STOLEN AFFECTION: MALE ADOLESCENT IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN A MIDDLE SCHOOL HALLWAY

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Keywords: *adolescent, development, ethnographic, kinesics, proxemics*

Abstract

A middle school hallway was examined during entry and transition over a three month period. A series of short video observations were analyzed using qualitative research methods to determine what students do during unstructured transition time. Hallway time was chosen because it is one of the only social times in the school day, students are more likely to act naturally as hallways have less adult monitoring, and students spend a lot of time in hallways. Videos of observations were coded for proxemics and kinesics. Male and female behaviors were coded separately as a method of comparison. Three themes emerged from the data analysis: 1) males directed body orientation in groups, 2) males directed the use of space and were more likely to use personal and intimate space to communicate, and 3) males initiated and reciprocated 86% of the incidences of touch observed. Conversely, females rarely initiated close proximity, the use of personal space, or touch with males or females. Implications of the frequent use of personal space and touch between males are discussed in the context of male identity development and rites of passage.

Introduction: The hallway

Middle school students know about hallways. They congregate in them, play in them, keep their belongings in them, and, on occasion, get banished to them. During a typical school day American middle schoolers complete eleven hallway transitions, for a total of about 60 minutes of "hallway time" per day. In other words, middle school students spend *six weeks* of their school year in the hall. Ratcliff (1994) says that school hallways are a microcosm of child culture. Pellegrini and Bohn (2005) contend social structures that play out in the hallway influence teaching and learning. It is for these reasons that I decided to observe adolescents in a middle school hallway.

The literature on adolescent behavior in unstructured school settings is limited. Terneus and Malone (2004) found boys tend to determine when mixed groups disperse; and girls exhibit grooming behaviors to get the attention of boys. This was consistent with my initial "wide lens" observations. Ratcliff (2001) studied lines, and grouping configurations in elementary hallways and dubbed the hallway a transition place between child and adult-directed school culture. Ratcliff did not focus on gendered interactions, but he did find adolescent boys do not touch one another or show affection: "I observed affectionate behavior between girls, such as holding hands and placing arms around one another. In my observations of younger elementary aged children, such affection is common by both girls and boys, and between boys and girls at earlier ages, but by the mid elementary years--about age nine or ten-most of the overt affection is between girls" (p. 16).

Clues about the physicality of adolescent boys in unstructured groups from the literature, teacher comments, and my initial broad-based observations led me to narrow my focus to the physical behavior of adolescent boys. I decided to focus on adolescent boys for three reasons. First, teacher comments about the behaviors I would observe matched the descriptions I found in the literature. Second, adolescent boys are described as prone to rough-housing and reluctant to show emotion or affection (Pollack, 1998, 2004;

Ratcliff, 2001; Terneus & Malone, 2004); but there is very little in the literature to support these claims. Finally, adolescence is a critical period for identity development [CITE]

Purpose

The purpose of this paper was to describe the social interactions of boys in an unstructured school setting. To answer the question: "What do adolescent boys do in the hallway?" my observations centered on two themes:

- Proxemics: Proxemics is the study of the territorial distance people use to communicate with others at various levels of closeness. People also use different proxemic norms associated with their cultural background (Hall, 1963, 1968). The purpose of coding proxemic behavior was to study the frequency and circumstances under which boys would use space to control their environment.
- Kinesics: Kinesics is the study of nonverbal communication embedded in conscious and unconscious movement. An example of unconscious movement is eye-blinking when lying (Ekman, 1965). An example of conscious movement is the use of a hand signal (emblem) commonly understood by a culture, such as a rounded thumb and pointer with fingers extended for "OK" (Birdwhistle, 1955; Ekman, 1965). The purpose of coding kinesics was to study the nonverbal communication boys use in groups and dyads during unstructured time. Body language analysis is a useful method for examining a person's communicative intent because most communication is nonverbal (Mehrabian & Ferris, 1967). Gestures, facial expressions, unconscious movements, and physical illustrations of speech are all forms of embodied cognition. Movements express thought (Kinsbourne, 2006). When verbal and nonverbal messages are incongruent, it is the nonverbal component of the message suggests true intent (Mehrabian, 1972, p. 108).

Methods

Ethnographic analysis is an iterative process in which cultural ideas that arise during active involvement in the context of everyday life are or represented in a written document. Ethnography provides a means of describing behavior through systematic analysis of observed interactions. By freely observing and then systematically sorting through pieces of data to find thematic categories, the researcher can apply a framework to the search for inconsistencies, contradictions, and cross-thematic phenomena that might otherwise go unnoticed. In order to focus on the physical behavior of boys, it was necessary for me to observe the behavior of girls as one means of comparison. Video samples of the behavioral stream allowed me to observe male and female social formations simultaneously. They also allowed me to step outside my preconceived notions of boys' rough housing (Pollack, 1998; Reed & Brown, 2000) or marking their territory. In fact, the data I collected told a very different story.

Procedures

Students were videotaped in an 8th grade hallway during arrival over a three month period. During that time, fourteen videos between one and five minutes each were collected. Videotaping of hallway vignettes was used for several reasons. First, video allows researchers to capture complex social situations (Spiers, 2004) such as thickly crowded hallways. Second, video allows the researcher to review (Pirie, 1996), write descriptive notes, and log events in real time (Ratcliff, 2004; Spiers, 2004). Many of the hallway behaviors were of short duration, and video allowed a more accurate frequency count. Third, video allows one to capture peripheral events (Spradley, 1955). This is important because conscious perception requires attention (Simons & Chabris, 1999). When we attend to specific features of an event, we fail to notice other important elements, even when they appear directly within our visual field (Neisser & Becklen, 1975). For example,

Simons and Chabris (1999) showed subjects a video of a group of people passing a ball. Several seconds into the film, a man in a gorilla suit entered the game and pounded his chest. When subjects were told to focus on the number of ball passes, 75% of them missed the gorilla entirely. Video recording provides a means for capturing action that our brains naturally filter when we are viewing dynamic events. Finally, video can be less intrusive than taking notes because digital-age students are accustomed to people taking pictures. In fact, students were able to habituate to the camera within a five minute period. Initially, some of them waved or pointed out the camera to friends, but they quickly resumed their activities.

I chose to observe during the beginning of the school day because this is the longest period of time students are in the hallway. As students enter, they ascend stairways at the end of the east hall and the middle of the north hall. Students cluster at the lockers located along both sides of the narrow east hall. They zigzag through the throng, greeting friends and locating materials like bees zipping in and out of a giant hive. The morning period is a kind of dance: students move between lockers and opening doors; bending in and out to access top and bottom rows. They step over each other's feet as some kneel to rummage through backpacks or access lower lockers. The movement is swift and efficient. It feels like the students are responding to an invisible choreographer.

Observation videos were transcribed and coded using N Vivo software (QSR, 2010). During the coding process, additional categories emerged and codes were added. The method is a cyclical process of categories emerging from the constant comparison of episodes identified from random samples of the behavioral stream. I looked for repetitive behaviors such as touching, assigned a category label, and determined relevance through comparison with other episodes (Dye, Schatz, Rosenberg, & Coleman, 2000). Finally, observations were categorized by domain.. Domains included objects and artifacts in the hallway, people in the hallway, activities, interactions, and jobs of students, teachers, other staff, and visitors to the hallway, functions of the hallway (eg., transition), and places in the hallway (e.g., offices, classrooms).

Coding Scheme

I developed an a priori coding scheme based on the types of proxemic and kinesic behaviors I predicted after making some initial observations and reading descriptions of nonverbal behavior (Ekman, 1965, Hall, 1963, Terneus & Malone, 2004). This was possible because many nonverbal behaviors, such as the use of emblems, are universal. The data lies in the ways in which various cultural groups as well as specific subgroups within a culture use the behaviors to communicate. For example, Americans keep a larger zone of personal space than people from Middle Eastern cultures, who tend to touch and stand close to one another. The use of space to communicate, however, is cross-cultural. The data also lies in the careful observation of patterns that diverge from what might be expected.

Proxemics were coded separately for males and females. Students' use of space was coded if they moved into or out of a zone of space consistent with Hall's (1963, 1968) observations of social space. Social space distances and communicative intents are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1. Social space distances and communicative intents

Type of Space	Distance	Use
Intimate Space	Touching to 1½ feet	Touch, hug, whisper
Personal Space	1 ½ feet to 4 feet	Social interaction with friends and family
Social Space	4 feet to 12 feet	Social interaction with acquaintances
Public Space	12 feet to 25 feet	

Kinesics were also coded separately for males and females. There are a number of universal types of gestures and body movements identified in the literature that were included in the initial coding. Emblems

are signals that can be translated directly, such as an "OK" sign or a peace sign (Ekman & Freisen, 1969). Illustrators are signals that illustrate what a person says, such as pointing, slamming a hand on the table for emphasis, or denoting the size of an object with fingers or hands. Illustrators serve to reinforce verbal messages (Ekman & Freisen, 1969). Affect displays use more of the body and are used to communicate how we are feeling. For example, a person might put their head in their hands to communicate sadness. Affect displays are spontaneous and often unconscious (Ekman & Freisen, 1969). Regulators are movements that accompany speech and control or regulate conversation. Regulators influence the flow of conversation such as head nods, raising a finger to interject, or moving away to end an interaction. Finally, adaptors are unconscious behaviors that meet an adaptive need such as rubbing hands in self-soothing (Ekman & Freisen, 1969).

Other behaviors included in the initial coding scheme were body orientation (turning toward or away from a potential communicative partner) and physical touch with hands, arms, legs, feet, or body.

Setting

The middle school is located in a small seacoast town in New England. It is similar in size and demographics to several of the surrounding towns. The school district is comprised of three schools and includes grades K-8. The middle school serves 430 children in grades 6-8. The students at the middle school are primarily from middle or working class homes. This year, the district has a 19% reported free-and-reduced lunch eligible population and there are over 40 families who meet the McKinney-Vento guidelines for homelessness. The school district has a special education population of 10%, significantly below the state average. The English language learner population is also far below the state average and has remained stable for several years at 1%. Almost all of the teachers and students are white (Table 2).

Table 2. Characteristics of School Students.

SCHOOL STUDENTS	SCHOOL YEAR		
	2009-10	**2010-11**	**2011-12**
% Caucasian	94.25	92.50	93.00
% African- American	1.00	1.50	1.75
% Asian/Pacific Islander	2.50	3.00	2.00
% American Indian	0.25	0.50	0.50
% Hispanic	2.00	2.50	2.75
% Other	0	0	0
% Female	49.6	51	51
% Male	50.4	49	49
% LEP	1	1	1

I chose to observe on the third floor of the school because it is away from the main lobby and includes a wide variety of classrooms and offices. The third floor is comprised of two hallways that intersect to form an L-shaped wing anchored by the library. The north wing includes a suite of SAU-level special education offices, a grade 8 learning lab, an art room, a world language room, and some administrative offices. The east wing includes student bathrooms and grade 8 core classrooms.

There are a few examples of student work adjacent to the art, world language, and language arts rooms. The walls of the east wing are bare except for long banks of upper and lower lockers on either side. A number of signs dot the walls of the north wing. Some are old signs about "middle school philosophy" from three principals ago. Others have to do with anti-bullying initiatives. For example, a bold red sign next to the

Assistant Principal's office reads: "NOT IN OUR SCHOOL, NOT ON OUR WATCH, NOT EVER!" This slogan has been repeated on the intercom every morning for two years. An interesting juxtaposition is formed by the sign on the other side of the door, which reads: "No Whining!" The art room sign across the hall reads: "Notice: This art program may cause sudden fun and lead to spontaneous outbreaks of learning". It is paired with a plea for arts in education, a remnant of a recent school board agenda to focus on the "3 R's" and cut arts positions. During transition times, teachers can be seen entering and exiting open-door classrooms, but they do not "station themselves" to monitor the students' movements.

About 80 students frequent the east hallway. Other students attend art and library classes, but for much of the day the east wing is empty. Initially, I asked teachers what I would see in the hallway. The responses focused on boys: "They rough-house and bump into one another because they don't know how to communicate" and "The boys stake out their territory—they are physical". When I started observing, teachers assumed I was there to look for "bad" behavior. For example, one teacher commented, "I am not sure if you are going to see much, this group is actually pretty nice".

Social Interactions: Observation

Social interactions were brief and varied. Students showed signs of recognition from across the crowd. Usually there was an initial sign such as a nod, a smile, or wave. Then students approached one another, moving into social proximity and often into "formations" of two and three across as they headed toward lockers or classrooms. Some students waited for their friends to retrieve binders or water bottles. Occasional clusters formed. As they passed, I heard snippets of conversations: "My new glasses are like Justin Bieber's", "I saw that movie, it was lame", and "She Facebooked it". Some social groups were identified by dress, such as the required shirts and ties on days when there was a sports game.

At first, I was surprised by the lack of physical play between both boys and girls. Teacher comments regarding boys and rough housing were consistent with my experience and expectations, but rough play was conspicuously absent. For purposes of this paper, rough housing is defined as aggressive play where neither party shows visible signs of distress. In fact, I observed only three incidents of rough housing over a three month period. On one occasion, a boy pushed another boy. The other two occasions involved girls jumping on or grabbing other girls.
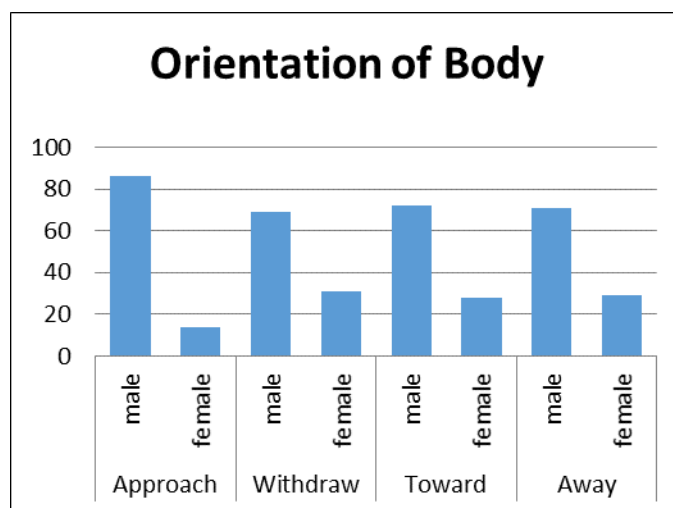
Results

Figure 1. Percentage of coded body orientation behaviors by male and female.

Domain analysis (Spradley, 1980) of coded interactions revealed three related core themes. None of these themes involved behaviors predicted by the teachers. In the next section, I will describe each of the themes and implications for our understanding of male adolescent development.

The first theme was body orientation (see Fig. 1). Boys directed the formation and breakup of clustered groupings. Boys moved in close, oriented themselves toward a communicative partner, and used this orientation to maintain or end social contact. In cluster groupings, boys had a tendency to change their orientation from one partner to another in a round-robin fashion. In mixed groups, boys were more likely to scan the crowd and orient their bodies toward persons of interest, either male or female.

Girls were as likely as boys to orient to a communicative partner, but boys tended to direct when this would occur. For example:

"A smallish boy with glasses is edging in from the side. Red shirt is still holding his books down in both hands and lifting his leg 2-3 times, bent at the knee. He sweeps the book across his leg each time. Another girl with a braid is there and red shirt turns to her, looking and talking to her. A blonde girl is also there. He shifts gaze and orientation to her and she lifts her arms across her body, bent at the elbows. She looks at him, rubbing her neck. Red shirt moves toward the other girl with a blonde ponytail, tight grey t, and black jeans. She is wearing backpack on her back. She is looking at red shirt and he is looking at her, his body turned toward her and her friend. She is talking to him and her arms stay across her body, bent at the elbows. Red shirt shifts his body away, swinging one leg a bit, twisting his torso and head away from her and then back, balancing on one leg."

In this example, boys shift gaze and body orientation to engage, include, or withdraw from social partners. Surprisingly, body orientation was not used as a means of blocking or marking a particular space. Instead, it was used as a means of directing and seeking reciprocation for social overtures. Body orientation was also used as a means of "trying out" a wider variety of social participants. The boys were including others through their clustering behaviors. The girls, on the other hand, used body orientation and posturing such as head touches and hair flips (Kolaric & Galambos, 1981; Moore, 1995) to gain the attention of the boys, who seemed oblivious to these overtures.

The second major theme from the data was use of space (see Fig. 2). In addition to directing the beginning and ending points of cluster formations, boys were much more likely to use personal and intimate space. In fact, intimate space was initiated and reciprocated by boys 91% of the time.
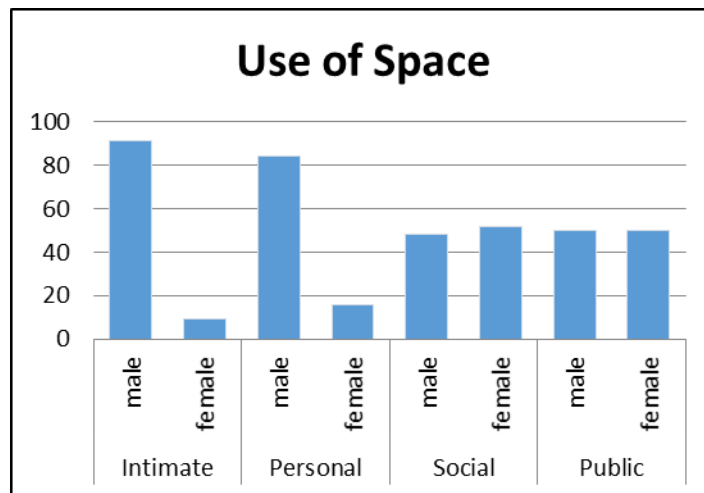

Figure 2. Percentage of coded spatial proximity use by male and female.

Boys were observed approaching one another, moving in close, and bending heads together on several occasions. These interactions were affectionate and personal, while girls' use of intimate space was directed towards touching each- others' clothing to comment or sharing a look at an object. Unlike the boys, girls were also observed using distancing behaviors, such as withdrawing from an approach. In fact, girls were four times as likely to block their bodies with an object such as a binder. One girl was even heard saying, "don't worry, I'm not stalking you!" when waiting to go to class with a group of friends.

Perhaps the most significant finding was boys' use of affectionate touch with other boys (see Fig. 3). Boys initiated and reciprocated touch with other boys in 86% of observed incidences.
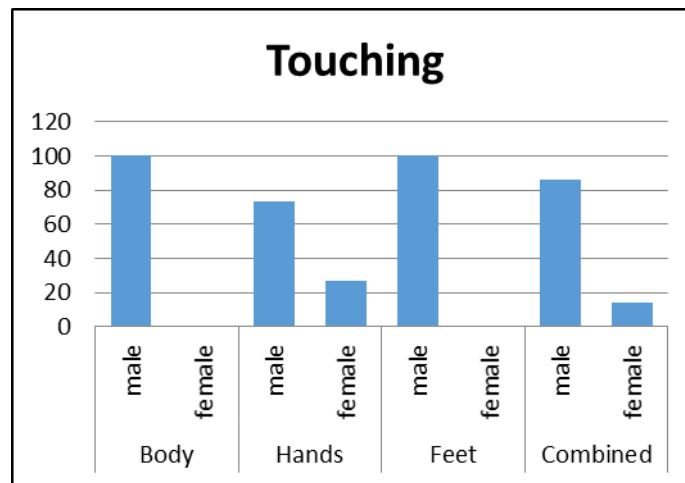

Figure 3. Percentage of coded touches by male and female.

Touching between boys was characterized by leaning in close, putting an arm around the shoulders, or grasping hands to pull in for an "armless hug". For example:

"Blue boy does an approach, chest out, touching bodies with the boy opposite in intimate space.
One of the triad is behind the other two. Blue boy and the boy who popped up second enter the classroom doorway together in formation, but in intimate space. The boy who was approached puts his arm around blue boy as they enter the classroom. His hand rests on the other boy's shoulder, affectionately. They move into class at exactly the same time, still touching. The third boy follows, slightly behind. Another boy turns to approach the third boy. They are face to face in the doorway. He gestures, pointing at the other two so the third boy can see. The third boy approaches closer and puts his hand on this boy's shoulder lightly as he turns to enter the class."

The key events described above were not isolated incidents. In these vignettes, the boys repeated body leaning behavior, resting arms about one another's shoulders, and touching chests together. These exchanges were fleeting, almost "stolen" in quality. At times, the movements occurred several times in succession, as if to prolong the connection. This behavior formed a pattern that repeated itself over the course of 14 observations. Boys would approach a group or individual, orient toward a partner, lean in close, and share an intimate exchange. Some exchanges took the form of a hand clasp followed by pulling in together. On other occasions, boys would gently "bump" their bodies together, withdraw, and repeat the action as if to surreptitiously hug. Boys also had a tendency to walk in close formation, touching upper torsos together as they walked.

Discussion

The discovery that boys were seeking affection from other boys through mutual touch was striking. The conventional thinking, repeated by the teachers, has been that boys exclusively use rough and tumble play in the expression of care (Pollack, 1998; Reed & Brown, 2000) to mark their territory, or because they cannot communicate verbally. In the context of a sports game, this may be true (Reed & Brown, 2000) but there is much more to the story. It is generally expected that by adolescence, boys will refrain from showing affection through hugging and touching.

Most human societies recognize adolescence as a developmental stage. Many societies mark adolescence with specific rites of passage that involve separation, mentoring, and acknowledgement from the community (Delaney, 1995; Markstrom, Berman, Sabino, & Turner, 1998). Rites of passage play significant roles in adolescent identity transitions in many cultures (Markstrom & Iborra, 2003). Conversely, boys in Western cultures are encouraged to separate and "stand on their own" in early adolescence, without any specific road map for doing so. Models of care are conspicuously absent at a very early age. In fact, individualistic societies such as the United States exhibit an almost homophobic concern for the ways in which boys express intimacy (Pollack, 1998, p.185). Pollack (2004) believes this "boy code" forces early and traumatic separation from parents ─ a forced individuation that may in fact be damaging to the development of a stable identity.

The concept of an adolescent identity crisis has its roots in stage theories of development. For example, Erikson (1959, p. 94) described the central task of adolescence as one of identity versus role confusion. Erikson wrote:

> "The adolescent mind is essentially a mind of moratorium, a psychological stage between childhood and adulthood, and between morality learned by the child, and the ethics to be developed by the adult. It is an ideological mind—and, indeed, it is the ideological outlook of a society that speaks most clearly to the adolescent who is eager to be affirmed by his peers, and is ready to be confirmed by rituals, creeds, and programs which at the same time define what is evil, uncanny, and inimical." (Erikson, 1963; p. 263).

During this stage, adolescents are trying to answer the question: "who am I?" in the context of peer, family, and society. While it is important for adolescents to see themselves as separate from their parents (Erikson, 1959, p. 95), the tendency to push boys to separate into islands of masculinity may create tension and isolation. In short, boys need to express and receive affection too.

In a series of interviews with hundreds of adolescent boys, Pollack (1998) found significant themes of longing to show affection coupled with fear of ridicule. Boys at the middle school showed a clear desire to show affection for one another, and they had devised multiple methods for doing so. Perhaps what is needed is a different conception of traditional models of child development with an eye toward gender differences. An adapted model of Erikson's stages is offered in Table 3. Each stage outlines specific "danger zones" for boys. It is important to understand gender differences in identity development in order to find methods of supporting it.

Table 3. An adapted model of Erikson's stages

Stage	Developmental Crisis	Task	Description and Danger Zones for Boys
Infancy (Birth-18 months)	Trust vs. Mistrust	Orienting to environment	This is the child's most basic foundation. Care-giving must be consistent, predictable, and reliable for boys to develop a sense of security and a trusting outlook toward the world in general. Caregivers who are inconsistent, distant, or rejecting will cause development of a basic belief system that the world is scary, unpredictable, and inherently unfair.
Early Childhood (2-3 years)	Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt	Self-care	Children need to develop a sense of personal control over physical skills and a sense of independence. Children need to explore but from a safe "base camp" provided by caring and consistent care-giving. This is an essential time for boys. In Western societies exploration and autonomy are highly valued in males. Boys need a "safe haven" to return to when exploration does not work out and to check for approval. The tendency in Western cultures is to downplay this "safe haven". Boys are told to "dust themselves off" and "get back in the game". Boys who exhibit behavioral inhibition are likely to be met with criticism and even embarrassment from parents. Conversely, behavioral inhibition is valued by Chinese parents (Chen et al., 1998).
Preschool (3-5 years)	Initiative vs. Guilt	Exploration beyond parents	Children begin asserting control over the environment. They practice initiating play and other social situations. Success in this stage leads to a sense of purpose. Boys, who tend to be less verbal at this age, may experience censure and disapproval when they attempt to direct play physically. Disapproval can lead to a sense of shame and lack of initiative.
School Age (6-11 years)	Industry vs. Inferiority	School	Children need to cope with new social and academic demands. Children need to feel a sense of accomplishment in their primary job, which is school. Accomplishment includes autonomy with school work and encouragement from parents and other adults in the community such as teachers. Boys may enter school at a cognitive stage that does not allow for the rapid development of reading (Jones, 2005; Shaywitz, 2003, p.77). This must be taken into consideration in modern schools with full day Kindergarten and a push for early competence with literacy. Success leads to a sense of accomplishment, while failure results in feelings of inferiority.
Adolescence (12-18 years)	Identity vs. Role Confusion	Peer Relationships	Teens need to develop a sense of self and personal identity. At this stage, children are asking the question: "Who am I?" (Markstrom et al., 1998). This is another danger zone for boys, in Western cultures, who are pushed to separate early (Pollack, 1998, p.82). Double standards in sex-role development may result in a sense of shame as boys venture out without a safety net. Boys are admonished for showing affection and/or talking about their feelings. In Western societies, this is considered "unmanly". Boys are made to feel afraid of being seen as a "wimp" or overly feminine (Pollack, 1998, p. 185). Success leads to an ability to stay true to yourself, while failure leads to role confusion and a weak sense of self. Shame at this stage may result in the inability to develop intimate relationships later in life.

Conclusion

Repeated observations of this particular hallway suggest boys are not engaged in traditionally "male" behaviors such as marking territory or aggressive role play. Boys in this middle school hallway were seeking affection through short, repetitive interactions with other boys. Boys directed proximity behaviors in groups and were the exclusive users of personal and intimate space. Boys directed the orientation of communicative partners toward self and others, and boys were the exclusive users of affectionate touch.

Limitations

This was a small-scale study with a convenience sample, so it is important to exercise caution in generalizing the results to the general population of adolescent white males. The literature on proxemics and kinesics allows us to develop a coding scheme on a common metric of human interaction. There is broad evidence that body language is universal (Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Hwang & Matsumoto, 2014; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013; Tracy & Matsumoto, 2008) For example, affect displays of pride and aggression/dominance are consistent across cultures (Hwang & Matsumoto, 2014). The universality of nonverbal communicative behaviors provides a lens through which it is possible to draw some inferences about the results. In this study, adolescent boys demonstrated the need for affection and belonging through body language and ritualized affectionate touch.

Implications

The implications of this study can be viewed in the context of adolescent boys' need for ritual to make sense of their own experiences of belonging. Adolescence is a major transition time between childhood and adulthood (Erikson, 1963). During adolescence, double standards about sex-role development can result in feelings of shame (Pollack, 1998). In Western societies, showing affection and discussing feelings is considered "unmanly". Boys are made to feel afraid of being seen as a "wimp" or overly feminine (Pollack, 1998, p. 185). Boys who develop hallway rituals to steal affection from one another may be reacting to attitudes about what it is to be male in Western society. Rituals construct common histories, set the rules and guidelines and transmit the guidelines about role identity from one generation to the next. In their most simple expression, rituals serve to identify, separate, and territorialize group membership. For some, rituals may mark passage into manhood (Pinnock & Douglas-Hamilton, 1997). Success leads to secure identity development, while failure leads to role confusion and a weak sense of self. Shame at this stage may result in the inability to develop intimate relationships later in life. It is for these reasons that it is important for educators to understand the unique challenges of boys as they develop. Boys may require more unstructured time to interact in group settings. At this stage, they may benefit from membership in groups that include defined roles and rituals. For example, activities such as ropes courses, rock climbing, hiking, and hands-on problem solving provide a set of rules embedded in a challenge to overcome. These types of activities mimic rites of passage and provide extended unstructured time for boys to form bonds that are based on group altruism rather than competition. ■

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