	Total**	74	69

t4.10 *Includes gay and bisexual students
 **N=69 due to missing data

622 additional four men and seven women reported how men,
 623 when drinking, thought they were “invincible.” Over one-
 624 half of the sample discussed or referred to “liquid courage.”
 625 “Invincibility” was a term used frequently by both men and
 626 women to describe feelings that “men” express when binge
 627 drinking. Again, the male body is implicated in the
 628 embodiment of gender as illustrated in the accounts that
 629 follow. Consider Henry’s (EA, heterosexual) account:

630 I’ve done all kinds of stupid things [when drinking].
 631 One of my friends was driving my jeep, and I tried to
 632 jump out of it and into my friend’s pick up doing like
 633 80 on the freeway. We used to do flips off my roof and
 634 into the pool back home. We used to do all kinds of
 635 stupid stuff.

636 Commitment to risk-taking practices as a means of
 637 establishing a masculine reputation in a peer group context
 638 was evident in students’ accounts. These behaviors
 639 appeared to be expected, as evidenced by respondents’
 640 assumptions about the “natural” links between masculinity,
 641 alcohol use, and risk-taking. These assumptions are a
 642 product of negotiations between EA men, women, and
 643 other subordinated groups. The power of expectations
 644 should thus not be underestimated. There is no emphasized
 645 effort to curtail or prevent alcohol-related behaviors
 646 because so many expect it to occur as part of a “natural”
 647 byproduct of men’s drinking (see Peralta and Cruz 2006).
 648 The statements below exemplify this. Jerry, an EA,
 649 heterosexual fraternity brother stated:

650 When you are wasted, that’s when you have a head
 651 change. Alcohol brings out the mean side. It definitely
 652 causes problems...it definitely gives you beer muscles.
 653 People think that they can fight better, can be tougher.
 654 They can take a beating and they just feel invincible a
 655 lot of times. I mean it happens to me, it happens to
 656 everyone I know.

658 This account reveals the fine-grained production and
 659 negotiation of masculinities as a configuration of practice.

An EA, heterosexual woman stated: “...guys get very care 660
 free, and they don’t think about it because people just don’t 661
 think about what they do, they don’t care, and they are 662
 destructive, or if they hurt anybody, they think they are 663
 invincible or whatever.” “Beer muscles” (a term invoked by 664
 two-thirds of the sample) are thought to be produced as a 665
 result of alcohol. Susan, an EA heterosexual woman 666
 discussed “beer muscles” and her experiences with alco- 667
 hol-related violence: 668

Like they behave violently, they are more apt to get 669
 into fights and arguments, and they have their beer 670
 muscles, and they feel like they can run through walls 671
 of brick and just things like that. Someone I know 672
 (college student) that lives right beside me just got into 673
 a huge fight with people in a fraternity, and he got his 674
 whole nose broken, and his face is all puffed, um, he 675
 didn’t even feel it afterwards. He said he was so drunk 676
 when it happened. And obviously they are not in their 677
 right minds you know. 678

Another EA woman said: “I think drinking changes your 680
 mentality, like beer muscles. Guys think they can be brave 681
 or strong. I think it is mind over matter.” The acquisition of 682
 “beer muscles” is a cultural phenomenon where men are 683
 assumed to feel hyper-masculine, tough, strong, and 684
 invincible. The general expectation for drinking-induced 685
 invincibility to happen was common for both men and 686
 women. Michelle, for example, talked about her male friends’ 687
 propensity to drink and drive. She (EA, heterosexual) stated: 688

I think with guys, they think they are more invincible 689
 when they are drinking. Like my woman friends are 690
 like, ‘I don’t think I can drive; let’s call somebody.’ And 691
 the guys are like, ‘oh yeah, I can drive, no problem!’ 692

Drinking and driving is a criminal act predominantly 694
 committed by men and perhaps tied to the construction of 695
 gender. The alcohol-related act is rebellious, risky, and may 696
 serve as a sign of bravado signified by the willingness to 697
 overcome the effects of alcohol and or evade formal control 698
 agents such as police officers. Shana, an AA heterosexual 699
 female student, elaborated upon this theme while making 700
 connections among men’s alcohol use, masculinity, power, 701
 and violence. The capacity for violence is a part of the 702
 masculine construct (Messerschmidt 1993). The link between 703
 violence and substance use, particularly alcohol use, has 704
 been well documented in the literature (Bachman and Peralta 705
 2002; Cruz and Peralta 2001). Shana evoked this link as 706
 follows: 707

... the *main* reason why I don’t like dating guys who 708
 drink is because a lot of them do get aggressive...I 709
 know that if I was ever in a situation where (my 710
 intimate partner became intoxicated) they better not hit 711

712 me for no other reason...I am not giving them that
 713 excuse, I'm not going for it either way. I don't care if
 714 you are in your right mind or not! I think that (alcohol
 715 and violence) is a bad combination. Especially when it
 716 is like a man against a woman. I think especially with
 717 guys... when they are drunk you know their drinking
 718 gives them this power I guess (laughter), and you
 719 know...they just start hitting everybody... I feel that
 720 they think they have this power or something when
 721 they drink.

723 Shana said the reason she will not date a person who
 724 drinks is because she does not want to be the victim of
 725 alcohol-related violence and does not want to have to be in
 726 a situation where this behavior can easily be excused away.
 727 Shana emphasized the word *power*. She stated that alcohol,
 728 in the minds of men, evoked a *power* to do what they want.
 729 The connection between alcohol use and *power* was not
 730 necessarily an expression of admiration. Shana laughed at
 731 the thought of this situation, but, at the same time, the
 732 association appeared to be feared. Shana expressed uneas-
 733 iness at the connection between *power* and drinking by
 734 men. In her account, she located the association between
 735 men's alcohol use and women's victimization as a source of
 736 oppression that occurs between men and women.

737 Because the concept of hegemonic masculinity is based
 738 on a practice that permits men's collective dominance over
 739 "others" to continue, it is not surprising that, in some
 740 contexts, hegemonic masculinity refers to men's engage-
 741 ment in toxic practices including physical violence, which
 742 works to stabilize gender dominance in particular settings.
 743 Sexual violence and sexual risk-taking emerged as themes
 744 as well. Consider the following account that illustrates this
 745 from an EA, heterosexual women recruited from the Dean
 746 of students' office.

747 Faye: I know too much about what goes on with
 748 alcohol and sexual aggression at frat parties and
 749 alcohol contributes to that, like my guy friends act
 750 invincible when they drink...and with the sorority and
 751 fraternity stereotypes of girls are good and boys can be
 752 bad, I had a friend who was raped by a fraternity
 753 brother.

755 Many students discussed the centrality of drinking
 756 games in the culture of college drinking. Drinking games
 757 are contests where the ability to tolerate alcohol is
 758 instrumental in the social embodiment of masculinity.
 759 Students talked about the importance of drinking games in
 760 expressing power and control as evidenced by the male
 761 body's ability to withstand intoxication. The accounts
 762 grouped below concern competition ("I" or "we" can drink
 763 more than "him" or "them") and risk-taking. Competition
 764 and risk-taking are characteristics of local forms of

765 masculinity expression, and alcohol appears to be used as
 766 a vehicle to approximate the local ideal of masculinity
 767 situated in the context of the college environment. Janice,
 768 an EA female student, said:

769 Males go on longer (drink for longer periods), and they
 770 would take the drinking (game) more seriously. Who
 771 wins tells you who can hold their liquor better. I know
 772 for myself and a lot of my girlfriends, you kind of fake
 773 it, like you were full or you couldn't do it anymore you
 774 would fake it. And guys, they drink the beer till it is
 775 gone. I think it was more of a guy thing; they took the
 776 games more seriously than girls. It is all about winning
 777 for the guys. They think it is everything.

779 An EA heterosexual man further elaborated upon this
 780 theme.

781 Fred: A case race is when we get a pledge and an older
 782 brother together to form a team against another pledge
 783 and brother. Then we get a case of beer and whichever
 784 team finishes it first, wins. It's like a fun thing.

786 Many women discussed "faking it" to avoid losing
 787 control and thus rendered vulnerable to the men in the
 788 group. Other women reported having been given a "handi-
 789 cap" by the men in the group during drinking games.
 790 "Handicaps" infer protection in that women are protected
 791 from the harms of alcohol by men or from men during
 792 drinking games. This is important because it is tied to the
 793 embodiment of gender (e.g., men can withstand more
 794 alcohol than women and therefore women cannot, and
 795 should not, imbibe as much), which differentiates men from
 796 women, and thus helps to establish masculine superiority.

797 Jon (an EA heterosexual man) exemplified how men's
 798 identity, dominance, and difference is forged by alcohol
 799 use.

800 Jon: You take a bunch of guys and we try to out do each
 801 other...we make it a game like you know? Let's see who
 802 can drink the most... most guys can handle their liquor
 803 better so you will drink more with guys than you will
 804 with girls. Probably cause (the guys) are trying to outdo
 805 each other, but, I mean it's not (as if) they're winning
 806 (something) but it (competition) always happens.

808 Drinking games illustrate how ideological hegemonies
 809 present dominant interests as everyone's interests (Pyke
 810 1996). Drinking heavily is expected, as it is the point of the
 811 game in the local context of "the party." Sanctions are
 812 imposed upon those who do not participate in these games
 813 or align themselves with hegemonic standards in general.
 814 To avoid sanctions, many students discussed turning to
 815 alcohol as a means of compensating for the lack of
 816 fundamental components of hegemonic masculinity, such
 817 as heterosexual identity.

818 “Two-beer queers” versus “real drinkers”: exaltation
819 and stigmatization of drinking and non-drinking behavior

820 Alcohol is a readily available and socially legitimized tool
821 that is gendered in terms of how and when it is used. Its use
822 (particularly its heavy use) was observed to be associated
823 with demonstrations of power, whereas abstention or light
824 use was associated with “weakness” or otherness. Who
825 drinks, who drinks heavily, who drinks frequently, who can
826 withstand heavy alcohol use, and who can relationally
827 distance themselves from drinking styles characterized as
828 feminine are important components of the gender work
829 discussed here.

830 Gough and Edwards (1998) found that men’s bonding
831 talk and/or talk about alcohol-related activity demonstrates
832 the dependence of hegemonic masculinities on the discursive
833 subordination of the “other,” most notably women and
834 gay men. Similarly, most students who engaged in the
835 drinking culture marginalized those who do not drink by
836 decrying the later as outcasts. Students were relegated to, or
837 relegated themselves to, less influential, less popular, less
838 glorified, less powerful positions of college life (as defined
839 by the students). If a student did drink, that is, if the student
840 adopts the notion that drinking is and should be a dominant
841 activity to be taken seriously, then he or she is rewarded
842 with a prized social life, social outlets, networking
843 opportunities, status, and positive reputation.

844 Table 5 provides the percentage of students in the current
845 study who regarded light drinking or abstinence as weakness
846 or femininity. Seventy-six percent of EA students thought
847 that this type of drinking is expressive of weakness. Again,
848 fewer AA students adhered to this belief (51%). For “men”
849 not to drink, or to drink little, was considered by respondents
850 as a departure from the dominant and stereotypical forms of
851 masculinity. Via alcohol use, hegemonic masculinity
852 embodies the currently most honored way of being a man.
853 It requires all other men to position themselves in relation to
854 it, and, it ideologically legitimates the subordination of
855 women and marginalized men at the local level of college.

t5.1 **Table 5** Percent who assert that abstention or “light drinking” is expressive of weakness.

t5.2		Percent	Number
t5.3	Men	74	41
t5.4	Women	70	30
t5.5	EA students	76	50
t5.6	AA students	51	16
t5.7	Homosexual students*	68	20
t5.8	Heterosexual students	74	49
t5.9	Total**	73	71

t5.10 *Includes gay and bisexual students

**N=71 due to missing data

856 Gender theorists have called for theorizing about the
857 embodiment involved in hegemony. For boys and young
858 men, skilled bodily activity becomes a prime indicator of
859 masculinity. This is instrumental in the linking of hetero-
860 sexuality and masculinity in Western cultures and how
861 prestige is conferred onto boys and young men (Connell
862 and Messerschmidt 2005; Peralta and Cruz 2006). Bodies
863 are both agents in social practice and objects of social
864 practice (Connell 2002). Alcohol use is a conspicuous way
865 to display endurance and strong bodies in young men’s
866 leisure practices. It is the practice of social embodiment
867 involving institutions such as higher education and legitimized
868 alcohol use on which their privilege as EA
869 heterosexual men rests.

870 Mike, an EA gay man exemplified this theme by *not*
871 using his body in socially proscribed ways (Mike was
872 openly gay during these situations):

873 Last spring semester, I lived in the dorm and I was the
874 fruit of the group because I only drank three times a
875 semester.

877 This account suggests that infrequent, little, or no drinking
878 is not necessarily socially acceptable among men. Mike’s
879 reference to feeling like a “fruit” refers to his feelings of
880 emasculation that were rooted in his lack of participating in
881 what he thought was “masculine” behavior. In this case,
882 Mike’s body was not active in the performance of alcohol use.
883 As in calls for research to link the body as active in the
884 construction of gender, the reverse (inactivity) also reveals the
885 nuanced pattern of gender expressions. It has meaning when
886 the body is not intimately and intricately active in social
887 processes. The assumptions held by Mike and others are that
888 “real men” hold their liquor and that those deemed less than
889 “real men” are identified by the fact they cannot “hold” their
890 liquor, drink very little, or refuse to drink at all.

891 Sean, an EA gay man, reinforced how alcohol use is viewed
892 as an important aspect of being the “standard” type of man.
893 Consider his thought about what it is heterosexual “men” do:

894 ...during the past 2 years, I have kind of stopped
895 hanging out with straight men, and I’m not quite sure
896 why. I think part of it is because they do nothing but
897 drink. I don’t mean to make stereotypes or anything,
898 but the straight guys I used to hang with, their social
899 life revolved around drinking. So lately I have been
900 hanging out mostly with women.

902 It is important to note Sean’s reference to “straight guys”
903 and the behavior he believes to be associated with “straight
904 guys” (i.e., heavy alcohol use). This differs from his
905 perception of how women use alcohol, hence his conscious
906 decision to socialize with those who are assumed to drink
907 little or not at all—women. Sean relied on the stereotype that
908 heterosexual men engage in drinking behavior and that this

909 behavior is normative. Additional evidence that drinking
 910 heavily is indicative of youthful EA heterosexual masculin-
 911 ity was provided by James, a heterosexual EA man.

912 James: (A terrible drunk is when a person after using
 913 alcohol) can't walk, can't talk. (They) spill other people's
 914 beer (due to their intoxication). You spill it on yourself.
 915 You know, (when some one behaves like) the old "two-
 916 beer queer".

917 Interviewer: "Two-beer queer?"

918 James: You never heard that expression, the "two-beer
 919 queer?" (For instance, if I were to say) "That girl is a
 920 "two-beer queer" (it means) she can't hold her drink;
 921 she has no tolerance, um, that's what it is, having no
 922 tolerance.

924 "Two-beer queers" are a subset of the population who are
 925 less able to handle liquor in the prescribed masculine tradition.
 926 That is, those who literally cannot withstand a total of two
 927 beers are not in compliance with hegemonic expectations.
 928 This "lesser" group is linked with a pejorative (i.e., "two-beer
 929 queer"), not because it rhymes but because queers are an
 930 inferior class of people (i.e., males who are not really men). In
 931 the account, gay men (as understood by the term "queer") and
 932 all women are referred to with the derogatory "two-beer
 933 queer" as a way to distinguish collectively between those who
 934 can drink (i.e., hegemonic men) from those unable to "handle"
 935 excessive alcohol consumption. It is believed that heavy
 936 alcohol use and the concurrent maintenance of control thus
 937 "make the man" and simultaneously define those who do not
 938 meet the ideal hegemonic masculine standard. Consider
 939 Fran's statement (EA, heterosexual).

940 Fran: It is a good thing if you can hold your own with
 941 the guys. If you are taking too long to finish your beer,
 942 they will ask, "Do you need a nipple for that beer?"
 943 because you are taking too long to finish it.

944 Alternatively, heavy drinking embodies exalted masculinity,
 945 as suggested by the following account from an EA male
 946 heterosexual student.

947 Rick: I took this job at a college bar for a month...and
 948 it was expected that you drink with your coworkers
 949 after work. The first night you work there, they make
 950 you drink this drink called a "Schlag." They essen-
 951 tially take a pint glass, and they fill it with hard
 952 alcohol, like with everything behind the bar like
 953 whiskey, tequila, vodka, everything. They would
 954 throw other stuff too, lemon juice, salt, pepper, olives.
 955 Everyone would get around you and expect you to
 956 drink it. I mean, I am six foot one and 180 pounds,
 957 that would knock me on my feet. Essentially, what I
 958 did was, I just played it off, I played it cool, and I

asked for a chaser after I had that just to kinda show 959
 them up, you know, I had a beer, and I downed it. I put 960
 the beer down, walked outside, ran around the corner, 961
 and forced myself to throw up cause there is no way I 962
 wanted that much alcohol in my body. 963

Perhaps one of the most important examples of how 965
 alcohol is used to approximate and embody the ideal, 966
 dominant, and expected form of masculinity came from a 967
 gay male student. David, an EA student, reflected on how 968
 and why he used alcohol. David first talked about his dread 969
 of participating in the expected and lauded masculine 970
 activity of team sports and then discussed the creative 971
 way he used alcohol to avoid the doing of masculinity 972
 through sport by doing gender through heavy alcohol use 973
 and in a competitive fashion. It is important to note that 974
 David was not openly gay when situations like the one 975
 described below occurred. David stated: 976

If I ever got put into competition, I hated it. I couldn't 977
 hit the ball. I could serve in volleyball once in a while, 978
 but other than that I was useless...drinking was a way 979
 to get out of (the pressures of participating in team 980
 sports). I just drank until I passed out, usually after 981
 many of the bigger guys. I did shots with them, I 982
 stayed up with them. I never got into sports but it was 983
 okay cause I could drink with them [David here refers 984
 to his heterosexual male friends]. I just hung with the 985
 crowd and when they played sports, I was an insider in 986
 the group because I drank with them. So it was okay 987
 for me to just sit by the radio and watch. I would hold 988
 their cigarettes and shit like that. They didn't care that 989
 I didn't want to play because I was one of them in the 990
 party mode. My straight friends thought the "faggy" 991
 (i.e., gay) dude was okay because he could put down 992
 the alcohol just like them. I could drink them under the 993
 table and that impressed them. They knew I could 994
 party with the boys. 995

The account above highlights the effectiveness of 997
 alcohol in substituting for athletic ability, a requisite of this 998
 local hegemonic masculinity. The action of heavy alcohol 999
 use allowed David, a marginalized gay student, to remain 1000
 among the ranks of "real" men. Although he felt unable or 1001
 inadequate in performing athletically, he used his drinking 1002
 prowess as an accepted substitute to athletic performance. 1003
 His heavy alcohol use and reputation for such use 1004
 symbolically worked as a marker of hegemonic masculin- 1005
 ity. For many EA male respondents, alcohol reportedly was 1006
 used with regularity and was expected of other EA men. 1007
 These behaviors and expectations reinforce and reproduce a 1008
 local, yet specific vision of masculinity. Students in the 1009
 present study exhibited the strong social ties found to be 1010
 associated with binge drinking, which include masculine 1011

1012 gender role socialization. Within this context, the pressures
 1013 to engage in masculinity work can be significant, and the
 1014 consequences are potentially deleterious. As such, it is
 1015 important to note that hegemonic masculinity does not
 1016 necessarily translate into a satisfying experience of life.

1017 **Discussion**

1018 The present article expands upon the existing gender and
 1019 alcohol research by integrating the study of drinking with the
 1020 broader issue of gender construction, specifically, the
 1021 embodiment of masculinity. In the present study, I examined
 1022 alcohol's role as a resource in the expression of hegemonic
 1023 masculinity among men in comparison with subjugated
 1024 masculinities and femininities. I discuss the role of alcohol,
 1025 as both a substance and a symbol. This research follows the
 1026 symbolic interactionist tradition where alcohol is viewed as a
 1027 symbol through which meaning (hegemonic masculinity) is
 1028 created in the privileged local context of the college campus.

1029 Hegemonic masculinities do not exist in the statistical
 1030 sense, yet their qualities are considered normative. Masculin-
 1031 ity is defined as a configuration of practice organized in
 1032 relation to the structure of gender relations. Masculinity needs
 1033 to be reproduced actively in social settings. For youth, sport is
 1034 among the most common ways of masculinity reproduction.
 1035 Among youth in college, the prevalence and centrality of
 1036 drinking alcohol suggests that it is an arena in which
 1037 masculinity will be of issue. As Connell and Messerschmidt
 1038 (2005) stated, the local level is where hegemonic patterns of
 1039 masculinity are embedded, that is, in specific social environ-
 1040 ments.⁵ Thus the college setting is an ideal location to study
 1041 the situated accomplishment of masculinity.

1042 However, it is important to recognize the limitations of the
 1043 present study. The data collection procedure that produced
 1044 the sub-sample of students recruited by the Dean of
 1045 Students' Office may have biased the sample. It is important
 1046 to note that the accounts of drinking provided by these
 1047 students did not differ from those who were contacted by
 1048 other means. Respondents who were not recruited through
 1049 the Dean's office also could have easily been sanctioned by
 1050 the university's judicial system for their illicit alcohol-related
 1051 behaviors. Nevertheless, accounts used from the Dean of
 1052 Students' sub-sample may have distorted the emergent
 1053 themes. Next, these data were reliant upon students'
 1054 memories of alcohol use. It is possible that students did not
 1055 accurately report events. However, the manner in which
 1056 students constructed their drinking stories is telling of the
 1057 gender dynamics at play within college drinking cultures.

Finally, because the data were collected between 1997 and 1058
 2001, drinking cultures may have shifted since this study 1059
 was conducted (e.g., Day et al. 2003, 2004). Although it is 1060
 important to acknowledge this, it is also important to 1061
 recognize that the purpose of the present study was not to 1062
 generalize, but to provide a snapshot of the significance of 1063
 gender in drinking cultures and to illustrate the fluidity of 1064
 gender in situated contexts. 1065

Given these limitations, aspects of gender within college 1066
 settings are highlighted in these data. Human social 1067
 practices, such as the common cultural practice of public 1068
 alcohol use, create and reinforce gender relations. In the 1069
 study of masculinity, it is useful to differentiate hegemonic 1070
 masculinity from subordinated masculinities. The hierarchy 1071
 of masculinities is a pattern of hegemony (i.e., unques- 1072
 tioned) and not a pattern of simple domination based on 1073
 force. Hegemony works through the use of exemplars of 1074
 masculinity—symbols have authority despite the fact most 1075
 boys and men do not fully live up to them. “Cultural 1076
 consent, discursive centrality, institutionalization, and the 1077
 marginalization or delegitimation of alternatives are widely 1078
 documented features of socially dominant masculinities” 1079
 (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.846). This research 1080
 highlights these inter-relationships through an analysis of 1081
 accounts of alcohol use. 1082

I argue that the process of drinking and, in particular, 1083
 heavy drinking for EA college men is a form of embodied 1084
 masculinity construction. Ideological assumptions about 1085
 masculinity are expressed through drinking behavior in a 1086
 social location where such expressions are accepted, 1087
 legitimized, and often expected. Heavy alcohol use among 1088
 men becomes a resource where presumed “essential” 1089
 characteristics of “manhood” can be expressed. In addition, 1090
 how men and women discuss drinking behaviors illustrates 1091
 the nuanced nature of gender performance. 1092

West and Zimmerman (1987) suggested that gender 1093
 should be understood as a situated accomplishment. Subse- 1094
 quent research (for a review, see Connell and Messerschmidt 1095
 2005) has affirmed this position, as does the current study. 1096
 Based upon accounts that reveal the symbolic meaning of 1097
 alcohol and drinking, alcohol use in and of itself appears to 1098
 be an important resource with which to do gender in the 1099
 situated context of the college campus. For example, 1100
 hegemonic and subordinated masculinity operate according 1101
 to the ability to express masculinity or compensate for it 1102
 when primary resources are unobtainable. Gay men, who are 1103
 denigrated as “not real men,” can engage in alcohol 1104
 consumption as a compensatory strategy. Heterosexual men 1105
 use alcohol consumption to maintain ascended masculinity 1106
 thereby subjugating other genders. 1107

It is important to understand masculinity in terms of its 1108
 supposed antithesis, the construction of femininity (Schacht 1109
 1996). In contrast to men's accounts, EA and AA women 1110

⁵ Socially legitimated hegemonic models of masculinities are found on college campuses, and thus these sites provide an ideal setting for research on the questions posed in this study.

1111 did not assert that women's heavy alcohol use was a way to
 1112 express power. Their drinking stories did not symbolize
 1113 strength or power as women. Women largely viewed heavy
 1114 drinking among women as potentially problematic, shame-
 1115 ful, and stigmatizing behavior unbecoming of women.⁶
 1116 Some women had fond memories of the "party atmosphere"
 1117 associated with drinking, but did not present alcohol use as
 1118 symbols of femininity. Drinking was not the focus of their
 1119 social events. For women, drinking was secondary to the
 1120 primary goal, which was to socialize and/or meet potential
 1121 romantic partners. During these interviews, the majority of
 1122 women simply did not espouse gender pride through their
 1123 drinking accounts as did the men. Women's accounts of
 1124 alcohol use did not reflect feminine accomplishment; they
 1125 did, however, reflect a form of masculinity.

1126 For many women, the costs associated with drinking,
 1127 both physical and educational, were often discussed. Thus,
 1128 many women discussed controlling and managing drinking.
 1129 It appears women do gender by limiting their alcohol intake
 1130 so as not to appear as bad, promiscuous, or masculine
 1131 women. The handicapping of women's alcohol intake in
 1132 drinking games may also be a means of accomplishing
 1133 femininity.

1134 The findings presented here are consistent and resonate
 1135 with those of previous researchers, who peripherally
 1136 reported alcohol to be associated with specific forms of
 1137 masculinity construction outside of the college campus (Bird
 1138 1996; Boswell and Spade 1996; Schacht 1996; Tomsen
 1139 1997). For example, heavy and abusive alcohol use
 1140 behaviors have been found within traditionally masculine
 1141 institutions such as fraternities (Wechsler 1998), the
 1142 military (Bray et al. 1999), and policing (Obst et al.
 1143 2001). Perhaps the pressure to fulfill narrowly defined
 1144 masculine constructs within these institutions (due to
 1145 limited exposure to *masculinities*) leave men with little
 1146 option but to use alcohol heavily in the face of increased
 1147 pressure, in order to approximate hegemonic standards of
 1148 masculinity. Increased pressure, coupled with little-to-
 1149 nonexistent gender diversity, may exacerbate the masculin-
 1150 ity problem.

1151 Research routinely suggests that marriage significantly
 1152 reduces the quantity and frequency of drinking (known as
 1153 the "marriage effect") across social strata (Leonard and
 1154 Rothbard 1999). Note that this is a different local setting

with different gender relations. In this setting, heterosexual
 intimate relationships and fathering children are prominent
 symbols of hegemonic masculinity. Indeed, marriage and
 family are not prominent features of collegiate lifestyles and
 are therefore not available for masculinity accomplishment.
 Perhaps marriage and family replace alcohol as symbols of
 masculinity in a culture where if one's (masculine) gender is
 questioned, one's (masculine) identity is threatened.

These considerations are relevant to the sociology of
 alcohol use and gender. Drinking behaviors appear to have
 the potential to reinforce, create, or challenge existing
 dominant hierarchical systems of gender. How much alcohol
 is used and how often, for example, relays culturally
 understood messages about identity. By choosing to drink or
 not to drink, individuals position themselves in the larger
 context of dominant, subordinated, sexualized, and racialized
 categories. These behaviors thereby reemphasize and normal-
 ize the domination of men over women and other types of men
 (West and Fenstermaker 1993).

Future researchers should focus on establishing a clear
 understanding of how gender influences expectations for the
 effects of alcohol or for the motives behind drinking. How
 are expectations linked to the construction of identity? Does
 the degree to which individuals align themselves with
 racialized and sexualized categories play a role in the
 etiology and epidemiology of alcohol use? In answering
 these questions, it would be prudent to factor in the
 institutionalization of gender inequalities, the role of cultural
 constructions, and the interplay of gender dynamics with
 other structural factors such as race, class, and religion.

We know that gender accomplishment is manifested
 differently depending upon culture and social class.
 Certainly not everyone pursues drinking as a way to
 construct masculine identity due in part to the values and
 culture with which individuals identify. For certain local
 contexts, the constructions of gender perhaps influence how
 different groups drink (or "choose" not to drink) and
 subsequently effect problems associated with alcohol use.
 Perhaps the negligence of universities can be addressed by
 acknowledging the role of masculinity construction in
 prevention and education initiatives.

Alcohol abuse prevention programs in colleges and
 universities have revealed mixed results at best (see Cooper
 1999; Donohue et al. 2004). If more effective social
 programs are to be implemented, a better understanding of
 the gender-related norms and meanings associated with
 alcohol use among college students specifically is needed
 (for recent interdisciplinary contributions to college specific
 research in this area, see Locke and Mahalik 2005; Miller
 et al. 2003; Williams and Ricciardelli 1999; Wilson et al.
 2004; Young et al. 2005). This is true particularly in an era
 of concern over violence, deaths, and other alcohol-related
 social problems that occur in colleges and universities.

⁶ It is interesting to note here that the gender gap in drinking for young
 people in the US appears to be closing for this age group (Dawson et
 al. 1995). This may be in line with research that suggests that it is
 more acceptable for women to adopt traditionally masculine activities
 than it is for men to adopt activities traditionally reserved for women
 (Schur 1984). However, women in the present study were subject to
 social control from other women and men. Although drinking was
 tolerated, women were likely to be stigmatized more readily for heavy
 drinking often referred to as "sloppy" drinking.

1208 The question of race and drinking is of relevance here.
 1209 Studies suggest that young racial and ethnic minorities tend
 1210 to drink less than their EA counterparts (Peralta 2005;
 1211 Jones-Webb et al. 1998; Wechsler 1998). Social structural
 1212 conditions shape the understanding of what gender means
 1213 and inform how gender work is carried out differently
 1214 depending on demographic differences. Gender accom-
 1215 plishment depends upon cultural definitions of gender and
 1216 the availability of resources necessary to meet those stand-
 1217 ards (Messerschmidt 1993). Because socially acceptable
 1218 resources, skills, and physiological assets needed to “do
 1219 gender” are limited and/or unequally distributed, masculine
 1220 and feminine definitions often differ across categories of
 1221 race, class, and sexuality. This may be indicative of why
 1222 minority students tend to drink less often than their EA
 1223 counterparts. Models of gender that differ from those
 1224 adopted by dominant members of society could help to
 1225 explain the disparity.

1226 In conclusion, these data illustrate that, for some, alcohol
 1227 is a vehicle used to express a form of embodied masculinity
 1228 on a specific college campus. Moreover, these data reveal
 1229 that gender is not static, but a culturally produced and fluid
 1230 accomplishment, as evidenced, for example, by women
 1231 “appearing” masculine through heavy drinking. Finally,
 1232 alcohol use appears to serve a complex function overlooked
 1233 by traditional epidemiological examinations of alcohol-
 1234 related problems. The use of alcohol has meaning; it serves
 1235 a purpose in doing gender work. For some students, alcohol
 1236 can be used to align themselves with ideal models of
 1237 manhood. Alcohol use among college students is thus not
 1238 only about “drinking to get drunk,” but also about
 1239 constructing racialized and sexualized status. The social
 1240 context of college drinking provided a social setting where
 1241 gender and sexuality as social categories were being
 1242 constructed and where alcohol use, besides its legitimized
 1243 use in recreational drinking, is part of several rites related to
 1244 the very construction and/or disruption of the gender/
 1245 sexuality structure.

1246 Finally, I do not purport that hegemonic masculinities
 1247 are identified on an individual basis. Hegemonic masculin-
 1248 ities are models of relations with women and subordinated
 1249 masculinities and provide responses to problems of gender
 1250 relations. Hegemonic masculinities communicate ways of
 1251 living in the every day. To the extent that they do this, they
 1252 contribute to the society-wide gender order as a whole, and
 1253 alcohol is only one vehicle by which to do this.

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Q3

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UNCORRECTED PROOF

AUTHOR QUERIES

AUTHOR PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUERIES.

- Q1. Dowdall and Weschler (2002) was changed and linked to Dowdall et al. (2002) and Wechsler et al. (1995) was changed and linked to Wechsler et al. (1995a, b). Please check if appropriate.
- Q2. Dawson et al. (1995), Wechster's (1995), Connell (2005), Hemmingson et al. (1998), Strauss and Corbin (1990), Wechsler (1997), Williams and Ricciardelli (1999), and Wechsler (1998) were cited in the text but were not found in the reference list. Please provide complete bibliographic data for these citations.
- Q3. Nelson and Wechsler (2003) was not cited in the text but was found in the reference list. Please list. Please provide citation for this reference.

UNCORRECTED PROOF