5-2011

Dealing with manhood : general strain theory, masculinity, and the engagement in illicit drug trafficking.

Sonita L. Arnold
University of Louisville

DEALING WITH MANHOOD: GENERAL STRAIN THEORY, MASCULINITY,

AND THE ENGAGEMENT IN ILLICIT DRUG TRAFFICKING

.

By

Sonita L. Arnold
B.A., University of Louisville, 2005

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

May 2011

DEALING WITH MANHOOD: GENERAL STRAIN THEORY, MASCULINITY,

AND THE ENGAGEMENT IN ILLICIT DRUG TRAFFICKING

By

Sonita Arnold
B.A., University of Louisville, 2005

A Thesis Approved on

April 8, 2011

By the following Thesis Committee:

<u>Karen Christopher</u>
Thesis Chairperson

<u>Ryan D. Schroeder</u>

<u>George E. Higgins</u>

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my children

Carlos Lamonte Sutton

Devon Cornelius Arnold

And

Deshaun Cortez Arnold

who are the greatest blessings in my life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

DEALING WITH MANHOOD: GENERAL STRAIN THEORY, MASCULINITY, AND THE ENGAGEMENT IN ILLICIT DRUG TRAFFICKING

Sonita Arnold

April 8, 2011

This thesis integrates James Messerschmidt's Masculinity Theory (1997) with Robert Agnew's General Strain Theory (1992) to examine the relationship between failure to achieve ideal masculine standards, resultant psychological stressors, and the decision to engage in illicit drug activity. OLS and Binary Logistic Regression was performed on a sample of male college students (N = 851) to examine three hypotheses. Findings support the hypothesis that a positive relationship exists between failed masculinity and negative emotions. Partial support was found for the hypothesis that a positive relationship exists between negative emotions and drug trafficking. Partial support was also found for the hypothesis that negative emotions mediate the relationship between failed masculinity and selling drugs. The results of this study suggest that drug use and criminal history are stronger predictors of drug trafficking and further analysis of these relationships is encouraged.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

"Manhood at the most basic level can be validated and expressed only in action."–George Gilder

INTRODUCTION

The twenty-year period from 1980 to 2000 showed an unprecedented increase in the number of Americans in prison, rising from nearly 300,000 to over 1 million in only two decades (Bobo and Thompson, 2006). This rapid increase in incarceration is due in large part to the nation's desire to combat illicit drug activity, commonly referred to as the "War on Drugs." Within the past 25 years, drug arrests have tripled (America, 2007) vastly increasing America's incarceration rate, and causing the United States to have a higher per capita rate of incarceration than any other western industrialized nation (Moore and Elkavich, 2008; Bobo and Thompson, 2006).

Ironically, the recent onset of mass incarceration has not had the desired effect of deterrence and rehabilitation, but has instead left the nation with increased quandaries. In their assessment of the penal system, Western and Pettit (2010) conclude that they are "pessimistic that widespread incarceration can sustainably reduce crime. The current system is expensive, and it exacerbates the social problems it is charged with controlling" (p. 18). Moore and Elkavich (2008) argue that the war on drugs -- the political and criminal justice response to our nation's drug problem -- is "antithetical" (p. 783) to the intended and desired result of healthy communities. Millions of convicted drug felons find themselves unable to obtain gainful employment upon release from prison, unable to

1

obtain federal financial aid to increase education and employment skills, unable to receive any federal assistance through Transitional Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), and unable to vote for any changes that may affect them and improve their situation (Pager, 2003; Bobo and Thompson, 2006; Anti-Drug Abuse Act, 1988; Moore and Elkavich, 2008; Small, 2001). In some instances, the rights of convicted drug felons are more restricted than those of murderers and rapists, who are not refused federal financial aid or public assistance as a direct result of their crime (Small, 2001). For some, returning to a life of crime appears to be the only alternative, thereby increasing the nation's rate of recidivism and creating a destructive cycle (Pager, 2006).

Incarceration also creates a profusion of "hidden victims," (Bakker, Morris, and Janis, 1978) families of incarcerated individuals who are negatively affected in significant ways, ranging from financial strain to mental health issues for both parents and children who are left behind. Sadly, nearly half of all children with an incarcerated parent will face criminal charges of their own before reaching adulthood (Browning et al., 2001). They will also have a higher likelihood of developing antisocial characteristics and feelings of rejection and guilt, along with experiencing social exclusion and stigmatization (Community Care, 2008; Miller et al., 2006; Browning et al., 2001).

The nation's response to illicit drug trafficking has had a disproportionate and arguably discriminative effect on African American males who, while not more likely to be involved with drugs, are more likely to be convicted on drug charges and are more likely to receive longer sentences once convicted (Moore and Elkavich, 2008). African Americans make up nearly 13% of the United States' population (Census, 2010), yet they

2

represent over 60% of those incarcerated on drug charges (Moore and Elkavich, 2008). Additionally, drug arrests for black men are 13 times that of white men, in spite of empirical evidence that suggests that there are more white men involved with illicit drug activity than there are black men (Moore and Elkavich, 2008).

With such a large increase in citizens incarcerated as a result of illicit drug activity, the need for an increased sociological focus on this issue has never been greater. A study by Krebs, Costelloe, and Jenks (2003) argues that increased drug control policy will be rendered ineffective as a solution to the drug problem. This suggests that in order to alleviate the problem, we must use a "bottom-up" approach, rather than the "top-down" method exercised when addressing only policy. It is, therefore, important that we attempt to understand and address the factors that affect the individual's decision to engage in such behavior.

Studying the credibility of certain theories and assessing their applicability to criminal behavior allows us to develop methods of deterrence and desistance useful to the criminal justice arena. A better understanding of why individuals commit crime can inform policies that focus on an individual (bottom-up) approach rather than a more general, top-down approach. This study assesses the individual decision to engage in illicit drug trafficking by merging Robert Agnew's General Strain Theory (1992) with James Messerschmidt's Masculinity Theory (1997). Using the two theories, it is argued that men who engage in illicit drug trafficking are responding to and attempting to correct negative emotions resulting from an inability to fulfill their perceived ideal masculinity. Although General Strain Theory (GST) has been used to explain deviant behavior, there has been no thorough empirical evaluation of the link between GST and masculinity.

Agnew states that one of the goals of developing a "general" strain theory was to have a theory broad enough so that it does not compete with other theories, but is instead able to complement those theories (Agnew, 1992). It was Agnew's intention that researchers would use General Strain Theory in concordance with other theories; however, the link between strain produced by failed masculinity and deviance is yet to be thoroughly evaluated. Furthermore, the relationship between failed masculinity, strain, and the specific deviant act of illicit drug trafficking has not yet been examined. It is the author's desire that an improved understanding of factors leading to involvement in illicit drug trafficking will provide more effective means of addressing this pressing issue, both socially and legally.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Current Theories Explaining Drug Trafficking

Previous theoretical explanations of illicit drug trafficking have labeled social

disorganization theory and structural disadvantage as primary explanations for

involvement in illicit drug activity. Social disorganization theory posits that the

geographical location of a community can be a strong predictor of crime rates. Social

disorganization theorists draw their arguments from research performed by Shaw and

McKay (1942), who claim that social bonding and subsequently, social organization, is

an important factor in reducing crime. Shaw and McKay found that a city can be divided

into five zones, of which zone II, or the transitional zone, is purported to have higher

rates of crime. This theory states that within the transitional zone, there exists residential

instability, ethnic diversity, and poverty. According to social disorganization theory,

these three major factors contribute to the lack of organization produced by the

community and therefore contribute to increased crime in these communities.

However, empirical studies suggest that social disorganization theory does not

appear to explain illicit drug activity. Both Parker and Maggard (2005) and Freisthler et

al. (2005) found only partial correlations between social disorganization variables and

illicit drug activity; the strongest predictor of drug involvement was poverty. Moreover,

the results of a study by Martinez et al. (2008) found no significant correlation between

illicit drug activity and either population heterogeneity (ethnic diversity), residential

instability, or socioeconomic deprivation (poverty). The results of these studies suggest

that further research on the conditions surrounding one's decision to engage in illicit drug activity is needed.

Structural disadvantage focuses primarily on structural barriers to economic stability, usually stemming from limited employment and educational opportunities. Studies by both Parker and Maggard (2005) and Livingston and Nahimana (2006) suggest that financial gain is the primary motivation for participation in drug trafficking and argue that the inability to achieve financial goals due to structural barriers to employment and education are fundamental causes of drug dealing. Liviton, Schindler, and Orleans (1994) link poverty to factors such as disadvantaged schooling, low educational achievement, and decreased job opportunities, stating that the combination of these elements increase the likelihood that an individual will engage in drug trafficking.

While poverty has been shown to be positively correlated with drug trafficking, economic ambition, usually resulting from said poverty, may provide a superficial explanation of the factors involved in the decision to traffic illicit substances. As subsequently discussed, financial gain is a key component of masculinity and may more accurately reflect a desire to exert masculinity properly.

Masculinity

According to masculinity theory, men will seek outlets that will allow them to project masculinity in an effort to confirm their manhood. This theory was introduced to the criminology field by James Messerschmidt (1997), who argues that crime can be a manifestation of a male's efforts to project masculinity when legal means are not available. Socially accepted (and encouraged) means of displaying masculinity include marriage, providing for one's family, educational attainment, and occupational achievement. Men may also exert their masculinity through competitive activities, such as sports (Evans, Gauthier, and Forsythe, 1998), violence (Whitehead, 2005), and pursuing women (Contreras, 2009). In addition to these methods, men may also obtain a masculine status by projecting images of toughness, authority, and acquiring respect (Anderson, 1999).

While most theorists agree that the traditional, providential role of breadwinner (Craib, 1987) constitutes masculinity worldwide, masculinity changes according to the social, cultural, and environmental factors surrounding an individual. Kersten (1996) claims that the Japanese culture's ideal masculinity is less homophobic and aggressive than western societies. Both Evans, Gauthier, and Forsyth (1998) and Carrington and Scott (2008) argue that the current perception of masculinity in the United States has been influenced and shaped by the nation's history, sprinkled with periods of aristocracy, colonialism, and the western frontiersmen era. Specific subcultures may develop their own perceptions of ideal masculinity (i.e., individuals within the subculture value one particular trait over the others). Evans, Gauthier, and Forsyth (1998) refer to a southern subculture that values "honor" over other masculinity traits, wherein an insult to a

southern male's honor allows for violent retaliation. According to Evans, Gauthier, and

Forsyth, the southern sub-culture of esteeming honor has led to an accepted perception of

violence as a proper method of exerting and defending one's masculinity.

Similarly, Elijah Anderson (1999) considers "respect" to be at the heart of

masculinity for inner-city youth. He states, "respect is fought for and held and

challenged as much as honor was in the age of chivalry" (p. 66). In "the streets," respect

can be obtained through appearance, disposition, clothes, cars, violence, athletics, or

academics. Anderson notes that, for inner city youth, the most common of these methods

is violence and aggression. These individuals must portray an image that they are ready

and willing to use violence to maintain respect. Consequently, they must be willing to

perform actions, legal or illegal, to maintain their masculine status. One can see how

dealing drugs would be considered a masculine activity in this context.

bell hooks (2004) examines black men and masculinity from a cultural

perspective. She suggests that black males have made an ongoing attempt to regain the

masculinity lost as a result of slavery, racism, and capitalism in the United States. She

claims that black men attempt to obtain proper masculinity by mimicking the "dominator

model set by white masters" (p. 4). She goes on to say:

> if black males are socialized from birth to embrace the notion that their
> manhood will be determined by whether or not they can dominate and control
> others and yet the political system they live within (imperialist white-
> supremacist capitalist patriarchy) prevents most of them from having access to
> socially acceptable positions of power and dominance, then they will claim their
> patriarchal manhood, through socially unacceptable channels.

Obtaining honor, respect, domination, or other culturally valued traits of

masculinity is the end goal of masculinity, so if an urban youth has respect among his

neighbors and peers, he can consider his efforts at achieving masculinity successful.

However, when legal methods for attaining masculinity are perceived to be unavailable,

crime becomes an alternative option. Thus, like Anderson, hooks suggests that particularly among young Black men, dealing drugs can affirm masculinity when more legitimate channels seem unattainable.

In general, empirical research has shown a relationship between masculinity and crime. Jessie Krienert's application (2003) of Messerschmidt's masculinity theory found a positive correlation between masculinity factors and the decision to engage in criminal activity. Specifically, she found that men who score higher on the masculinity scale and have fewer socially accepted methods of asserting masculinity are more likely to engage in violent crime. Krienert's measures of masculinity were based on outlets available for asserting masculinity and did not examine the psychological effects of being unable to achieve ideal masculinity. This study differs in that it assesses masculinity as a positively valued goal and examines the relationship between psychological stress, (i.e., negative emotions) produced as a result of failure to achieve masculine goals and the specific deviant act of drug trafficking.

Most studies that examine masculinity and its relationship to crime do not attempt to study "failed masculinity" as a negative life event and a producer of negative emotions. They, therefore, do not examine the intermediate psychological factors present that may influence the decision to engage in illicit activity. Robert Agnew recently encouraged researchers to study the specific negative life events leading to negative psychological emotions (Agnew, 2005, *in* Sigfusdottir and Silver, 2009) and thereby leading to crime.

General Strain Theory and Masculinity

Agnew (1992) argues that the experience of negative emotions increases an individual's likelihood of engaging in delinquent behavior because it creates a desire to relieve (correct) the negative emotions. According to General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992), there are three categories of events likely to produce psychological stress: 1) failure to achieve positively valued goals, 2) removal of positively valued stimuli, and 3) the presentation of negatively valued stimuli. Resultant strain produced by the aforementioned events causes an individual to experience a range of negative psychological emotions. The individual will then seek corrective action to alleviate these negative emotions using various methods, one possible method being the performance of deviant acts.

Research on General Strain Theory and gender suggests that the manner in which an individual will respond to negative emotions is related to the gender of that individual (i.e., gender has been shown to affect the coping strategies employed as a reaction to stress). Agnew and Broidy (1997) argue that the presence of negative emotions itself does not predict crime, but that the individual's *response* to the negative emotions is better able to predict criminal behavior and that these responses are dependent upon gender (Hay, 2003; Jang, 2007; Sharp, Brewster, and Love, 2005; Sigfusdottir and Silver, 2009). Agnew and Broidy (1997) also suggest that men and women experience different *types* of psychological stress due to gender differences in goals. They claim that men are generally driven more by "material success and extrinsic achievement" (i.e., masculine goals) and women are generally more "concerned with the establishment and maintenance of close relationships and with meaning/purpose in life" (p. 279). Agnew

and Broidy argue that this difference in strain type is relevant to likelihood of criminal behavior. The criminal behavior of women will more likely be performed as an effort to increase the establishment of relationships. Men, however, are more likely to commit crimes that will increase their ability to achieve material success.

Drawing on hooks and Anderson, one could see how for men, "material success and extrinsic achievement" is a means to a specific end: honor and respect. A man who believes he is treated honorably and respectably by his peers will be satisfied with the level of masculinity that he is presenting to others. However, failure to obtain financial success and extrinsic achievement (e.g., cars, pursuing women) can cause a man to feel as though he is not measuring up to the masculinity goal that he has set for himself. In some cases, other accomplishments may promote honor and respect for the individual. For instance, he may possess musical talent or athletic ability that causes others to esteem him, notwithstanding a lack of financial success (Anderson, 1999). However, when a man does not experience the level of honor and respect that he perceives to be sufficient for his standard of masculinity, he experiences "failed masculinity." Failed masculinity produces negative affect due to it being a *failure to achieve a positively valued goal.* Negative emotions stemming from failed masculinity can also occur as a result of the *removal of positively valued stimuli* (i.e., losing a job or a girlfriend) or the *introduction of noxious stimuli* that counters masculinity (i.e., bullying or peer challenges to manhood).

Merging General Strain Theory and Masculinity Theory

As previously stated, failure to achieve positively valued goals, according to General Strain Theory, is a category of events likely to produce psychological stress. Individuals experiencing negative emotions will seek some form of corrective – possibly deviant – action to relieve the negative emotions. If the negative emotions are a result of a failure to achieve a positively valued goal, the likely method of correction will include seeking a way of obtaining the failed goal (Agnew, 1992). If legal means have proved unsuccessful for the individual, illegal means and deviant acts become an option.

When integrating masculinity theory into general strain theory, we may ascertain that some men cannot meet the positively valued goal of a successful performance of masculinity and consequently experience negative emotions. When there are no legal and socially accepted means of achieving masculinity, a man may explore deviant methods of achieving masculinity. In merging the two theories, Masculinity Theory is augmented to include the intermediate process of experiencing negative emotions. This study therefore contends that it is not the failure to achieve masculinity per se that causes deviance, but it is instead, the intermediate negative emotions resulting from failed masculinity that "pushes" an individual to commit deviant acts as a way of relieving the strain of being unable to exert optimal standards of masculinity (Figure 1).

Figure 1.GENERAL STRAIN THEORY and MASCULINITY THEORY MERGED .

GENERAL STRAIN THEORY

FAILURE TO ACHIEVE
POSITIVELY VALUED GOAL

REMOVAL OF POSITIVELY ⟶ NEGATIVE EMOTIONS ⟶ CORRECTIVE ACTION
VALUED STIMULI STIMULI   (Frustration, Depression, Stress, etc.)   (Deviant Behavior)

INTRODUCTION OF
NEGATIVE STIMULI

MASCULINITY THEORY

ATTEMPT MASCULINITY ⟶ FAILURE TO ACHIEVE IDEAL ⟶ ATTAIN MASCULINITY
USING LEGAL METHODS   STANDARDS OF MASCULINITY   USING DEVIANT METHODS
                                          (FAILED MASCULINITY)

GENERAL STRAIN THEORY AND MASCULINITY THEORY MERGED

FAILURE TO ACHIEVE POSITIVELY VALUED GOAL **(FAILED MASCULINITY)** ⟶ **NEGATIVE EMOTION S** (Frustration, Depression, Stress, etc.) ⟶ CORRECTIVE ACTION ATTAIN MASCULINITY USING DEVIANT METHODS

13

General Strain Theory, Masculinity, and Illicit Drug Trafficking

To correct negative emotions that accompany failed masculinity, alternative actions must possess the ability to increase masculinity (i.e., the action must coincide with the elements of masculinity) allowing the individual to feel an increased sense of manhood. For men struggling to achieve ideal standards of masculinity, trafficking illicit substances becomes an attractive option, allowing "little" men to become "big" men and elevating their social status (Whitehead, Peterson, and Kaljee, 1994). Men who become "drug dealers" instantly increase their masculinity due to the virile connotation associated with drug dealers. Drug dealers are thought of as "hard," "tough," "powerful," and are feared by society at large, yet admired by those in the local communities. Respect and status are bestowed upon drug dealers; the dealer's peers offer him honor and friendship and women equate dating him with "hitting the lottery" (Anderson, 1999).

In addition to providing status, drug trafficking has the ability to generate income for its partakers, a very lucrative income for some. In some communities, dealing drugs is viewed and accepted as a legitimate and somewhat prestigious "occupation" (Anderson, 1999). For the man who struggles financially and is unable to fill the breadwinner role, trafficking illicit drugs becomes a "godsend" (Anderson, 1999). Although drug dealing poses real risks of arrest, the thought of incarceration is hardly deterrence for the man who is seeking masculinity because incarceration is also perceived as masculine by his peers (Whitehead, Peterson, and Kaljee, 1994). Thus, in some contexts, such as the inner city environment described by Anderson, incarceration can actually bolster the drug dealer's masculine status.

HYPOTHESIS

An examination of three hypotheses will be used to assess the relationship between masculinity, negative emotions, and the decision to traffic illicit substances. Using General Strain Theory, this study argues that in men, an inability to obtain the individual's perceived ideal masculinity becomes a negative life event and a failure to achieve a positively valued goal, thereby creating negative emotions. Negative emotions then give impetus to the individual's decision to engage in deviant behavior, specifically the felonious event of illicit drug trafficking. This study performs quantitative analysis on data collected by Jacqueline W. White and Paige Hall Smith (1990 – 1995). Self-reported measures of failed goals, negative emotions, and commitment of deviance were used to examine the relationships between failed masculinity, negative emotions, and the specific deviant act of trafficking illicit drugs. This study hypothesizes that:

1) In men, failed masculinity is positively related to negative emotions

2) In men, negative emotions is positively related to drug trafficking

3) In men, failed masculinity is positively related to drug trafficking and this relationship is mediated by the presence of negative emotions.

DATA AND MEASUREMENT

Dataset

This research involves analysis of data provided by the Inter-University

Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). This study performs secondary

data analysis using *The Longitudinal Study of Violence Against Women: Victimization*

and Perpetration Among College Students in a State-Supported University in the United

States, collected by Jacquelyn W. White and Paige Hall Smith (1990 – 1995). The data

consists of a survey delivered to a convenience sample of undergraduate students at a

public university. Part I of the survey was administered to females only, while Part II of

the survey was administered to men only. For the purposes of this study, Part II only

(male data) is used. The total number of male respondents is 851.

Part II of the survey was administered to two cohorts of college males in five

waves. All respondents were born between 1970 and 1973 and received the first wave of

the survey at age 18 and the following waves at age 19, 20, 21, and 22. Because this

study does not evaluate longitudinal effects, the second wave only is used and although

born in different years, all respondents of wave two were 19 years of age at the time of

the survey. The second wave was selected because it includes the most appropriate

variables for the purpose of this study, allowing for the most favorable empirical model.

Although convenience sampling is not ideal because it cannot be generalized to

the broader population and increases the risk of systematic bias, this dataset allows the

author to evaluate the theoretical relationships within the sample. For example, that the

men in this sample are all college students, which means that they may be less likely than

a random sample of young men to have grown up in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

However, from exploring the descriptive statistics (Table 1), we can see that there is a

fair amount of diversity by race and criminal history in this sample. The race variable was

coded as a dichotomous variable, where those participants who considered themselves

white were coded as one and non-whites were coded as zero. The criminal history

variable assigned a summary score of one to five to respondents based on their criminal

past, with a higher score indicating a higher level of past criminal activity. The mean

scores for race and criminal history were .68 and 1.64 respectively. An ability to

generalize to the broader population will become important for later studies; however, the

goal of this study is to evaluate and establish credibility for the proposed theory with this

limited sample.

TABLE 1. Descriptive Statistics for Variables

Variable	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum Value	Maximum Value
Negative Emotions	647	2.247	0.686	1.0	4.8
Sold Drugs	316	0.073	0.260	0.0	1.0
Failed Masculinity	466	1.077	1.016	0.0	4.0
Race/ Ethnicity	821	0.685	0.462	0.0	1.0
Criminal History	645	2.132	1.499	0.0	5.0
Drug Use	642	0.326	0.795	0.0	4.0

Dependent Variable

Sold Drugs. The sold drugs variable was used as a dependent variable for testing the second and third hypotheses. To measure drug trafficking, respondents were asked if they had sold any illicit drug(s) other than marijuana within the past year. Selling marijuana was not included in the analysis because there are unique factors associated with trafficking marijuana. Medicinal marijuana was recently legalized in the state of California, affording many "growers" the ability to grow and distribute marijuana openly and legally (Abramsky, 2010). It is highly plausible that these legal growers are distributing marijuana illegally as well. Because some growers believe that marijuana should be legalized, their reasoning for selling marijuana may result from personal and political convictions, rather than because they are experiencing negative emotions as a result of failed masculinity, which is what is being examined in this study.

Another factor unique to marijuana is the public's desire for legalization of marijuana. Nearly half of the American population believes that marijuana should be legal (Abramsky, 2010). This is reflected by Proposition 19, the 2010 ballot initiative aimed at legalizing marijuana in California. Proposition 19 was defeated by only seven percentage points at the ballot. The high level of public consensus concerning legalization of marijuana may influence an individual's decision to sell marijuana. It also calls into question the extent to which selling marijuana is as "illicit" a decision as selling other drugs (such as cocaine or heroin); many fewer people believe the latter drugs should be legalized, and drugs such as cocaine and heroin are not used for medicinal purposes.

18

Finally, it is arguable that trafficking marijuana is not as masculine an occupation as trafficking harder substances. In Anderson's (1999) assessment of status that accompanies drug trafficking in the inner city, there is no mention of those who traffic marijuana. He instead references those who sell the harder drugs (i.e., crack and cocaine) prevalent in urban communities. When associating masculinity with selling drugs, it is the trafficking of the harder drugs that usually comes to mind. For these reasons, the author of this study believes that explanatory factors surrounding the decision to traffic marijuana should be explored independently of this study and subsequent analysis excludes marijuana from the drug trafficking measure. However, all analyses were also run with marijuana included in the measure of drug trafficking. These results are available upon request.

Respondents who stated that they had sold any illegal drug(s) other than marijuana were given a score of one. A score of zero was recorded for respondents who answered no to this question. Unfortunately, only a portion of the respondents (n = 316) were asked this question, which greatly diminished the n for all subsequent models that used sold drugs as a dependent variable. Wave II of this survey was administered over the course of three years (1990, 1991, and 1992). For reasons unknown to the author of this study, this question was only asked in 1991 and 1992, leaving a great deal of missing data for those respondents who received the survey in 1990. Of those respondents who were asked this question, a little over 7% reported that they had sold drugs. Descriptive statistics for the Sold Drugs variable can be found in table 1.

Negative emotions (negative affect). In order to measure negative emotions, three individual summary scales (Anxiety, Depression, and Feelings of Loss of Control) were combined in accordance with the *Psychological Stress Subscale* from the *Mental Health Index* to create one computed variable measuring psychological stress. This variable was recoded only to account for missing data. For each component question (Table 2) of the three summary scales (anxiety, depression, and loss of control), participants were asked to rate their experience by choosing from five Likert-scale type answers (Not at all like me, a little like me, somewhat like me, mostly like me, very much like me). Examples of possible experiences include: feeling bothered by nervousness; anxious or worried; hands shake when doing things; low or very low spirits; strain, stress, or pressure; nothing turns out as wanted; and nothing to look forward to. A complete list of these items can be found in Table 2. Cronbach Alpha scores for the anxiety, depressed, and loss of control variables summary scales were .855, .853, and .691 respectively, indicating internal consistency. Respondents could receive a total score of one to five, with a higher score indicating a higher level of negative emotions.

Previous research on General Strain Theory suggests that individuals may have different responses to different kinds of negative emotions (Agnew and Broidy, 1997). Therefore, this variable is ideal because it represents a combination of several negative emotions, thereby allowing the author to assess varying negative emotional responses to failure to achieve positively valued goals. For the purposes of this study, the negative emotions variable was used as a dependent variable to test the first hypothesis, as an independent variable to test the second hypotheses, and as a mediating independent

variable to test hypothesis 3. Table 1 identifies descriptive statistics for the negative

emotions variable.

TABLE 2. Component Questions of the Anxiety, Depressed, and Loss of Control Summary Scales

ANXIETY	DEPRESSED	LOSS OF CONTROL
Bothered by nervousness	Moody, brooded about things	In control of behavior, thoughts and feelings
Tense or high strung	Low or very low spirits	Concern about losing control of mind
Anxious or worried	Felt depressed	Felt emotionally stable
Difficulty trying to calm down	Strain, stress, pressure	Nothing turns out as wanted
Nervous or jumpy		Think about taking own life
Restless, fidgety, impatient		Nothing to look forward to
Rattled, upset, or frustrated		
Hands shake when doing things		
Relax without difficulty		
Cronbach Alpha .855	Cronbach Alpha .853	Cronbach Alpha .691

Key Independent Variable

Failed Masculinity. Research has found that achieving masculinity is a valued goal for most men (Agnew and Broidy, 1997; Anderson, 1999). According to General Strain Theory, failure to achieve a positively valued goal increases an individual's likelihood of experiencing negative emotions. Therefore, we expect that failure to achieve the positively valued goal of masculinity (failed masculinity) will lead to increased negative emotions for the individual.

To create the failed masculinity index, five dichotomous variables from the dataset were combined. These sub-variables were selected based on the tenets of masculinity theory, which state that masculinity can be achieved by feeling successful in areas such as finances, academics, and relationships (Craib, 1987; Messerschmidt, 1997). Respondents were given a score of one for each of the five sub-variables that they answered yes to experiencing within the past year. The sub-variables were 1) fired or lost a job, 2) personal financial worries or a major financial setback, 3) on academic probation or experiencing financial problems, 4) major personal failure or a fear of failure, and 5) broke up with girlfriend. The failed masculinity index combined the scores of these five sub-variables allowing respondents to receive a total failed masculinity score of zero (indicating that they experienced none of the failed masculinity component variables) to five (indicating that they experienced all five of the failed masculinity component variables). The mean score (Table 1) for the failed masculinity variable was 1.36 indicating that on average, the men from this sample answered yes to between one and two of the sub-variable questions. However, the standard deviation (1.016) was quite large (considering the range of available scores), indicating a high amount of variation

from the mean (although standard deviations are not entirely interpretable when assessing indices).

Control Variables

Race. To ensure that key independent variables and their correlations with dependent variables within this analysis were not being influenced by the effects of culture and ethnicity, a variable to control for race was included in the models. Race is recorded as a dichotomous variable with respondents receiving a score of one if they considered themselves white and a score of zero for any race other than Caucasian. Consistent with general population demographics (US Census, 2010), nearly a third of respondents were non-white. The race variable had a mean of .685 and a standard deviation of .465 (Table 1).

Criminal History. A computed index to control for criminal history was also included in the model. To measure criminal history, respondents were given a score of one to five based on their responses to five component variables. Each component variable represented a unique classification of criminal activity. Respondents were assigned one point for each criminal action that they had committed within the past year. The component variables were 1) assault, 2) damaging property, 3) theft, 4) carrying a deadly weapon, and 5) disorderly conduct. The scores of these variables were combined allowing respondents to receive a total score ranging from zero (indicating that they had committed none of these crimes) to five (indicating that they had committed all five of these types of crimes). The mean and standard deviation (Table 1) were 2.132 and 1.499 respectively. Again, the standard deviation indicates a high amount of variance from the mean.

Drug Use. Studies suggest that some men who traffic illicit drugs do so in order to supply their own personal drug habit (Tunnel, 1993). For this reason a measure to

control for drug use was included in the model. Because the dependent variable measuring drug trafficking examined only illicit drugs other than marijuana, the control for drug use was measured comparatively. Respondents were asked how often they used drugs other than alcohol or marijuana. The scale was measured in a Likert-scale format. Response options were 'never,' 'once in the past year,' 'one to three times per month,' 'one to two times per week,' and 'more than twice per week.' Respondents received a score of zero (indicating that they had never used drugs or had not used drugs within the past year) to four (indicating that they used drugs more than twice per year). A little over 80% of the respondents stated that they had never used drugs or had not used any drugs within the past year. The mean for the drug use variable was .326 and the standard deviation was .795. Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for the drug use variable.

FINDINGS

Hypothesis 1: In men, failed masculinity is positively related to negative emotions

Failed Masculinity and Negative Emotions. To assess the relationship between

failed masculinity and negative emotions, a bivariate correlation was performed (Table

3). The Pearson r statistic was .191 (p < .000) and indicates a significant correlation

between the two variables. A Pearson r of .30 or higher is usually preferred in order to

consider the correlation moderate or strong (Cohen, 1988). To explore the possible

causes of the weak Pearson r, a scatterplot was performed to ensure that the distribution

of the measures were consistent with the tenets of OLS and Logistic Regression.

Although the scatter plot identified the presence of four outliers, which could have

presented some bias to the Pearson r correlation, the significance of the Pearson's r gives

justification for further analysis.

TABLE 3. PEARSON R CORRELATION MATRIX

Variable	Negative Emotions	Failed Masculinity	Criminal History	Drug Use
Negative Emotions	1.00	.191**	.189**	.198**
Failed Masculinity	.191**	1.00	.280**	.183**
Criminal History	.189**	.280**	1.00	.232**
Drug Use	.198**	.183**	.232**	1.00
Race/ Ethnicity	.049	.318**	.500	.110**

** p < .000

Ordinary Least Squares Regression (OLS) was used to test hypothesis 1. OLS

Regression was used because it is effective for regression analysis of interval-ratio level

variables. Table 4 ($n = 464$) regressed failed masculinity onto the negative emotions

measure and found that failed masculinity significantly ($p < .000$) predicts negative

emotions. The OLS equation shows support for hypothesis 1 with Negative Emotions =

2.081 + .15 (Failed Masculinity), indicating that we can expect a .15 unit increase in

negative affect for every unit increase in failed masculinity.

TABLE 4. Failed Masculinity and Negative Emotions
($n = 464$, $R^2 = .036$, $F = 17.413$, $p < .000$)

Variable	*b*	Beta	Standard Error
Failed Masculinity*	.150	.191	.036

* $p < 0.05$

Failed Masculinity and Negative Emotions with controls. A second OLS regression was run to ensure that the effect of failed masculinity on negative affect still holds when we add an individual's history of drug use, race, and criminal history into the model. Failed masculinity was regressed onto negative emotions, controlling for race, criminal history, and drug use. Again, the results indicate a positive and significant ($p < .003$) correlation between failed masculinity and negative emotions, all else being equal. The OLS equation, Negative emotions = 2.017 + .117 (Failed Masculinity) + .121 (Drug Use) + .043 (Criminal History) - .028 (Race), indicates that we can expect a .117 unit increase in negative emotions for every unit increase in failed masculinity, controlling for race, criminal history, and drug use. Race and criminal history were unable to significantly predict negative emotions, suggesting that they are less important than failed masculinity in explaining negative affect. The results for this model can be found in table 5.

As expected, the results of table 4 (n=464) and table 5 (n = 459) indicate that failed masculinity significantly predicts negative emotions. Failed masculinity and drug use were significantly correlated with negative emotions, while race and criminal history were not. In fact drug use was a stronger predictor of negative emotions than failed masculinity. This indicates that above and beyond failed masculinity, drug use leads to negative emotions. This is not too surprising, as the emotional drawbacks of drug use are well-known. Also, for many men elements of failed masculinity (i.e., financial problems, lack of respect from peers) occurs as a consequence of drug use. Future analysis may explore further the relationship between failed masculinity and drug use, having drug use as a dependent variable.

Table 5 accounted for nearly 7% of the variance in predicting negative emotions, having an R^2 value of .068. Although still low, adding control variables to table 5 increased the R^2 value from table 4. If this study is repeated, the author advises the use of additional control variables (e.g., income) which were not available within this particular dataset; they should certainly increase the value of R^2. Tolerance levels indicate that multicollinearity was not present among the variables in this analysis.

TABLE 5. Failed Masculinity and Negative Emotions with Control Variables
$(n = 459, R^2 = .068, F = 8.226, p < .000)$

Variable	*b*	Beta	Standard Error	Tolerance
Failed Masculinity*	.117	.149	.039	.829
Drug Use*	.121	.130	.044	.900
Criminal History	.043	.095	.022	.866
Race	-.028	-.020	.068	.891

* $p < 0.05$

Hypothesis 2: In men, negative emotions are positively related to drug trafficking

Negative Emotions and Drug Trafficking. Because the drug trafficking

variable is dichotomous, the chi-square statistic was used to assess the correlation

between negative emotions and drug trafficking (Table 6). The chi-square statistic was

9.249 and indicates a significant (p < .002) correlation exists between the two variables.

Binary Logistic Regression (BLR) was used to evaluate the relationship between negative

emotions and drug trafficking, with drug trafficking as the dependent variable and

negative emotions being the independent variable. Binary Logistic Regression was the

optimal choice for regression due to the binary composition of the dependent variable

(drug trafficking). The results for table 6 ($n = 279$) indicate a significant (p < .002) and

positive correlation between negative affect and drug trafficking (Drug Trafficking =

-5.022 + .982 (Negative Emotions). Results for this model indicate that we can expect a

73.3% increase in drug trafficking per unit increase in negative emotions.

TABLE 6. Negative Emotions and Drug Trafficking (N = 279)

Variables	*b*	Wald	Standard Error	Exp(B)
Negative Emotions*	.982	9.439	.320	.2669

* p < 0.05

Negative Emotions and Drug Trafficking with controls. In table 7, control
variables were added to the regression to examine the effect that criminal history, race,
and drug use, along with the key independent variable (negative emotions) have on the
decision to engage in drug trafficking. Again, Binary Logistic Regression was used due
to the dichotomous coding of the dependent variable. Upon the addition of control
variables, the negative emotions variable was no longer a significant predictor. Criminal
history was the only significant ($p < .001$) predictor of selling drugs. The BLR equation
was Drug Selling = -6.14 + .586 (Negative Emotions) + .319 (Race) + .643 (Criminal
History) + .317 (Drug Use) indicating that we can expect the odds of drug trafficking to
increase by 90.2% per unit increase in criminal history, controlling for negative
emotions, race, and drug use.

TABLE 7. Negative Emotions and Drug Trafficking with Control Variables
($n = 275$)

Variables	b	Wald	Standard Error	Exp(B)
Negative Emotions	.586	2.760	.353	1.797
Race	.319	.390	.511	1.376
Drug Use	.317	1.238	.285	1.373
Criminal History*	.643	10.248	.201	1.902

* $p < 0.05$

This finding counters hypothesis 2, in which we expected to find a significant correlation between negative affect and drug trafficking. This analysis suggests that criminal history is better able to predict drug trafficking than negative affect. The positive correlation between criminal history and drug trafficking tells us that the likelihood of participating in drug trafficking increases as the individual's criminal history increases. Men who have previously committed higher levels of crime will be more likely to sell drugs.

Negative affect was positively correlated with drug trafficking prior to the addition of control variables; however, that significance went away upon the addition of the criminal history variable. This may be due to criminal history being a lurking variable in table 6, causing negative affect to be significant (without the inclusion of the control variables) due to its correlation with criminal history, giving us a false positive or a spurious relationship. A bivariate correlation was performed to access the relationship between criminal history and negative affect. The Pearson's R was nearly 30% (.28), indicating a moderate correlation between the two variables ($p < .000$). This supports the aforementioned claim that negative affect may be a confounding variable, rather than a predicting variable. Race was also unable to predict drug trafficking, as it was not significant at the $p < .05$ level. The Nagelkerke R^2 was a little over 21%. Again, the inclusion of more basic control variables such as income and age may improve the variance attributed to this model.

Hypothesis 3a: In men, failed masculinity is positively related to drug trafficking.

Hypothesis 3b: In men, the relationship between failed masculinity and drug trafficking

is mediated by negative affect.

Failed Masculinity and Drug Trafficking. Binary Logistic Regression was

used to evaluate the relationship between Failed Masculinity and Drug Trafficking (Table

8). Again, because drug trafficking was coded as a dichotomous variable, Binary

Logistic Regression was the best choice for analysis. The results for table 8 ($n = 232$)

indicate a significant ($p < .009$) and positive correlation between failed masculinity and

drug trafficking (Drug Trafficking = -3.742 + .700 (Failed Masculinity). Results for this

model indicate that we can expect the odds of drug trafficking to increase by 101.5% for

every unit increase in failed masculinity. These findings support the expectations of

hypothesis 3a that a direct correlation exists between failed masculinity and drug

trafficking. Consistent with previous models, the Nagelkerke R^2 was nearly 8% (.076)

indicating further that an addition of control variables would improve the variance in this

study.

Failed Masculinity, Negative Emotions, and Drug Trafficking. To examine the mediating effects that negative emotions has on failed masculinity and drug trafficking, Binary Logistic Regression was used to regress failed masculinity and negative emotions onto drug trafficking ($n = 230$). As expected, the significant effects of failed masculinity were no longer present once the negative emotions variable was added to the model. Negative emotions, however, was significantly ($p < .021$) correlated with drug trafficking, indicating that negative emotions does mediate the relationship between failed masculinity and drug trafficking. This supports the basis for merging Masculinity Theory with General Strain Theory, allowing Masculinity Theory to reflect the intermediate effect of negative emotions. The BLR equation (Drug Trafficking = -5.674 + .881 (Negative Affect) + .512 (Failed Masculinity) suggests that for each unit increase in strain, we can expect the odds of drug trafficking to increase by 141.4%. Men who experience failed masculinity are more likely to sell drugs, but not necessarily as a means of obtaining masculinity, but more so as a method of relieving the psychological stress that accompanies being unable to achieve ideal standards of masculinity. The addition of the negative affect variable to this model increased the Nagelkerke R^2 to nearly 14% (.138) supporting the claim throughout this thesis that more variables are needed to account for the variance within the models.

Table 8 and table 9 support this study's claim that negative affect mediates the relationship between failed masculinity and the decision to engage in illicit drug trafficking. Integrating Masculinity theory with General Strain theory allows us to include this intermediate process of experiencing negative emotions, which provides a catalyst for deviant behavior.

35

TABLE 8. Failed Masculinity and Drug Trafficking (n = 232)

Variables	b	Wald	Standard Error	Exp(B)
Failed Masculinity*	.700	6.727	.270	2.015

* $p < 0.05$

TABLE 9. Failed Masculinity, Negative Emotions, and Drug Trafficking (n = 230)

Variables	b	Wald	Standard Error	Exp(B)
Failed Masculinity	.512	3.143	.289	1.669
Negative Affect*	.881	5.302	.383	2.414

* $p < 0.05$

Failed Masculinity and Drug Trafficking with controls. Control variables were added to the mediation model to allow us to examine the effects of race, criminal history, and drug use (Table 10). Binary Logistic Regression was used to assess these relationships. Failed masculinity and control variables were regressed onto the binary drug trafficking variable. Unexpectedly, the results for Table 10 ($n = 227$) did not support hypothesis 3a. Failed masculinity was not able to significantly predict selling drugs; however, criminal history (.013) and drug use (.005) were significant predictors of drug trafficking. This regression (Drug Trafficking = -5.305 + .212 (Failed Masculinity) + .611 (Criminal History) + 1.057 (Drug Use) + .426 (Race) indicates that we can expect the odds of drug trafficking to increase by 84.2% for every unit increase in criminal history and by 187.7% for every unit increase in drug use. Drug use was the biggest predictor of selling drugs. This may be because those who use drugs are more likely to sell drugs to fund their chemical dependency (Tunnell, 1993). So although there is some correlation between failed masculinity and drug trafficking, it appears as though chemical dependency is better able to predict drug trafficking.

As in table 7, criminal history was also a predictor of selling drugs. This correlation may be because those who use drugs are more likely to perform other criminal activities associated with drug use, usually as a means of generating income to supply their drug habit. Men with drug problems may also have a higher likelihood of performing other criminal activities associated with "being high," such as disorderly conduct and physical aggression. These findings suggest a need for further research on the relationships between drug use, criminal history, drug trafficking.

37

Unsurprisingly, race was not able to significantly predict selling drugs. It makes sense that the decision to sell drugs would be better predicted by men's social experiences, rather than on ethnicity. The Nagelkerke R^2 increased to a little over 25% (.254) affirming that additional variables increases the variance and give us a more complete picture.

Failed Masculinity, Negative Emotions, and Drug Trafficking with controls.
To examine the mediating effects that negative emotions has on failed masculinity and drug trafficking, while controlling for criminal history, drug use, and race, Binary Logistic Regression was used to regress failed masculinity, negative emotions, and controls onto drug trafficking ($n = 227$). As in table 10, we did not find support for our third hypothesis. Neither failed masculinity nor negative affect was able to significantly predict selling drugs. Again, criminal history ($p < 0.17$) and drug use ($p < 0.18$) were the only significant predictors of drug trafficking.

Although mediating effects were observed in tables 8 and 9, these effects were no longer present with the inclusion of criminal history and drug use as control variables. Simlar to table 10, drug use was the biggest predictor of selling drugs. Again, this is probably due to those activities associated with drug use that make a person more likely to engage in criminal activity as a consequence of their addiction. The BLR equation (Drug Trafficking = -6.326 + .505 (Negative Affect) + .130 (Failed Masculinity) + .593 (Criminal History) + .943 (Drug Use) + .340 (Race) suggests that for each unit increase in criminal history, we can expect the odds of drug trafficking to increase by 81% and for each unit increase in drug use, we can expect the odds of drug trafficking to increase by 156.7%. The odds of drug trafficking associated with drug use in this model are the highest odds observed throughout the study. It is likely that other variables, such as failed masculinity and strain, have a slight correlation with drug trafficking, but that it is weaker than the correlations of criminal history, drug use, and drug trafficking, so much so, that the addition of criminal history and drug use causes the correlations of failed masculinity and negative effect to become non-significant. Further studies concerning

the decision to traffic drugs should assess this relationship between drug use, criminal history, and drug trafficking to better understand why these effects are present.

The Nagelkerke R^2 for this model was 27%, showing the largest variance observed throughout the study. This is likely due to this model including the largest number of variables. Race, as in all other models, was not significantly able to explain drug trafficking.

TABLE 10. Failed Masculinity and Drug Trafficking with control variables
(n = 227)

Variables	b	Wald	Standard Error	Exp(B)
Failed Masculinity	.212	0.423	.326	1.236
Criminal History*	.611	6.204	.245	1.842
Drug Use*	1.057	8.024	.373	2.877
Race	.426	.434	.646	1.531

* $p < 0.05$

TABLE 11. Failed Masculinity, Negative Emotions, and Drug Trafficking with control variables
(n = 227)

Variables	b	Wald	Standard Error	Exp(B)
Failed Masculinity	.130	0.153	.334	1.139
Negative Emotions	.505	1.439	.421	1.657
Criminal History*	.593	5.661	.249	1.810
Drug Use*	.943	5.595	.399	2.567
Race	.340	.275	.649	1.406

* $p < 0.05$

CONCLUSION

This work has evaluated the relationship between the negative life event of failed masculinity in men, psychological stress, and the decision to engage in illicit drug trafficking. The results of this study partially support the basis of a merged General Strain and Masculinity Theory to explain the decision to sell drugs. A positive correlation between failed masculinity and negative emotions suggest that masculinity can be viewed as a positively valued goal for men and failure to achieve this goal can produce negative psychological stress. However, the results of table 7 suggest that negative affect has only a spurious relationship with selling drugs and that criminal history is better able to predict the decision to engage in illicit drug trafficking. Although negative affect does have a significant correlation with drug trafficking, this effect goes away upon controlling for criminal history. A significant bivariate correlation between negative affect and criminal history suggest that the significance of negative affect may be present due to the correlation between criminal history and negative affect, not due to negative affect's ability to predict selling drugs. It appears as though men who have criminal histories also have increased strain. Future studies should examine further this relationship between strain and criminal history.

Controlling for criminal history and drug use dissociated the relationships between failed masculinity, negative affect, and strain within the mediation model. In the controlled mediation model, criminal history and drug use were the only significant predictors of drug trafficking, drug use being the largest predictor. This study purports

that this may be due to the unique nature of addiction. Individuals having a chemical dependency are more likely to sell drugs as a method of financing their drug habit (Tunnell, 1993). They may also be more likely to engage in criminal behavior as a direct result of their addiction.

These findings may also be a result of the sample used. Most of the literature cited in this study has examined masculinity and drug trafficking in the context of urban areas. However, this study performed analysis on a sample of college students. The results may have been different had this analysis been performed on men in inner city neighborhoods. That all participants within the sample were the same age could have also introduced bias into this analysis. Also, a random sampling method is preferred; however, convenience sampling was used. Unfortunately, information on the specific methods of selecting the men used for this study was unavailable. The method for selecting men may have also introduced bias to the study. For example, the survey may have been given to men who utilized counseling services on campus or it may have been distributed only to men participating in a particular course. There may be some common factor present amongst the participants of the dataset that presented bias to our statistical analysis.

Another noteworthy sampling issue is found within the drug use variable. The mean score for drug use was .326, indicating that nearly two-thirds of the men from this sample had either never used drugs or had not used any drugs within the past year. Statistics released by the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) indicate that in 1990 only 26.1% of men of similar age to those in this study reported having never used drugs and 54.9% reported not using drugs within the past year

(whitehousedrugpolicy.gov). Because the White House measures of drug use include marijuana, we can assume that the actual percentages would be even lower if marijuana use was excluded and also if the White House statistics were broken down by gender. This suggests there is an unusually small amount of men reporting the use of drugs within this dataset. Again, that the sample consisted of college students may explain this difference. Any possible bias from this discrepancy on reporting drug use may explain why the addition of the drug use variable had altering effects on our models.

The significant results of this study affirm this study's claim that failed masculinity predicts negative affect and there is some evidence that negative affect can lead to trafficking illicit drugs within this study. Previous studies have examined the effects of poverty on the decision to engage in drug trafficking and have found poverty to be a factor in this decision, however, these studies do not explain *why* poverty is affecting men's decision to traffic illicit substances. Poverty thwarts a man's ability to exert ideal standards of masculinity due to it creating an inability to fill the breadwinner role and an inability to possess items (e.g., clothing, cars) that will increase receipt of respect from peers and the opposite sex. This study shows that the masculine deficiencies created by poverty leads to the experience of negative emotions. When negative emotions lead to the desire for corrective action, drug trafficking may be a method for relieving the stress of being unable to fulfill ideal masculine standards.

This study also provides some evidence of the mediating effects of negative emotions on the relationship between failed masculinity and selling drugs, somewhat echoing the thoughts of Elijah Anderson (1999) who states, "[those] who get caught up with the responsibilities of breadwinning, with little opportunity to do so in the regular

economy, sometimes resolve the tension by joining the drug trade" (p. 115). Before controlling for criminal history and race, failed masculinity had a direct correlation with drug trafficking that was no longer present upon the introduction of negative affect. Although further evaluation is needed, findings from this study partially support the hypothesis that strain can be an intermediate variable that could enhance Masculinity Theory, thereby creating a merged GST and Masculinity theory.

Addressing this issue from a policy perspective would require a re-defining of masculinity for young men, particularly those living in inner city neighborhoods. Many young men have no acceptable male role models, forcing them to imitate and abide by the "code of the street" which becomes their guidance into manhood (Anderson, 1999; Kubren, 2005). This violent code consists of portraying toughness and requiring "respect" is reiterated in the music marketed towards young inner city males, further exacerbating the problem (Kubren, 2005). Providing alternative means of exhibiting masculinity, such as sports and mentor programs may assuage the ills created by misguided masculinity.

Also, the issue of poverty and barriers to financial success in America should be addressed. Western and Pettit (2010) states, "Our perspective, focused on the social and economic inequalities of American life, suggests that social policy improving opportunity and employment, for young men in particular, holds special promise as an instrument for public safety." One of the major goals of portraying masculinity is being able to provide for one's family. Therefore, a decent income becomes a necessity for men and the psychological stress of being unable to fill the breadwinner role can lead men to traffic illicit drugs. This suggests that it would benefit society to attempt to increase legal

methods of obtaining financial success, allowing men to achieve masculinity without engaging in deviant acts. Providing more legal means of achieving masculinity may prove to be a more effective weapon in the war on drugs rather than increased incarceration based on harsh legislature. Attempting to control human behavior through legislature has proved to be a futile effort (Moore and Elkavich, 2008); therefore, it may be more beneficial to first try to understand social responses to negative emotions from the perspective of a merged General Strain and Masculinity theory, then create laws that reflect what we know of human behavior.

The majority of offenders in prison on charges of drug trafficking are non-white (Moore and Elkavich, 2008) and African American men with lower levels of education are more likely to be imprisoned than employed (Western and Pettit, 2010) leaving one to deduce that there is a link between race and drug dealing. However, in this study race was not found to be a significant predictor of drug trafficking. This finding makes it difficult to understand how such a small percentage of the population can comprise such a large percentage of the prison population when research has not shown that people of color are more heavily involved in drug activity (Moore and Elkavich, 2008). Instead, an unequal distribution of justice combined with a lack of empathy seems to be a more viable explanation. Small (2001) boldly declares that "punitive drug policies relying on harsh sentences would have been changed long ago if Whites were incarcerated on drug charges at the same rate as Blacks and Latinos (p. 899)." With no link between race and drug trafficking, efforts to confront the disproportional renderings of justice within our criminal justice system should be an important goal of our nation's policy makers.

A concern of this study is the small R^2 value of the models associated with hypothesis 1. Future examinations of this topic may include additional variables, unavailable within this dataset, that are likely to cause negative affect. Because GST suggests that negative affect is a result of a disjunction between positively valued goals and actual outcomes, having a measure to examine men's ideas of masculinity would have strengthened our analysis by allowing us to measure the disjunction between ideal standards and actual attainment of masculinity. Being able to evaluate individual perceptions of ideal standards of masculinity would have allowed a more precise analysis of negative affect as a result of failed masculinity.

Another variable that should be included in future studies is physical health. A recent study by Schroeder et al (2011) uses General Strain Theory to examine the effects of health on crime. Schroeder et al found physical health to be a significant predictor of crime due to its ability to increase anxiety and depression. Including a measure of health as a control variable within this model could have possibly increased the overall level of variance explained by the model. A second variable that should be examined is economic ambition. As previously stated, economic ambition can be viewed as a sub-goal of masculinity. Therefore, having this measured within the failed masculinity index would have provided a fuller measure of the variable. Measuring economic ambition in the context of failed masculinity would have possibly captured a larger piece of the puzzle, thereby increasing the overall R^2. Income, unemployment, family stability, and age are also important control variables that should be included in future analysis, but were not available with this dataset. Having income as a control variable would allow for a parallel examination of structural disadvantage and GST/Masculinity Theory.

An additional concern of this study is the dramatic decrease in the number of valid cases for all tables with 'sold drugs' as the dependent variable. The total number of participants of this survey was 851. This survey was distributed in five waves of which wave II was used for this study. In order to ensure that all correspondents were age 19 when responding to wave II questions, wave II was administered over the course of three years (1990, 1991, and 1992). For reasons unknown to the author of this study, respondents who received the survey in 1990 were not asked if they had sold drugs, causing a nearly 63% decrease in the number of respondents. Missing data was excluded listwise from the analyses, leaving an n of less than 300 for analyses that included the sold drugs question. Regressions having sold drugs as a dependent variable had diminished significance upon the addition of control variables (tables 6 – 11). However, regressions associated with hypothesis 1, not having sold drugs as a dependent variable (tables 4 and 5) did not lose significance with the addition of control variables. This may indicate that the results of this study were altered by the reduced n due to the missing values for the sold drugs variable. If this study is repeated, care should be taken to ensure that all participants are asked all survey questions to lessen the impact of missing data.

REFERENCES

Abramsky, S. (2010). Altered State. *The Nation*, Dec, 2010, p. 17 – 22.

Agnew, Robert. (1992). Foundation for a General Strain Theory of Crime and

Delinquency. *Criminology,* Vol. 30, Issue 1, pp. 47 – 87.

America. (2007). Race and the War on Drugs. *Americamagazine.org,* Vol. 197, Issue

12, p. 5.

Anderson, E. (1999). Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the

Inner City. *W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.*

Antidrug Abuse Act of 1988, 21 U.S.C Section 862 (1988).

Bakker, L. J., Morris, B. A., and Janus, L. M. (1978). Hidden victims of crime. *Social

Work,* Vol. 23, Issue 2, pp. 143 – 148.

Bobo, L. & Thompson, V. (2006). Unfair by Design: The War on Drugs, Race,

and the Legitimacy of the Criminal Justice System. *Social Research,* Vol. 73,

Issue 2, p. 445 – 472.

Broidy and Agnew. (1997). GENDER AND CRIME: A GENERAL STRAIN

THEORY PERSPECTIVE. *The Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,*

Vol. 34, Issue 3, pp. 275 – 306.

Browning, S. L., Miller, R. R., and Spruance, L. M. (2001). Criminal incarceration

dividing the ties that bind: black men and their families. *Journal of Black Men,*

Vol. 6, Issue 1, p. 87 – 102.

Carrington, K. and Scott, J. (2008). Masculinity, Rurality, and Violence. *Brit. J. Criminol,* Vol. 48, p. 641 – 666.

Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd edition). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Community Care. (2008) Professional support for prisoners' families and children. *Community Care,* Issue 1742, p. 24 – 25.

Contreras, Randol. (2009). DamnYo – Who's That Girl? An Ethnographic Analysis of Masculinity in Drug Robberies. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* Vol. 38, Issue 4, pp. 465 – 492.

Craib, Ian. (1987). Masculinity and Male Dominance. *Sociological Review,* Vol. 35, Issue 4, p.721 – 743.

Evans, R., Gauthier, D. K., and Forsyth, C. J. (1998). Dogfighting: Symbolic Expression and Validation of Manhood. *Sex Roles,* Vol. 39, Issues 11/12, pp. 825 – 838.

Freisthler, B., Lascala, E. A., Gruenewald, P. J., and Treno, A. J. (2005). An Examination of Drug Activity: Effects of Neighborhood Social Disorganization on the Development of Drug Distribution Systems. *Substance Use and Misuse,* Vol. 40, p. 671 – 686.

Hay, Carter. (2003). Family Strain, Gender, and Delinquency. *Sociological Perspectives,* Vol. 46, Issue 1, pp. 107 – 135.

hooks, bell. (2004). We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity. Routledge.

Jang, Sung Joon. (2007). Gender Differences in Strain, Negative Emotions, and Coping

    Behaviors: A General Strain Theory Approach. *Justice Quarterly,* Vol. 24, Issue

    3, pp. 523 – 553.

Kersten, Joachim. (1996). Cultures, masculinity and violence against women. *British*

    Journal of Criminology, Vol. 36, Issue 3, pp. 381 –397.

Krebs, Christopher P., Costello, M., and Jenks, D. (2003). Drug Control Policy and

    Smuggling Innovation: A Game Theoretic Analysis. *The Journal of Drug Issues,*

    Winter, pp. 133 – 160.

Krienert, Jessie L. (2003). Masculinity and Crime: A Quantitative Exploration of

    Messershmidt's Hypothesis. *Electronic Journal of Sociology,* 2003,

    ISSN: 11983655

Kubrin, C. (2005). Gangstas, Thugs, and Hustlas: Identity and the Code of the Street in

    Rap Music. *Social Problems,* Vol. 52, p. 360 - 378

Livingston, J. N. and Nahimana, C. (2006). Problem Child or Problem Context: An

    Ecological Approach to Young Black Males. *Reclaiming Children and*

    Youth, Vol. 14, Issue 4, p. 209 – 214.

Martinez, Jr., R., Rosenfeld, R., and Mares, D. (2008). Social Disorganization, Drug

    Market Activity, and Neighborhood Violent Crime. *Urban Affairs Review,* Vol.

    43, Issue 6, p. 846 – 874.

Messerschmidt, James. (1997). Crime as structured action: gender, race, class and

    crime in the making, *Sage Publications.*

Miller, R. R., Browning, S. L., and Spruance, L. M. (2006). An introduction and brief

    review of the impacts of incarceration on the african american family. *Journal of*

    African American Men, Vol. 6, Issue 1, p. 3 – 12.

Moore, Lisa D. &Elkavich, Amy. (2008). Who's Using and Who's Doing Time:

    Incarceration, The War on Drugs, and Public Health. *American Journal of Public*

    Health, Vol. 98, Issue 5, pp. 782-786.

Pager, Devah. (2003). The Mark of a Criminal Record. *The American Journal of*

    Sociology, Vol. 108, Issue 5, p. 937 – 975.

Pager, Devah. (2006). EVIDENCE-BASED POLICY FOR SUCCESSFUL PRISONER

    REENTRY. *Criminology & Public Policy,* Vol. 5, Issue 3, p. 505 – 514.

Parker, K. F. and Maggard, S. R. (2005). Structural Theories and Race Specific Drug

    Arrests: What Structural Factors Account for the Rise in Race-Specific Drug

    Arrests Over Time? *Crime and Delinquency,* Vol. 51, Issue 4, p. 521 – 547.

Schroeder, Ryan. (2011). Physical health and crime among low-income urban women:

    An application of general strain theory. *Journal of Criminal Justice,* Vol. 39,

    Issue 1, pp. 21 – 29.

Sharp, Brewster, and Love. (2005). disentangling strain, personal attributes, affective

    response and deviance. *Deviant Behavior,* Vol. 26, Issue 2, pp. 133 – 157.

Shaw, C. and McKay, H. (1942). *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency.* Washington,

    DC: Government Printing Office.

Sigfusdottir and Silver. (2009). Emotional Reactions to Stress Among Adolescent Boys

    and Girls. *Youth and Society,* Vol. 30, Issue 4, pp. 571 – 590.

Small, Deborah. (2001). The War on Drugs is a War on Racial Justice. *Social Research,*

    Vol. 68, Issue 3, pp. 896 – 903.

Tunnell, K. D. (1993). Inside the Drug Trade: Trafficking from the Dealer's

    Perspective. *Qualitative Sociology,* Vol. 16, Issue 4, p. 361 – 381.

U.S. Census. (2010). *www.census.gov/2010census/*

Western, Bruce and Pettit, Becky. (2010). Incarceration & social inequality. *Daedalus,*

    Summer, Vol. 139, Issue 3, p. 8 – 19.

White, J. W. and Smith, P. H. (1990 – 1995). Longitudinal Study of Violence Against

    Women: Victimization and Perpetration Among College Students in a State-

    Supported University in the United States. *Inter university Consortium for*

    Political and Social Research, 3212, May 2002.

Whitehead, A. (2005). Man to Man Violence: How Masculinity May Work as a

    Dynamic Risk Factor. *The Howard Journal,* Vol. 44, Issue 4, pp. 411 – 422.

Whitehead, T. L., Peterson, J., and Kaljee, L. (1994). The "Hustle": Socioeconomic

    Deprivation, Urban Drug Trafficking, and Low-Income, African-American Male

    Gender Identity. *Pediatrics,* Vol. 93, Issue 6, pp. 1050 – 1054.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Sonita L. Arnold

1348 Lillian Avenue ♦ Louisville, KY 40208 ♦ 502-290-7733 ♦ 502-442-4833
sonita.arnold@louisvilleky.gov

SKILLS SUMMARY

◇ MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY: thorough understanding of social issues; advanced research and statistical knowledge; strong ability to think critically and analytically

◇ BACHELOR OF ARTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: strong ability to comprehend and interpret policy; knowledgeable of government, law, and legal procedures; trained in negotiation, mediation, de-escalation, and safe-crisis management

◇ EXTENSIVE SOCIAL SERVICE EXPERIENCE: working knowledge of governmental, community, and social service agencies and policies governing those agencies; background in health sciences/medical field; experience working with diverse members of the community

◇ ADMINISTRATIVE SKILLS: detail oriented; excellent planning and organizational skills; advanced technology skills: Microsoft Office, KAMES, KASES, AS400, CICS, SPSS

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

Alpha Kappa Delta – International Sociology Honor Society

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Louisville Metro Government,
Dept. of Housing and Family Services   05/2010 – Present
Community Outreach Specialist
- Attend community events and meetings to publicize services and recruit applicants
- Strictly adhere to federal grant policies and procedures
- Review and honor MOUs and MOAs
- Perform home site visits and work closely with applicants throughout application process
- Track applicant progress and thoroughly maintain database and case records, e.g., income information, title research reports, environmental reports, and inspection/risk assessments
- Collect and analyze statistical data and prepare reports
- Refer citizens to appropriate agencies and services available within the community

Commonwealth of Kentucky, DCBS, Louisville, KY   01/2009 – 05/2010
Family Support Specialist
- Properly applied policy to case circumstances, maintaining an accuracy rate of over 95% on all cases read
- Interviewed/screened clients to determine eligibility for governmental assistance
- Performed field evaluations and verified information through collateral contacts

Seven Counties Services, Louisville, KY   05/2008 – 12/2008
Therapeutic Aide & Chemical Dependency Tech
- Evaluated and applied treatment plans to children with behavioral and psychological disorders
- Strictly adhered to clinical regulations and guidelines while providing clinical treatment to and assessments of residents of Jefferson Alcohol and Drug Abuse Center

Talis Group, Louisville, KY   05/2006 – 05/2008
Administrative Specialist
- Provided information and answered questions to those interested in low-income housing for Villages of Park DuValle
- Used Microsoft Office daily to create documents, spreadsheets, maintain databases, create reports, meet goals, and keep records

Jefferson County Public Schools, Louisville, KY   11/2004 – 04/2006
Substitute Teacher
- Successfully taught students using energetic and dynamics strategies
- Worked with divergent students from varied demographics

Congressional Campaign Committee, Washington, D. C.   09/2004 – 11/2004
Intern – Team Leader
- Supervised and coordinated canvassers for 2004 Congressional Campaign

Spencerian College (Health Sciences Campus), Louisville, KY   06/2003 – 09/2004
Academic Assistant
- Functioned as Administrative Assistant to the Dean and faculty
- Worked as proxy for faculty members – leading classes, directing classroom activities, and proctoring/grading exams

Jewish Hospital, Louisville, KY   01/2000 – 05/2004
Monitor Technician
- Monitored and evaluated EKG readings of Critical Care patients
- Compiled statistical data and created detailed reports for internal reviews used to implement policy and procedural improvements

EDUCATION

Master of Arts, Sociology, University of Louisville, Louisville, KY – Expected 05/2011
Bachelor of Arts, Political Science, University of Louisville, Louisville, KY – 12/2005

TRAININGS/CERTIFICATIONS

Indoor Environmental Health & Technologies/Lead and Healthy Homes
Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Miami, FL, 02/2011

Lead Training for Workers
ATI Environmental Services, Louisville, KY, 12/2010

Healthy Homes Visual Assessor
Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Louisville, KY, 08/2010