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Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors advances the study of college fraternities and sororities through a peer reviewed academic journal promoting scholarly discourse among partners invested in the college fraternal movement. The vision of *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors* is to serve as the premier forum for academic discourse and scholarly inquiry regarding the college fraternity and sorority movement.

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SUBMISSIONS:

Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors accepts submissions focused on articulating research involving fraternity and sorority members at the collegiate, alumni, inter/national organization, and volunteer advisory levels. Manuscripts should be written for the student affairs generalist who has broad responsibility for educational leadership, policy, staff development, and management. Articles on specialized topics should provide the generalist with an understanding of the importance of the program to student affairs overall and fraternity/sorority advising specifically.

Research articles for *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors* should stress the underlying issues or problems that stimulated the research; treat the methodology concisely; and, most importantly, offer a full discussion of results, implications, and conclusions. In the belief that AFA readers have much to learn from one another, we also encourage the submission of thoughtful, documented essays or historical perspectives.

Visit www.afa1976.org for more detailed submission guidelines.

QUESTIONS, OPPORTUNITIES, AND IDEAS:
ELEVEN YEARS OF RESEARCH IN *ORACLE*
GEORGIANNA L. MARTIN, *ORACLE* EDITOR

It is hard to believe that *Oracle* is finishing its 11th year! Although many in the field probably don't remember a time when AFA did not have a research journal, for some of us, 11 years in publication is quite a milestone considering the hard work, energy, and resources that have gone into creating and sustaining *Oracle*. Publishing a journal is no easy feat, particularly with limited financial and human resources. Yet, year after year mostly volunteers (e.g., the Editorial Team) paired with one full-time professional staff member (formerly at the Association national office, now with Synergos) work to make this publication happen. And of course, *Oracle* wouldn't be possible without the authors who submit their research for peer review! We close year 11 of *Oracle* with another good issue of original research and with a call for your continued support of *Oracle*. In particular, I encourage you to submit your research for scholarly peer review! Sometimes I hear from professionals who are nervous about submitting their research or who do not know where to begin to turn their thesis or dissertation into a publishable article. To that I say, we're here to help! One amazing thing about *Oracle*, is that 11 years into our existence, we remain a journal that is committed to helping new and emerging authors navigate the publication process. If you have a project you've completed and you'd like to see it published, but don't know where to begin, we can connect with you a member of our Editorial Team to work with you as a research partner to prepare your manuscript for submission. Please contact me to learn more if this sounds interesting to you! We remain particularly interested in submissions that shed light on the fraternity/sorority experiences of students of color and LGBTQ members as these student populations remain underrepresented in the research on fraternities and sororities.

This issue of *Oracle* also brings with it a new column that we hope to make a permanent feature of the journal. In this issue, you will find an inaugural book review. Adding a book review column to *Oracle* is another way we hope to make research accessible to our readers. If you are interested in writing a book review for *Oracle*, I encourage you to contact me to express your interest. We are especially interested in book reviews that highlight texts presenting original research (e.g., our inaugural book review is of the book titled *Paying for the Party*; this book is an overview of a qualitative research project exploring college students, party culture, and social class), however other book reviews will be considered as space and interest allow.

In this issue, you will find four original research articles and one book review. First, Gentry McCreary, Nathaniel Bray, and Stephen Thoma's article titled *Bad Apples or Bad Barrels? Moral Disengagement, Social Influence, and the Perpetuation of Hazing in the College Fraternity* leads the issue. They consider moral disengagement by exploring internal processes as well as environmental contexts. This quantitative article is methodologically rigorous and offers a new way to consider hazing research in the fraternity context. Next, Kristin Walker and Pamela Havice's article titled *Student Affairs Practitioners' Perceptions of the Career Development of Sorority Members* is a qualitative study that explores perceptions of sorority members' career development. Practitioners are often under studied in higher education and student affairs and this article offers an interesting glimpse into practitioners' perceptions of sorority women; these findings may be particularly important to share with undergraduate collegiate women. The third piece of original research in this issue is Shawn Dowiak's article titled *An Analysis of the Leadership, Student, and Moral Development of NIC Fraternity Men Controlling for Sexuality and Institution*

Size. This articles explores leadership, moral, and student development gains for NIC fraternity men adding to the body of literature exploring the “value added” component of fraternal organizations. A real strength of this article is its use of data from the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL). The fourth research article in this issue is *Perceptions of New Member Academic Engagement: A Mixed Methods Case Study* by Mark J. Hartley and Charles G. Eberly. Their study explored campus constituents’ perceptions of academic engagement (e.g., faculty perceptions, unaffiliated students’ perceptions) by fraternity new members. A real strength of this piece is its use of both quantitative and qualitative research tools to approach their research questions. Finally, closing this issue is Matthew Vetter’s book review of the book *Paying for the Party: How College Maintains Inequality*. In his review, Vetter highlights the unintended influence and pervasiveness of the “party culture” described by authors Armstrong and Hamilton and the role that fraternities and sororities played in this culture. Overall, this issue offers questions for consideration, opportunities to challenge, and ideas for future improvement. Happy reading!

BAD APPLES OR BAD BARRELS? MORAL DISENGAGEMENT, SOCIAL INFLUENCE, AND THE PERPETUATION OF HAZING IN THE COLLEGE FRATERNITY

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Moral actions are the product of the often complex interplay of affective, cognitive and social influences (Bandura, 2002). Research in the area of morality has focused heavily on the affective and cognitive functions of the moral decision-making process, with less attention devoted to the social, contextual, and environmental factors that impact moral action. Research suggests that contextual and environmental factors exert influence within each of Rest, Bebeau, and Volker's (1986) four components of morality. For example, in the fourth component, moral action, it is suggested that a number of environmental barriers may exist to prevent someone who has made a pro-social moral decision from actually following through on that decision, yet these relationships remain unclear. While moral behavior has been studied through a variety of lenses (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996; Hymel, Rocke-Henderson, & Bonanno, 2005; South & Wood, 2006), research has yet to fully disentangle the interplay of social influence, morality, and behavior. The research presented in this article attempts to address that void in the literature by investigating the influence of peer-group membership and environmental climate on the interactions between moral judgment, moral disengagement, and pro-social bystander behavior through an examination of fraternity

hazing on college campuses.

Bandura (2002) put forward moral disengagement as a framework to help us better understand the disconnect between moral character and the perpetration of inhumane action. He argued that moral agency involves affective self-regulatory personal standards that are linked to self-sanctions. One makes moral decisions in order to avoid the self-condemnation that comes along with violating one's moral standards. These moral standards, however, do not operate as fixed internal regulators of conduct (Bandura, 1990). The self-regulatory mechanisms that govern human behavior do not operate unless activated. Much like a light switch than can be turned on and off, there exists a series of psychological maneuvers by which one can selectively disengage the self-sanctioning process from the perpetration of inhumane conduct (Bandura, 2002). Bandura (1990) has suggested eight separate mechanisms by which this act of selective disengagement can occur: moral justification, euphemistic labeling, advantageous comparison, displacement of responsibility, diffusion of responsibility, disregard/distortion of consequences, dehumanization, and attribution of blame.

Collectively, Bandura's (1990) eight mechanisms provide a useful framework for understanding violent, abhorrent, and anti-social be-

havior. Moral disengagement has been employed as a lens through which to view a number of violent behaviors, specifically bullying and physical violence. Bandura et al. (1996) found that students prone to moral disengagement tend to be more irascible, ruminate about perceived grievances, exhibit low feelings of guilt or need for reparation, and engage in higher levels of interpersonal aggression and delinquent behavior. Their study also found that moral disengagement is negatively correlated with pro-social orientation and peer popularity. As noted earlier, the strongest predictors of injurious behaviors in their study were moral justification and dehumanization of the victim (Bandura et al., 1996). A number of other studies have also confirmed Bandura et al.'s (1996) finding of moral disengagement being strongly correlated with bullying and aggressive behavior among adolescents (e.g., Gini, 2006; Hymel, Rocke-Henderson, & Bonnano, 2005; Menesini et al., 2003).

Several studies examining moral disengagement have specifically suggested future research that controls social setting and context in a way that will allow for the investigation of the manner in which social setting interacts with moral disengagement to induce inhumane behavior. Detert, Trevino, and Sweitzer (2008) specifically suggested that future research should investigate the possibility that contextual factors such as climate, culture, and environment have independent and interactive influences on moral disengagement. Paciello, Fida, Tramontano, Lupinetti, and Caprara (2008) suggested studying moral disengagement considering internal mechanisms and environmental variables that operate at stimulus, social, structural, and contextual levels to influence individual and group behaviors. Through an examination of fraternity hazing, the current study investigates whether moral disengagement leading to tolerance for violent behavior is influenced by contextual and environmental factors and the moderating effect of moral judgment.

As noted by Zimbardo (2007), the social norms and situational pressures of a novel setting

can elicit intense and often pathological reactions from the individuals who find themselves in that novel setting. As in his Stanford Prison Experiment, the current study “disentangled person from place, disposition from situation, ‘good apples’ from ‘bad barrels’” (Zimbardo, 2007, p. 206) by evaluating the differences in bystander response time in a context-specific fraternity hazing scenario and a more general bullying scenario. This study adds to the body of knowledge regarding moral development by examining how the context of the fraternity culture, a culture with strongly established social norms (DeSantis, 2007), impacts the interplay of moral judgment and moral disengagement in an integrated moral model. Zimbardo (2007) specifically suggested college fraternities as a group worthy of further study in attempting to understand these relationships.

Literature Review

Current research on moral action breaks the process of moral decision-making into four separate and distinct parts: (a) the ability to interpret a situation as a moral problem; (b) the ability to make a moral judgment, discerning right and wrong; (c) the ability to choose a moral path over competing interests; and (d) the ability and wherewithal to follow through on the moral decision (Rest et al., 1986). The first component, moral sensitivity, has strong linkages to bystander behavior in that when subjects are unclear about what is happening in a moral dilemma, then they are less likely to intervene in a pro-social manner. Research also indicates that social situations can arouse strong feelings before any cognitive processes take place, suggesting that dehumanization and de-individuation in moral disengagement theory may affect moral sensitivity. That is, notions about an individual's worth or attractiveness may cause us to feel a strong dislike or feel empathy for someone before we cognitively assess the moral dilemma in a situation (Zajonc, 1980). The second component, moral judgment, involves an individual making a judgment about

a moral dilemma, determining which course of action is morally right, thus labeling a particular course of action as what a person ought to do in a given situation. The third component, moral motivation, requires that a person give priority to the moral values above other personal values such that a decision is made to do what one believes is morally right. Lastly, the component of moral action, suggests that an individual must have the perseverance, strength and skill necessary to implement the decision to behave morally and to overcome obstacles that would prohibit the moral behavior (Rest et al., 1986). These four dimensions, which Rest et al. (1986) described as The Four Component Model, represent a synthesis of the processes that direct moral action. The second component, moral judgment—the measure of how a person discerns right from wrong in choosing a course of action in a moral dilemma—is the primary lens, using a Kohlbergian tradition, through which fraternity hazing will be viewed in this study. In particular, this study will investigate the extent to which high levels of personal interest moral judgment fail to buffer moral disengagement and allow for the perpetration of hazing within the context of the college fraternity.

Fraternity Hazing

Hazing is a problem impacting adolescents and young adults on many high school and college campuses (Allan & Madden, 2008). Hazing is particularly problematic in colleges and universities across the United States. Between 1838 and 1969, 35 deaths occurred on college campuses as a result of hazing or alcohol abuse. In the next thirty years, that number climbed to over 210 (Nuwer, 1999) and has continued to grow. Hollman (2002) reported that more hazing-related deaths occurred between 1990 and 2002 than all previous college and university campus deaths of that nature on record. High profile hazing deaths have resulted in the criminal conviction of college students, the indictment of college administrators, and millions of dollars in punitive and

compensatory damages awarded to the families of hazing victims (Rutledge, 1998). While hazing exists on college campuses in a variety of organizational types, it is most commonly associated with social fraternities (Allan & Madden, 2008; Nuwer, 2010).

Cimino (2011) discussed three sociological factors that are often cited to justify or rationalize the hazing of newcomers in groups: solidarity, loyalty, and social dominance. Cimino argued that each of these can be boiled down to one fundamental factor, that hazing is designed to prevent newcomers from immediately exploiting the benefits of group membership. He further demonstrated that as the perceived benefits of group membership increase, so does the perception of the appropriate level of hazing severity (Cimino, 2011). This last finding is of particular importance to the present study as it will examine student responses to hazing happening along a continuum of escalating severity.

Despite a long history of injury, death, and litigation, hazing within fraternities remains both a widespread and commonly accepted practice on most college campuses. Allan and Madden (2008) found that 55% of students participating in clubs, organizations, and sports teams experienced hazing. The most widely reported forms of hazing include forced alcohol consumption, humiliation, isolation, sleep-deprivation, and forced sex acts (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo, Poulos, & Sipple, 2005). Allan and Madden (2008) also found that 69% of all students were aware of hazing practices on their campus, and that one in four students had personally witnessed hazing activities. The Allan and Madden (2008) study also debunked the myth that all or most hazing takes place behind closed doors. They found that coaches or advisors were present in 25% of the hazing cases reported, and that hazing occurring on campus often took place in a public setting.

Fraternity hazing is a valuable context through which to examine the interactions of moral disengagement and social setting for a several reasons. First, the fraternity setting is novel and unique

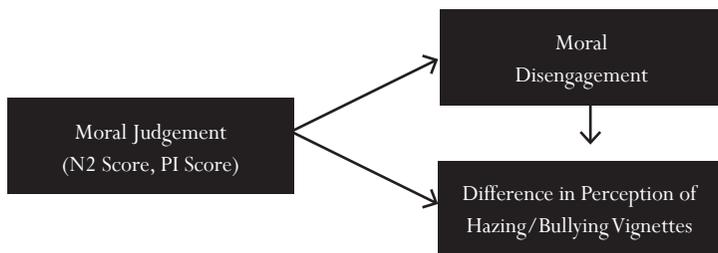
for both the perpetrator and the victim. The perpetrator has likely never been in a position of absolute power over the life of another, and the victim is unaware of the norms of the group and is often a willing participant in order to achieve social status within the group (DeSantis, 2007). As suggested by Zimbardo (2007), the novelty of this situation is not unlike the experience of the prisoners and guards in his simulated prison and is one that is likely to elicit moral disengagement. Secondly, the behavior of fraternities can be examined in multiple contexts. Each organization has its own unique cultural norms, and exists as part of a larger campus community with its own norms regarding hazing of new members—allowing for multiple levels of examination. Finally, the very nature of hazing lends itself neatly to many of the mechanisms of moral disengagement. The presence of a larger group of members opens the door for diffusion of responsibility and the bystander effect (Zimbardo, 2007). The fact that many students perceive the

positive benefits of hazing more than the negative consequences (Allan & Madden, 2008) suggests the presence of moral justification. That hazing takes place within a larger community involving many different organizations allows for advantageous comparison between groups and over a time continuum. Certainly, then, fraternity hazing should prove useful as a lens through which to examine the unique interactions of moral disengagement, social context, and behavior.

In understanding the relationship between social influence, moral disengagement, and violent behavior, the researcher hypothesized a causal model (Figure 1) in which moral disengagement predicts the difference in how fraternity members view violent behavior within the context of fraternity hazing and within the context of adolescent bullying. The model further hypothesizes that moral judgment will mediate the relationship between moral disengagement and attitudes about violent behavior.

Figure 1

Proposed Path Model of Moral Judgment, Moral Disengagement, and Difference in Intervention Response Time.



Method

Participants

The study was administered to male undergraduate students at four large, public, research universities in the southeast United States. The size of the institutions ranged from 17,000 to 30,000. All four are classified as either Carnegie Research Universities (high research activity) or as Carnegie Doctoral/Research Universities. These institutions were selected because of simi-

lar institutional demographics and the presence of large, traditional, and thriving fraternity communities with on-campus communal housing. The percentage of undergraduate students that are members of fraternities or sororities on the four campuses ranged from 14 to 28%.

At each of the four institutions, a random sample of 1,200 students, stratified to include 600 undergraduate fraternity members and 600 non-members, were selected to participate in the study. Expecting a low response rate due

to the length of the survey, this represented an oversampling of the population. A total of 200 students submitted fully completed surveys that were useable in the study, a response rate of 4.2%. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 23. The sample included four freshmen, 26 sophomores, 65 juniors and 105 seniors. The sample was 87.5% Caucasian ($n = 175$), 6.5% African American ($n = 13$) with less than 5% identifying as either American Indian/Native American, Latino/Hispanic, or other, and 1% unreported, reflecting the overall demographic breakdown of the institutions and fraternity communities studied. The sample included 37.5% fraternity members ($n = 75$) and 62.5% ($n = 125$) non-members. Participants were contacted via email to solicit their participation in the study and completed the survey online using the Survey-monkey software.

Measures

Moral Disengagement

The Moral Disengagement Scale is a 32-item survey developed by Bandura et al. (1996) and measures the degree to which individuals fail to self-censure their actions and engage in transgressive behavior. The scale assesses proneness to moral disengagement as demonstrated in different forms of detrimental conduct in a variety of contexts (Bandura et al., 1996). The items in the scale are designed to measure individuals' readiness to resort to moral justification, euphemistic labeling, advantageous comparison, displacement of responsibility, diffusion of responsibility, disregard or distortion of consequences, dehumanization of victims, and attribution of blame. Respondents are presented with statements involving justifications for a variety of acts and rate the degree to which they agree or disagree with the statements on a 5-point Likert-type scale.

Moral Judgment

In measuring the construct of moral judgment, this study employed the Defining Issues Test-2 (DIT-2). The DIT was derived from

Kohlberg's theory of moral judgment development, but instead of Kohlberg's production-oriented interview, the DIT presents a recognition task in which participants read a moral dilemma and then choose between a set of statements selecting the ones that best justify a course of moral action (Rest, Thoma, & Edwards, 1997). The DIT-2 was developed in response to criticism that the stories in the moral dilemmas from the original DIT were becoming outdated. The DIT-2 contains five moral dilemmas with streamlined instructions and more validity tests that attempt to purge fewer responses. In addition to the traditional P-Score, it also reports an N2 score, which measures the degree to which participants can distinguish between stage 4 and stage 5 and 6 items. The PI (personal interest) score measures the frequency with which individuals use personal interest, or selfish, pre-conventional reasoning, in making moral judgments. The MN (maintaining norms) score measures the individual's frequency of using social norms and societal rules as a means by which to make moral judgments. Finally, the DIT-2 was designed to include developmental phase indicators that would differentiate between consolidated and transitional levels of development (Thoma, 2006). The DIT-2 has been used extensively to measure moral judgment, and the internal reliability of the instrument is consistently above .80 (Rest et al., 1999). The researchers used the N2 score as the primary measure of moral judgment in testing the proposed moral model, and the PI score as a secondary measure of moral judgment.

Hazing and Bullying Vignettes

Although technically separate instruments, the two vignettes used in this study were designed to complement and interact with one another and, therefore, are discussed together in this section. The use of vignettes in social science research is well established, having been used in psychological research as early as 1951 (Hughes & Huby, 2002). Researchers have suggested that the rise in popularity of vignette research stems from the increased awareness of the limitations

of self-reported behaviors, particularly in studies of attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, and norms (Gould, 1996). Vignettes tend to be effective research tools because they are able to selectively simulate elements of the research topics being studied (Gould, 1996) and they often more closely approximate real-life decision making (Alexander & Becker, 1978). As noted by Alexander and Becker (1978), most people are not particularly insightful regarding the factors that enter into their own judgment and thought processes. Vignette research is valuable in detecting subtleties and nuances that, oftentimes, measures of self-reported attitudes or behaviors are unable to detect (Sumrall & West, 1998).

The vignettes used in the present research were developed through a multi-step process. As this research was designed to understand responses to escalating forms of hazing, having an understanding of how students viewed different forms of hazing was critical. A study by Ellsworth (2006) was particularly helpful in this regard. Based on how students defined hazing in Ellsworth's study, the author was able to develop an escalating scale of behaviors. Next, the author piloted this scale of escalating behaviors with a group of 12 students. When asked to place the items in order from least severe to most severe, 11 of the 12 placed them in the order in which they are presented in the vignettes. Next, the stories of the vignettes were constructed, and then a focus group with fraternity members was conducted to ensure that the vignettes were realistic. Lastly, the vignettes were piloted with both fraternity and non-fraternity members to ensure a normal distribution of responses and an adequate amount of variance. For a more detailed description of the development of the two vignettes, see McCreary (2012).

The developed vignettes depict two scenarios: fraternity hazing and adolescent bullying, with the person taking the survey in the position of a third-party bystander. The behaviors in the two vignettes are similar and escalate along an identical trajectory. The only difference in the vi-

gnettes are the context and environment in that one takes place in a fraternity house involving fraternity members, and the other takes place in a public park involving a group of boys playing football.

Research Questions

Specifically, this study attempted to answer the following:

RQ1 – Does the context of violent behavior influence fraternity members' perceptions of that behavior? Specifically, do fraternity members view violence in the context of fraternity hazing differently than they view similar violence in the context of adolescent bullying?

RQ2 – Do fraternity members' attitudes fit the hypothesized model? Specifically, do moral judgment and moral disengagement predict the difference with which fraternity members will view a fraternity hazing vignette and an adolescent bullying vignette?

RQ3 – Does the macro-level social context influence the relationship between the variables? Specifically, are the paths between the observed variables different on campuses with a pro-hazing culture when compared to campuses with a culture that is less supportive of hazing?

Results

Fraternity members were higher on levels of Moral Disengagement (MD), had lower N2 scores, and higher Personal Interest (PI) scores. Fraternity members were less likely to intervene in a hazing scenario when compared to an adolescent bullying scenario. Interestingly, non-members were also less likely to intervene in the hazing scenario. Fraternity members were slower than non-members to intervene in either scenario. Tables 1 and 2 contain a summary of these results.

Pearson's test for correlations was used to determine the relationships between the variables in the fraternity sample ($n = 75$) and the non-fraternity sample ($n = 125$) (see Tables 3

Table 1*Independent t-test of Fraternity and Non-Fraternity Males*

Groups	Both		Fraternity		Non-Fraternity		t-Test			
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	df	t	p	d
MD	64.92	15.18	67.97	14.14	63.09	15.55	198	2.22	.014	.32
N2 Score	32.56	14.82	29.73	13.61	34.25	15.30	198	-2.10	.019	-.31
PI Score	29.01	12.07	30.21	11.24	28.29	12.54	198	1.09	.139	.17
HazelInt	2.55	1.13	2.76	1.37	2.42	.94	198	2.06	.02	.30
BullyInt	2.32	.94	2.55	.92	2.19	.93	198	2.62	.005	.39
IntDiff	.63	2.22	.63	2.60	.63	1.97	198	-.016	.494	0

Note: N = 200, n (fraternity) = 75, n (non-fraternity) = 125

Table 2*Independent Samples t-test of Fraternity and Non-fraternity Members on the Hazing and Bullying Vignettes*

Group	Hazing Vignette		Bullying Vignette		t-Test		
	M	SD	M	SD	df	t	p
Fraternity	4.32	2.76	3.69	1.82	74	.040	2.089
Non-Fraternity	3.65	1.83	3.02	1.69	124	.000	3.587

and 4). For the fraternity sample, there was a significant correlation between moral disengagement and PI score ($r = .246, p < .05$), indicating that higher levels of moral disengagement correlated with an increased tendency to use personal interest considerations in making moral judgments. Additionally, moral disengagement positively correlated with differences in intervention response time ($r = .238, p < .05$) between the two vignettes. Higher levels of moral disengagement for fraternity members were related to larger differences between their intervention time in the hazing and bullying scenarios. These relationships were not significant for the overall sample or the non-fraternity sample. For the non-fraternity sample, intervention in the bullying scenario was positively correlated with moral disengagement ($r = .438, p < .01$) indicating that higher levels of moral disengagement were related to later interventions in the bullying scenario for non-fraternity members. The relationship between these variables was not statistically

significant among fraternity members.

Path Analysis

The researchers tested the path model hypothesizing the direct effects of moral judgment and moral disengagement on hazing attitude (specifically, the difference in intervention response time between the hazing vignette and the bullying vignette), as well as the indirect effects of moral judgment on hazing attitude, as mediated through moral disengagement. In all, three different models were tested using the PI (personal interest) score from the DIT-2 as a measure of moral judgment and are listed in Table 4. Although MN (maintaining norms) was the prevailing schema among the sample, previous research (Carroll, 2009) has found that higher PI scores, particularly among college students, create a scenario in which moral judgment fails to buffer moral disengagement. Similarly, in the present study, PI scores were more highly correlated with moral disengagement than the standard N2

score. Fraternity members using personal interest as a basis for moral decision making are more likely to support actions that benefit them, either directly or indirectly through benefiting their organization. Thus, PI scores were used in the path analysis to demonstrate the unique interaction of

personal interest, moral disengagement, and tolerance for hazing behavior.

In the model using Personal Interest (PI) as the moral judgment variable, two of the three path coefficients are in the direction of the hypothesized model for the overall sample and for

Table 3

Correlations between Moral Judgment, Moral Disengagement, and Bystander Intervention Responses for Fraternity Members

	1	2	3	4	5
	<i>n</i> = 75				
PI Score (Moral Judgement)					
N2 Score (Moral Judgement)	-.466**				
MD Score (Moral Disengagement)	.246*	-.063			
HazelInt (Hazing Intervention)	-.124	.052	.309**		
BullyInt (Bullying Intervention)	-.196	.078	.119	-.164	
IntDiff (Difference in Intervention)	.034	.034	.238*	-.279*	-.241

Note: ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed); * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed)

Table 4

Correlations between Moral Judgment, Moral Disengagement, and Bystander Intervention Responses for Non-Fraternity Members

	1	2	3	4	5
	<i>n</i> = 125				
PI Score (Moral Judgement)					
N2 Score (Moral Judgement)	-.696**				
MD Score (Moral Disengagement)	-.006	.052			
HazelInt (Hazing Intervention)	-.096	.095	.296**		
BullyInt (Bullying Intervention)	-.059	.014	.437**	-.222*	
IntDiff (Difference in Intervention)	-.030	.066	-.108	-.038	-.493**

Note: ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed); * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed)

fraternity members. As shown in Table 5, for the fraternity sample, the parameter estimates (B) for the path between moral judgment (as measured by the PI score) and moral disengagement is positive, indicating that moral judgment has

a direct effect on moral disengagement. In the fraternity sample, this path is particularly strong (B = .25, *p* < .05). The parameter estimate for the path between moral disengagement and intervention difference for fraternity members is

also positive and significant for fraternity members ($B = .24, p < .05$), indicating that moral disengagement has a strong direct effect on the difference with which fraternity members viewed the hazing and bullying scenarios. For the non-fraternity sample, the direction of each of the paths as measured by the parameter estimates do not support the hypothesized model. The negative path between moral disengagement

and intervention difference indicates that moral disengagement influenced non-members' intervention in the bullying scenario to a greater extent than their intervention in the hazing scenario. That is, the path analysis indicates that moral disengagement influenced bystander behavior in the bullying scenario for non-members, but influenced bystander behavior in the hazing scenario for fraternity members.

Table 5
Path Model 1

Effects	PI → MD		MD → INTDIFF		PI → INTDIFF		PI → MD → INTDIFF		Total Effects
Formula	1		2		3		(1x2)**		(1x2)+3
	B	error	B	error	B	error	B	B	
Both	.087	(.07)	.036	(.07)	-.006	(.07)	.003		.002
Frat	.25*	(.11)	.24*	(.12)	-.03	(.12)	.06		.034
Non-Frat	-.006	(.09)	-.11	(.09)	-.03	(.09)	-.0006		-.030

Note: *Indicates a Significant Path; **Indicates the indirect effect of Personal Interest on Intervention Difference

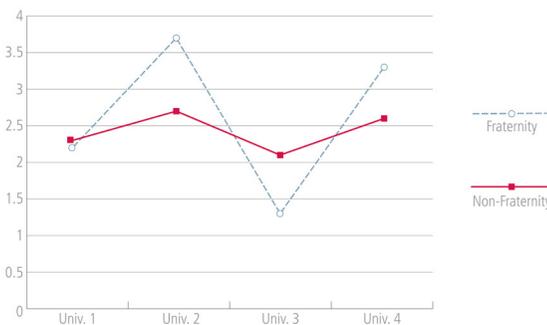
Macro-level Differences

Four different institutions were examined in this study. In examining the data, it can be determined that two of the institutions had a “pro-hazing” fraternity culture, in which fraternity members were significantly more supportive of hazing than non-members, as measured by their response to the fraternity hazing vignette. The remaining two schools could be described

as having a “hazing-neutral” fraternity culture, in which fraternity members’ views of hazing were similar to that of non-members, as measured by the fraternity hazing vignette. These two groups are best demonstrated in Figure 2, in which the fraternity culture at Universities 1 and 3 can be described as “hazing-neutral” and the fraternity culture at Universities 2 and 4 can be described as “pro-hazing.”

Figure 2

Line Graph of Two-way ANOVA Showing Mean Hazing Intervention Response between Fraternity Membership Status and Institution



Limitations

To determine the differences among the paths for fraternity members in “pro-hazing” campuses compared to fraternity members at “hazing-neutral” campuses, the institutional grouping variables were recoded to combine University 1 with University 3, and to combine University 2 with University 4. Then, the file was split in SPSS along the lines of the newly recoded University groupings and fraternity membership. Using correlation analysis, the researchers discovered different relationships among the variables between the fraternity members on “pro-hazing” campuses and those on “hazing neutral” campuses, as demonstrated in Tables 6 and 7 and the path model showing relationships between the PI, MD, and Hazing Intervention (HAZE) variables in Table 8. Overall, the relationships between all of the variables were significantly stronger on pro-hazing campuses than on hazing neutral campuses.

There are a number of limitations to this study. The low response rate limits the ability to generalize the results to the overall population. Despite the low response rates, moderate effect sizes were still observed. Due to the length of time required to complete the surveys (participants took between 45 and 60 minutes to complete the entire survey), future studies of this nature should provide incentives to participants in an effort to increase the response rate. The sample was primarily white and upper-middle class. Future studies should specifically target fraternities from the National Pan-Hellenic Council, National Association of Latino Fraternal Organizations, and other culturally-based organizations to determine if the relationships among the variables in this study are also evident among those groups. The institutions in this study were

Table 6
Correlation Matrix for Fraternity Members on Pro-Hazing Campuses

	<u>1</u> n = 39	<u>2</u> n = 39	<u>3</u> n = 39	<u>4</u> n = 39
PI Score (Moral Judgement)	1			
MD Score (Moral Disengagement)	.417**	1		
HazeInt (Hazing Intervention)	.195	.412**	1	
BullyInt (Bullying Intervention)	.046	.281	.393*	1

Note: ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed) * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed)

Table 7
Correlation Matrix for Fraternity Members on Hazing-Neutral Campuses

	<u>1</u> n = 39	<u>2</u> n = 39	<u>3</u> n = 39	<u>4</u> n = 39
PI Score (Moral Judgement)	1			
MD Score (Moral Disengagement)	.080	1		
HazeInt (Hazing Intervention)	-.242	.231	1	
BullyInt (Bullying Intervention)	-.307	.013	.287	1

Note: ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed) * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed)

Table 8
Path Model 2

Effects	PI → MD		MD → HAZE		PI → HAZE		PI → MD → HAZE	Total Effects
Formula	1		2		3		(1x2)**	(1x2)+3
	B	error	B	error	B	error	B	B
ProHaze	.41*	(.16)	.41*	(.15)	.20	(.16)	.168	.368
HazeNeut	.080	(.17)	.23	(.17)	.26	(.16)	.018	.278

Note: *Indicates a Significant Path; **Indicates the indirect effect of Personal Interest on Hazing Intervention

all large, public institutions in the Southeastern United States, further limiting the generalizability of these findings to various institutional types and other geographical regions.

Discussion

The findings of the present study lend considerable support to the proposed link between context and social influence, moral disengagement, and violent, anti-social behavior. Individually, fraternity members are less likely to intervene in a context-specific hazing scenario than in a more general bullying scenario, and the difference by which they view those two scenarios is predicted by moral disengagement. At the community level, the relationships between personal interest morality, moral disengagement, and hazing attitude is twice as strong in an environment that tends to be supportive of hazing when compared to an environment in which hazing is viewed less favorably. Collectively, these findings suggest that contextual factors such as climate, culture, and campus environment have independent and interactive influences on moral disengagement.

Given that a vast majority of the fraternity members in this study showed the highest responses in the Maintaining Norms score on the DIT-2, it stands to reason that institutional culture regarding hazing is particularly important in determining how fraternity members view and respond to hazing. As noted by Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau, and Thoma (1999), individuals in the Maintaining Norms schema define moral-

ity through adherence to the established social order. They further suggested a duty orientation, in which an individual in the Maintaining Norms schema clings to a perceived “chain of command.” Decisions are made not out of respect for authority, but out of respect for the established social system (Rest et al., 1999). In an environment where anti-social behavior is part of the accepted system, individuals in the Maintaining Norms schema are likely to be quite beholden to that system and have little inclination to behave in a way that runs contrary to the widely held views within that system. Thus, it seems reasonable that in an environment laden with individuals in the Maintaining Norms schema (like a college fraternity, for example) is one that is particularly ripe for moral disengagement leading to anti-social behavior. Fraternity members also measured higher on PI scores, which significantly influenced the relationship between moral disengagement and responses to the two vignettes. Much of the hazing reported on college campuses, particularly within fraternities, could be described as benefiting the individual perpetrating the hazing or the organization providing the context for the hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008). It would appear that higher PI scores make it easier for fraternity members to disengage from their moral selves and support more severe forms of hazing.

In the fraternity sample, there was a significant relationship between moral judgment, as measured by the PI score, and moral disengagement ($r = .246, p < .05$). This relationship was not present in the non-fraternity sample or in

the overall sample. This finding is consistent with those of Carroll (2009), who found a significant relationship between moral judgment and rape-supportive attitudes among fraternity members, but no significant relationship among those variables for non-members. There was also a positive correlation ($r = .238, p < .05$) between moral disengagement and the difference in intervention response time between the two vignettes. Again, this relationship was not present in the non-fraternity sample or in the overall sample. In fact, there is a weak negative correlation between moral disengagement and intervention difference within the non-fraternity sample. This finding is of particular interest, as it suggests that the novel setting of the college fraternity has a unique influence on the relationship between moral judgment, moral disengagement, and attitudes about violent behavior only within a particular context. In the fraternity setting, a novel setting with unique cultural norms (DeSantis, 2007), moral judgment and moral disengagement significantly influenced the difference in how fraternity members responded to bullying and hazing scenarios.

There were also differences between the fraternity members and non-members. While in the fraternity sample there was a significant correlation between moral disengagement and intervention in the hazing scenario ($r = .303, p < .01$), the relationship was weak and not significant for non-members. Conversely, the relationship between moral disengagement and intervention in the adolescent bullying scenario was significantly correlated ($r = .438, p < .01$) for non-members. This relationship was weak and not significant in the fraternity sample. Based on group membership, moral disengagement had a unique interaction with the two bystander behavior variables in that it influenced hazing intervention in the fraternity sample, and it influenced bullying intervention in the non-fraternity sample. This finding provides additional evidence that environment and context have individual and interactive influences on

moral disengagement, and that those influences impact individual and group behavior. This finding confirms those of Carroll (2009), who noted significant relationships between moral disengagement and rape-supportive attitudes among fraternity members, but not among non-members. The present study goes beyond Carroll's findings, however, in evaluating how the grouping variable (fraternity vs. non-fraternity) interacts with moral disengagement in a setting that is context-specific (fraternity hazing) and one that is not (adolescent bullying). Carroll (2009) suggested in her findings that there may be factors in the fraternity environment that increase the likelihood of moral disengagement. While this may be true, the present study, particularly the finding of a significant relationship between moral disengagement and bystander response in the bullying scenario for the non-fraternity sample, indicates that moral disengagement influences behavior in different ways among different groups, depending on the context and the particular behavior in question.

These findings also have practical implications for educators, particularly those concerned with the prevention of hazing on college campuses. These findings would indicate that hazing behavior, at least within a campus fraternity community, is a vicious cycle that becomes more severe over time. Students, using personal interest/maintaining norms judgments, engage in hazing behavior. Slowly, this behavior permeates campus cultural norms, triggering more disengagement and more severe forms of hazing. From a prevention standpoint, educational initiatives must be aimed at addressing lower levels of moral judgment, particularly Personal Interest, in a way that will block the moral disengagement that allows this cycle to continue. Programs should also directly confront the mechanisms of moral disengagement which allow for hazing behaviors to persist. Multiple studies have suggested that students who join fraternities during their freshman year lag in terms of their moral development in relation to their non-affiliated peers

(Pike, 2006). The findings of this study suggests that deferred or delayed recruitment (not allowing students to join fraternities until later in their collegiate careers) may indeed be a means by which to stop the cycle of hazing and prevent hazing by bringing students into these organizations at higher levels of moral development. More research on this is needed.

If, as the findings of this study suggest, moral disengagement is triggered by cultural and social influences regardless of moral judgment, the implications for both scholars and practitioners of violence prevention are profound. To borrow the “bad apples/bad barrel” analogy used by Zimbardo (2007) in analyzing the behavior of the guards in his simulated prison, the findings of this study suggest that the barrel provides a more reliable prediction of anti-social behavior than the apple, particularly when the behavior in question is taking place within a specific context with unique and salient cultural norms. Future research should consider the influence of context and environment when investigating the relationships between moral agency and behavior. In particular, research should investigate campus cultural norms and perceptions that lead to “pro-hazing” or “hazing-neutral” cultures as described in this study. Practitioners of violence prevention should also take note, as these findings suggest that adjusting cultural norms within a particular group or community may be of paramount importance in efforts to reduce violence. There is much to be gained in better understanding how particular contextual factors interact with moral disengagement to produce violent, inhumane behavior.

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STUDENT AFFAIRS PRACTITIONERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF SORORITY MEMBERS

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This qualitative study utilized Super's Developmental Theory (1980) to explore practitioners' perceptions of sorority members' career development. Researchers interviewed five practitioners who work with sorority members in a variety of capacities. Four themes emerged: alignment of environment and values, connection between life cycle and membership, balancing multiple formal and informal roles, and impact of past experiences on future experiences. Implications included providing earlier education and support on transitioning between roles within and outside the sorority chapter, council, and community, providing structure reflection, and increasing collaboration between career centers and offices of fraternity/sorority life.

Social fraternities and sororities exist to promote the development of their members through high scholastic, civic, and leadership standards (Kelley, 2008; Sermersheim, 1996). Banning and Kaier (1974) stated, "...institutions themselves bear responsibility for the design and creation of campus environments, arranged appropriately for meeting educational purposes" (p.371). Sororities or women's fraternities also share this responsibility. Aspects of these organizations have changed over time resulting in shifting resources away from their original missions of providing environments for intellectual development and preparation for post-collegiate life or career (Turk, 2004).

Ironically, many individuals tend to use the terms career and job interchangeably, including some student affairs practitioners. Sororities have the potential to fulfill their mission by playing a key role in students' career development. When practitioners fully understand the definition of career and the evolving world of work, practitioners can proceed with intentionality. A gap in the literature currently exists in this area. The purpose of this study was to examine student affairs practitioners' perceptions of the career development of sorority members.

Literature Review

Before providing the theoretical framework for this study, the researchers examined multiple studies and theories in the literature on fraternities and sororities, leadership development, and career development.

Fraternity/Sorority Literature and Leadership Development

Practitioners, specifically in fraternity/sorority life (FSL), work with members serving in leadership positions to navigate risk management, support service and philanthropic endeavors, maintain high scholastic challenges, and increase membership. FSL staff must also collaborate with sororities' organization staff members and local advisors to deliver programming that aligns with organizational and institutional missions. An ongoing challenge for FSL staff is the necessity of repetitive counseling and advising due to the rotation of members through fraternity/sorority organizations and specific leadership positions (Long & Snowden, 2011).

Several studies surveyed sorority members themselves about leadership and outcomes (Bureau, Ryan, Ahren, Shoup, & Torres, 2011; DiChiara, 2009; Kelley, 2008; Long & Snowden, 2011; Pascarella, Flowers, & Whitt, 2009). These

studies and others focused on self-reported data, often by members serving in formal leadership roles. Practitioners were not included in these studies, yet practitioners often develop and coordinate a majority of educational programming. Researchers have developed studies to identify if there is a difference in the educational gains of fraternity/sorority members in comparison to non-members (Long & Snowden, 2011; Pascarella, Flowers, & Whitt, 2009). Kelley (2008) saw the impact of fraternity membership on career success as it relates to leadership, specifically individuals who served as their fraternity's chapter presidents.

To broaden the body of literature, DiChiara (2009) used the Student Leadership Practices Inventory (SLPI) as the instrument to investigate if leadership styles were different based on the various governing councils for different fraternities and sororities based on the North-American Interfraternity Conference (NIC), National Panhellenic Conference (NPC), and National Pan-hellenic Council, Inc. (NPHC). Many organizations, especially National Panhellenic Conference (NPC) groups, use national-level leadership programming that all of their chapters implement (Taylor, 2010). Two councils had either all male or all female members and the other two councils had both male and female members. While DiChiara (2009) could not find significant differences in the leadership styles between the groups, which aligned with previous studies, there was significance when examining specific traits. The women's groups fostered more collaborative relationships rather than competitive relationships and also demonstrated more respect and dignity than their male counterparts (DiChiara, 2009). Taylor's (2010) study supported the same findings about the development of relationships being key to leadership development and thereby contributing to their career development and success.

Even though leadership styles impact fraternity/sorority members' career development, these studies tended to focus on positional lead-

ers rather than all members. Furthermore, the studies relied on self-reported outcomes and perceptions of the impact of fraternity/sorority membership. In addition to reviewing several studies about FSL, leadership development, the researchers examined career development studies and theories.

Career Development

Whitmarch and Wentworth (2010) raised important points about the impact of gender on career choice. They connected their study to Goffredson's (2002) theory of circumspection, compromise, and self-concept as well as Holland's (1997) typology of careers. The factors that go into making a career or vocational choice is part of someone's career development. Whitmarch and Wentworth (2010) supported that women are drawn to careers in the categories of Social, Artistic, and Conventional while men choose Realistic and Investigative. The author also connected socioeconomic status to career choices. The research reflected national findings with the career choice of men and women. Women were continually drawn to careers within the Social area, which involved developing strong interpersonal relationships and social connectedness. These qualities connected to characteristics of women's style of leadership, which aligned with the DiChiara's (2009) study referenced earlier. Even though it could be valuable to ask student affairs practitioners about their perceptions of the career fields sorority members select, their opinions would not yield usable results that connected with the focus of this study.

Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule's *Women's Ways of Knowing* (1986) acknowledged women's multiple identities such as race, ethnicity, geography, and religiosity, can impact cognitive development (Love & Guthrie, 1999). The authors argued the five epistemological perspectives are not gender specific but are gender related. If a goal of sorority membership was

to figure out how to think rather than what to think, the Ways of Knowing framework could be helpful. For example, fraternities and sororities have local advisors in addition to FSL staff whose purpose is to be resources rather than give the exact answers on how to solve challenges. When members go from seeing these people as resources that can provide points of view rather than absolute answers, sorority members can construct answers.

Lent, Brown, and Hackett's (2002) Social Cognitive Career Theory connects self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and goals to how career choices are turned into actions. Fisher, Gushue, and Cerrone (2010) examined how variables such as gender and sexual identity impact career aspirations. Fisher et al. (2010) addressed the gaps in research about the career development of women and specifically, lesbians. While all sorority women do not identify as lesbians, the authors acknowledged how several studies pointed to the importance of family support as it related to career or vocational development. Often times college students are away from their families while in college. A sorority environment has the potential to provide the missing family support that used to exist on a day-to-day basis. Other studies outside of education suggest membership in multiple group organizations can assist with transitions, such as transitioning into college, roles within a group, or careers (Jones & Jetten, 2011). Fisher et al. (2010) indicated that support of the family and friends positively affected participants' career aspirations and development. These studies served to reinforce how student development, especially the career development process that occurs during collegiate years, can be quite complex.

Theoretical Framework

Rather than focusing solely on leadership, cognitive development, or career choice, the researchers chose Super's Developmental Theory (1980) to ground this study. The three compo-

nents to the theory are life stages, self-concept, and life roles. The theory examines an individual over a lifetime or life span. Super's (1980) life stages include: growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and disengagement. He stated a person should spend a certain amount of years in each stage during one's life or career. Sorority members do not join an organization and immediately serve in high-level, formal leadership roles. They must grow as people by integrating the organization into their lives and by being involved in something larger than themselves. Once established in the sorority chapter, members can maintain the status quo before being forced to disengage. Even though sorority membership is for life, the researchers defined the life span to be the time members spent in their sororities during college.

In addition to the stages, Super (1980) argued that feedback or perceptions of individuals around people affects individuals' self-concepts. Another effect on self-concept involved if the individual or other people perceived the development as on time in relation to a standard (Super, et al. 1963). Using Super's Developmental Theory (1980) allowed the researchers to explore how practitioners perceived the self-concepts of sorority members. If sorority members believe they have the skills, support, and strategies to be successful after college in their career choices, perhaps professionals can capitalize on putting programs or environments in place to build self-concept.

The evolution of life roles is another component of the theory considered in this study. Munson and Widmer (1997) suggested career counselors should holistically think of career as a larger concept rather than just an occupation, so roles like leisure can be included. Super (1980) identified roles that individuals take on during life such as worker, spouse, homemaker, student, son or daughter, parent, leisurite, and citizen. Super's Life Span Rainbow (1980, 1990) showed how these roles can shift over time and allowed for different roles to have different lengths and

intensity based on the individual. People can also experience satisfaction and stress simultaneously when playing multiple roles (Super, 1980, 1990). Once individuals identify how to navigate life in multiple roles, they can utilize various strategies to juggle multiple roles later in the life. Using Super's Theory to examine the central research question allowed the researchers to examine if sorority members are developing strategies they can employ later in their careers.

Research Design

Sample

Since the research site did not have a large FSL staff, the target population was student affairs practitioners who had directly or indirectly worked with sorority members in a full-time, professional capacity. Due to graduate assistants being very close in age to the college students, the researchers did not include them in

this study. Focusing on practitioners allowed the researchers to better understand how the individuals advising members and developing programming perceive the career development of sorority members.

There were five female participants in this study: two affiliated with National Panhellenic Conference (NPC), two affiliated with National Pan-hellenic Council, Inc. (NPHC), and one affiliated with a local sorority at her undergraduate institution. The five participants came from different undergraduate and graduate institutions, and none of the participants had earned a degree from the research site. The participants joined their personal sororities at different times of their collegiate years. All participants had held formal and informal roles within their sororities and experienced a variety of advising or supervisory roles post-graduation. The advising capacity listed in Table 1 reflects the participants' roles at the time of the study.

Table 1
Participant Demographic Information

<u>Name</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Council Affiliation</u>	<u>Year Joined</u>	<u>Advising Capacity</u>
Alpha	Female	Non-NPC	Freshman	Direct
Beta	Female	NPHC	Sophomore	Direct
Gamma	Female	NPC	Junior	Indirect
Delta	Female	NPHC	Sophomore	Indirect
Epsilon	Female	NPC	Sophomore	Indirect

Using the techniques of convenience sampling and referral method (Creswell, 2009), the researchers coordinated with the research site's Assistant Director of Fraternity/Sorority Life and other staff members to identify individuals who would possibly be willing to participate in interviews by distributing the researchers' contact information. These methods achieved the desired number of and differences in individuals needed to provide insights to the research question (Creswell, 2009; Litoselliti, 2003; Patton, 1990).

Data Collection and Analysis

One of the researchers conducted face-to-face semi-structured interviews with the five participants. Semi-structured interviews allowed interviewees "to explore a topic more openly and... express their opinions and ideas in their own words" (Esterberg, 2002, p.87). After providing a consent letter to the participants, the researcher used a digital recorder during the interviews to ensure accurate transcriptions. Interviews lasted from thirty to forty-five minutes.

An interview protocol guided the interviews.

After building rapport with the participants, the questions focused on their perceptions of the career development of sorority members using Super's Developmental Theory (1980). The questions addressed the three main components of life stages, self-concept, and life roles. For example, one of the questions had participants describe the life cycle or the journey of a sorority member during her collegiate years within the context of her chapter, organization, and/or council. Another question focused on participants describing the different roles they saw members of sororities playing in their lives inside and outside of their chapters, organizations, or councils. The researchers' sought to explore Super's (1980) stages, self-concept, and roles as it related to sorority members while allowing the interviewer flexibility to ask clarifying or follow-up questions.

After collecting the data, the same researcher that conducted the interviews transcribed each interview from the recordings and assigned Greek letters to each participant to provide anonymity. The researchers considered several options for analysis. To honor the diversity of the participants and their experiences, the researchers used In Vivo style for the first cycle of coding and thematic analysis for the second cycle of coding. In Vivo coding preserves the participants' original intent by focusing on the participants' direct words rather than making inferences (Creswell, 2009; Glesne, 2011; Saldaña, 2013).

After coding each individual interview, the researcher who conducted the interviews began comparing the key words and phrases between interviews and identified themes and descriptions. The themes and descriptions helped to define the categories. The categories helped create a coding scheme for a second cycle of coding (Saldaña, 2013). After this coding, the researcher read through the documents again to determine if topics should be combined or separated (Creswell, 2009; Saldaña, 2013). The second researcher served as a peer-debriefer to also review the coding (Creswell, 2009). Both

researchers found alignment with Super's Developmental Theory (1980).

Strategies for Trustworthiness

Qualitative validity refers to the researchers checking for accuracy by using certain procedures (Creswell, 2009). First, the researchers incorporated language from Super's Developmental Theory (1980) into the interview questions. Second, since one researcher conducted and initially coded the data, it allowed the second researcher to review the coding and themes without being clouded by initial biases. Third, the researchers used member-checking to provide participants with the opportunity to review their transcripts and clarify anything that did not read as they intended (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Positionality of Researchers

In qualitative inquiry, researchers should acknowledge their background and positionality as it relates to the topic. The researcher who conducted the interviews and analysis will claim her positionality helped to inform the research. She is a member of one of the 26 National Panhellenic Conference (NPC) organizations, but her sorority did not have a chapter at the research site. Participants could speak freely about their perceptions. She had first-hand experience of what it was like to go through college being a leader within and outside of her sorority as well as working directly with several campus professionals. As a volunteer and professional for over a decade, working with sorority members in a variety of capacities informed this study. This insight allowed the first researcher who conducted the interviews to ask appropriate follow-up questions, which led to rich data.

The second researcher has a broader knowledge of higher education and various developmental theories. Additionally, the second researcher was a more experienced researcher which allowed her to play an important role during the data analysis phase of the study.

Strengths and Boundaries

The researchers acknowledge the strengths and boundaries of this qualitative study. They did not intend to generalize the findings. Merriam (1998) explained how qualitative research seeks small, nonrandom samples, “because the researcher wishes to understand the particular in depth, not to find out what is generally true of the many” (p. 206). Since this study aimed to begin filling a gap in the literature, the researchers interviewed five practitioners to begin gaining an understanding of how they perceive the career development of sorority members. Due to the nature of advising a larger community at the research site, student affairs practitioners, especially FSL advisors, cannot directly interact with all members. Even though the researchers based the findings on the experiences and perceptions of participants with varied personal and professional backgrounds, participants admitted they cannot speak to the development of all sorority members due to the nature of working with members in formal leadership positions. Therefore, the intent of this study was not to generalize the findings but to assist in informing future studies.

Findings

During the coding process, it was important to not force the theory into the findings. In the end, the findings aligned with the major areas of Super’s Developmental Theory (1980). The researchers organized the findings around four themes: (1) alignment of environment and values, (2) connection between life cycle and membership, (3) balancing multiple formal and informal roles, and (4) impact of past experiences on future experiences. The following sections provide samples of participants’ quotes that supported the identified themes.

Alignment of Environment and Values

Participants described how sorority member-

ship provided an environment that aligned with students’ values. For example, participants described achievement, altruism, creativity, and social interaction. Participants provided concrete examples of members being able to see these values play out and develop strategies they used in future situations.

In discussing her perceptions on values, Alpha shared how:

[She] sees a lot of women that are so excited and so passionate and want to create so much change and they’re just like trying to find anything, any resource that can help them be better and motivate their members.

While Alpha discussed her experience with one member, she identified several values:

I think probably her involvements before school and her desire to serve I think is a value of hers. Serving others is I think what’s influenced her to be so satisfied and so involved. And that doesn’t mean that I think she comes in and she’s frustrated with chapter members’ behavior or lack of involvement, but she is still so excited to figure out how to motivate them, how to get them involved.

All five participants discussed how recognition and working together to make an impact were important to members. Beta specifically discussed how:

When it comes to award recognition and things like that, they take pride in being able to say here are all the great things we’re doing on campus...They love that sense of satisfaction from that sense of achievement. When they can say they are moving their organization forward or in a different direction or when they can say, I implemented this new program to help our seniors get more involved and we’re seeing such a huge turnaround in senior apathy because we’ve now given them a place that they can declare or say that is their own. Or we raised this much more money than we did this year than last year or they can say under their tenure they achieved recognition either from the university or with their national organization, so I think

those women that like if they can see the change they're making they're fulfilled in it.

Holland's (1997) work supported the participants' perceptions of sorority members finding an environment that aligned with their values. After graduating from college and continuing their careers, these individuals need to continue finding environments that align with not only their interests and skills but also their values.

Connection between Life Cycle and Membership

When sorority members pledge to an organization, they vow it will be a lifelong membership. For the purposes of this study, the interview questions asked participants to focus on describing the life cycle of members during a member's collegiate years. All five of the participants described the same cycle of membership. Membership reflected life cycle stages as growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline (Super, 1980). Beta specifically referenced:

Little bit of a slanted bell curve where you're starting out really small and narrow-focused and then it grows and expands.

Even though Beta expanded on the slanted bell curve image, Delta went into even more detail by stating:

They [sorority members] are super engaged, super involved um, with the organizations... I have seen them take on more of those positional leadership roles...they have much more of an idea of what's the purpose of this larger governing group and how does it connect to other governing groups, the institution, the administration... For the Panhellenic organizations, I find that as they get older, I know disaffiliated is not the word that I'm looking for, but their connections tend to wane from that - I'm on fire for this organization - in that first year maybe two to ah, I'm getting ready to graduate...I've got to get a job and so there may not be as much of a participation kind of in those senior years.

Epsilon described a very similar cycle to Delta and even used some of Super's (1980) language:

Most women go through that freshmen year trying to figure out who you are outside of your sorority and then there's these impacts of how the sorority...so I think the first year is very much like exploring who I am and then exploring who I am in relation to this new organization that I'm a part of...I think that sophomore and junior year from what I saw is very much like that emersion, like you are involved, very much impacting the group. I think you're finally in that place where maybe you're more comfortable in who you are and in your values and in how you connect to that organization. ...And then what I saw...is that senior year is like, there's some checking out of the organization.

By progressing through the life cycle of sorority membership in college, members have strategies to navigate similar situations in the future as they can take on different roles during their careers.

Balancing Multiple Formal & Informal Roles

Participants described sorority members holding formal and informal roles both within and outside of their organizations. Alpha referenced how collegiate members can struggle with whether or not to take on a role as it relates to the other informal or formal roles they are holding. She discussed how her advising conversations typically sound like:

What are you gonna let go and what are you going to drop because you can't dedicate all of your time to these ten activities. Usually their signature block on their email is a mile long with all of their involvements and positions.

Part of balancing multiple informal and formal roles is handling the confusion that exists when one role is in conflict with another role. Gamma provided an example of this confusion for a sorority member who also served the campus as a Residential Assistant on her hall:

In their residential community, they're an authority figure, and responsible for holding students accountable...They may see those exact same things happening in an off-campus context in their organization and don't have any authority.

Epsilon identified that many of the sororities at the research site support their members playing roles outside of their sororities. Specifically, she stated how they:

Seem to have this identity outside of their sorority experience. I appreciate the women that I see that are in church organizations or in community organizations where they're playing the role of mentors to other people or even just familial roles being a big sister in real life, not sorority life, and being you know, daughters, sisters and friends, and aunts and all of that kind of stuff.

As students take on or find themselves in different roles at different points in their collegiate sorority membership, they are identifying mechanisms for balancing these roles and having to reconcile when a role must come to an end. Gamma specifically stated:

I've seen sorority members whose self-worth was so wrapped up in the positional piece that they didn't quite know who they were when that was no longer part of them. I've seen people be plenty successful too, but I can think of a couple of people in particular who their whole identity was about the organization and about that position. And when either they walked away from it by chance or by choice...they were a completely different person.

Throughout individuals' lives, they will take on different paid and unpaid roles. The summation of these roles is defined as a career (NCDA, 2008).

Impact of Past Experiences on Future Experiences

Participants' described that if sorority members met their own and other members' expectations of their roles, then it would result in the

member engaging in similar roles in the future. If it was a negative experience, it would result in the member no longer pursuing those roles. All five participants indicated positive and negative experiences related to voluntarily taking on these roles or having to take on roles without having a choice. Delta indicated:

I think a lot of it has to do with how well-liked they feel they are within the community. It's almost this vote of confidence that they feel like perhaps that they either get from their organization and so therefore, I'm gonna be president because I've been given lots of positive affirmations and encouragement from my community, which at that point might be my organization. Then once I became the president and am interacting with the other presidents and they like me and I'm getting lots of good, positive affirmations from them, maybe I will go on and decide I want to be CPC president. I think a lot of it is all of that and confidence in their own abilities may have a lot to do with it as well. When they feel like they have the backing of the community and folks supporting them then that makes them more confident to seek out some of those roles of increasing responsibility.

Gamma provided an example of a member who did not pursue any other formal roles within her chapter after serving and being removed from the position of president:

Those who have a harder time staying the course or who are younger, so sophomores have talked about the struggle of providing leadership to that organization and feeling like it hurt them more than helped them. I can think of someone in particular who ended up being removed actually from the presidency. Her organization was seeing me for a conduct matter, and when I met with her she just articulated that like I was not prepared for this. I was not prepared for this, and I didn't know how to do it. And I felt completely, completely lost.

All five participants discussed that when sorority members see something they want to change or improve about the organization and

take on a formal role, then even if things did not go perfectly, they are still satisfied and pursue similar opportunities. Alpha reaffirmed that:

They're the least satisfied when they're not the ones that pursued that opportunity to be in a position.

The influence past experiences have on future experiences impact an individual's self-concept. The paid and unpaid roles individuals chose or do not chose to take on through one's life or career is directly related to self-concept.

Discussion

Whether it was talking about the different roles sorority members play within or outside of their sororities, chapters, or council, or what prompts them to make transitions, the examples from participants came from experiences with members in formal leadership positions. Due to participants having more contact with sorority members in formal leadership positions rather than members-at-large, they acknowledged this difference during the interviews. These examples connected with Long and Snowden's (2011) research that found a difference in educational gains between members who had and had not served in leadership roles. In the study "educational gains were defined as members' growth in abilities, such as personal development skills, interpersonal skills, and leadership skills..." (p.1).

Alignment of Environment and Values

While not part of Super's initial work (1980), participants mentioned how members found value in their sorority membership. They described an important aspect of the sorority environment that did not seem to exist in other ways for students to be involved on campus. The emphasis on numerous values led the researchers to look further into the literature.

Super, Sverko, and Super's (1995) work discussed the fourteen work values established from the international findings of the Work Importance Study. They argued that different careers

and environments provide opportunities for different work values. According to the participants in this study, the sorority environment provided an opportunity for members to engage in ten out of the fourteen work values (Super, Sverko, & Super, 1995). The values shared most frequently by participants were social interaction, achievement, altruism, and ability utilization.

While the interview questions did not lead participants to discuss values explicitly, every participant directly mentioned values at different points in the interviews. In the beginning of the interviews while building rapport, each participant indicated several of these values being a reason for joining a sorority themselves. While participants' experiences were not the focus of this study, they reinforced the current experiences of collegiate members.

Obtaining different experiences allow individuals to develop self-awareness. Holland (1997) argued individuals need to consider their interests, skills, and values when considering different jobs. When participants shared the experiences of members they worked with during their careers, they rarely mentioned helping members connect what they valued about the sorority environment to future environments where they would thrive.

Connection between Life Cycle and Membership

Each participant described the same cycle of membership, which reflected the life cycle stages of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline (Super, 1980). For example, participants mentioned exploring which formal leadership positions might be of interest to someone or grooming someone for a position. Super (1980) described this stage as exploration. The bell curve image participants used also aligns with Super's (1980) work. Participants described this life cycle of membership with ease and without hesitation.

As participants discussed examples of specific collegiate members, they identified empower-

ing, pivotal, or challenging times that helped students advance through these stages. Additionally, they noted how if chapters were larger in size it was easier for some members to not engage at the same level as other members. They noted how there were only so many formal leadership positions, so it was a challenge for all members to be at the same level of engagement.

Super (1980) estimated each stage in a person's life would take a certain amount of time and occur within certain years of one's life. Participants in the study connected different stages to different years a sorority member was in school. For example, freshmen and some sophomores spent time learning about the organization and meeting other members. After a semester, members would explore different engagement opportunities more intentionally. Looking at the downward side, seniors would begin to disengage from the chapter after transitioning out of their leadership roles. As a result, the steepness of the decline process directly related to a member's level of involvement.

Participants shared that more times than not, the life cycle was predictable. They acknowledged the structure of college also contributed to the predictability. At times participants mentioned capitalizing on this knowledge when working with seniors. When practitioners can recognize the life cycle of membership, they can capitalize on it and allow it to serve as a way for members to build strategies for the future as they navigate their careers.

Balancing Multiple Formal & Informal Roles

By chance and choice, sorority members are balancing roles in different "theaters" (Super, 1980). Without asking the questions in a way that utilized terms from Super's Development Theory (1980), participants used the language of the roles mother, daughter, and citizen. The examples participants shared supported the work of Fisher et al. (2010) regarding the importance of family. The sorority environment provided a

way for members to support one another in ways outside of leadership roles. Having the family-like support allowed the members to navigate challenges and seize opportunities they may not have had otherwise.

According to the participants, members learned how to navigate balancing roles, transitioning between roles, and reflecting on confusion when a role is in conflict with another role. More so, participants discussed how sorority members had to reconcile who they were in and outside of their organizations, chapters, or councils. Once members graduate from college, they will face times when one of their life roles will make fulfilling another life role difficult or impossible. Participants reflected how sorority members had the opportunity to experience this dissonance in their collegiate years. At times the participants mentioned having developmental conversation with students about managing multiple life roles.

Another component to life roles was saliency and intensity. Participants mentioned how some members in executive leadership roles could not see themselves outside of that role. When considering the National Career Development Association defines career as the summation of the paid and unpaid roles a person plays over a lifetime (2008), individuals have to acknowledge the different roles and identities they have experienced. If a role takes on too much of a presence, participants said members did not know what to do when they no longer served in that role. This critical point was where life roles met the life cycle in Super's (1980) work. Participants saw the sorority environment providing the opportunity for members to practice handling these challenges.

Impact of Past Experiences on Future Experiences

Super (1980) described roles by having two components: expectations and performance. Participants' descriptions aligned with Super's findings that if members met their own and other

members' expectations of the role by performing, then it would result in the member engaging in similar roles in the future. If it was a negative experience, it would result in the member no longer pursuing those roles. Ultimately these experiences impact an individual's self-concept.

Participants made a connection between the values discussed earlier and self-concept. Participants reported members wanting to be part of something larger than themselves, be recognized for their accomplishments, and make an impact. These values evolved into the standards that impacted a members' self-concept. The stakes were also higher in executive leadership positions. If members did not achieve the desired outcomes or perform at the level they expected, participants shared how it would be devastating to members. Likewise, if members excelled, they felt empowered to go from chapter president to a position on their council or student government.

Another factor that made a difference in self-concept was whether or not individuals chose to serve in roles. Examples illuminated the importance of this circumstance. Even though some members sought out certain leadership positions, other members seemed to serve by default. For those members serving by default, lacking the desire or confidence to serve placed them at a disadvantage. If things did not go well, it would further hinder the member from seeking leadership roles in the future.

Positive and negative experiences in formal and informal roles affect future collegiate and post-collegiate roles. The sorority environment allows for members to gain experience by taking on different responsibilities, managing multiple roles, gaining skills for the future, and obtaining clarity on what they do and do not want in future environments. Since the research participants noted a strong connection between how members navigate a role and willingness to pursue roles in the future, practitioners have the opportunity to be more intentional to ensure learning

occurs with positive and negative experiences. Given that sorority members will continue to have multiple roles after college, members can continue to develop strategies allowing them to navigate their careers with more confidence.

Implications

A number of practical implications for student affairs practitioners, FSL advisors, and organization staff members can be taken from the results of this study. The basis for these implications rests on the definition of career as, "a sequence of positions held during the course of a timeline, some of them simultaneously (Super et al., 1957).

Educate Members Early and Often

Student affairs practitioners and organization staff members must support sorority members earlier in their membership life cycle to ensure positive impacts on career development. Sorority members need to understand the different informal and formal roles they can take on in the sorority chapter, council, community, and outside of the fraternity/sorority community. Educating members on what transitioning from role to role looks like, so they are prepared is important. While many campuses, like the research site, believe in a more inclusive leadership definition having these conversations will support these leadership definitions.

FSL staff should partner with campus career centers to facilitate career development conversations. Knowledge occurs out of experience only when time for reflection exists (Kolb, 1984). Providing opportunities for dialogue and reflection at different stages in the life cycle would benefit sorority members. Allowing students to process what they are feeling while balancing multiple roles and transitioning between roles will help them clarify their feelings and what future roles they may decide to occupy. Some conversations may be beneficial to have within

class levels. At the same time., it may be advantageous for younger members to hear about the experiences of older members. Student affairs practitioners need to be equipped with counseling skills to have these conversations both in one-on-one and group settings. The more members are encouraged to see what other members are experiencing can allow them to understand how to process their feelings upon leaving the collegiate environment.

Engage Members-at-Large

As Long and Snowden (2011) clearly indicated, the fraternity/sorority experience should positively impact all members, not just members who serve in leadership positions. The research site's division of student affairs understands leadership to be inclusive, relationship-based, and non-positional with the goal of making sustainable, positive change (Research Site, 2010). This philosophy is echoed by campuses and organizations across the country. While embracing this understanding of leadership, all members should be able to successfully progress through Super's life cycle while in college. If institutions of higher education along with sororities can provide this environment, assisting sorority members with their career development will occur.

Practitioners, advisors, and organizations' staff members need to consider ways to provide roles for larger chapters. Utilizing more committees to allow members to explore different opportunities, improve their self-concept from having positive experiences, and experience transitioning roles will positively impact members' career development. FSL staff can also look beyond traditional methods for leadership roles. Members can serve as career-peers to help members across different sororities. Serving on different FSL programming or conduct boards can also serve as possibilities. Practitioners should think beyond traditional officer structures to provide every member with meaningful opportunities. Members will also be better prepared to contribute in executive leadership roles and roles

outside of the sorority.

Encourage Involvement Outside of the Sorority

Supporting sorority members in having an identity outside of their sorority will encourage them to think about more than one facet of their lives. When members are encouraged to serve in a variety of formal and informal roles in college, members will learn different methods of balancing roles that will be beneficial after college. During reflection conversations, practitioners can help normalize the idea of doing more than having a job after graduating from college. Sororities should capitalize on their alumnae by coordinating panels and networking opportunities. Alumnae can easily speak to the multiple roles they have in their lives, transitioning jobs, maintaining ties to family and friends, accomplishing goals, and falling short in different areas of their lives. Just as younger collegians can benefit hearing from older collegiate members, seniors can benefit hearing from alumnae in different stages of their lives. These opportunities will help members see that the sorority environment helped prepare them to navigate their careers.

Equip Members with the Vocabulary

A challenge for career counselors in higher education is helping students translate their experiences, either by including those experiences on professional documents such as resumes and cover letters, or by articulating those experiences verbally in an interview. Beyond technical skills like writing a budget or planning an event, it is incumbent for all campus and organization professionals who work with sorority members to help them understand how their experiences are preparing them for their careers, not just the first job. Whether it is through discussion groups, programming, or one-on-one meetings, sorority members should understand how this piece of their overall education is preparing them for their futures as well as managing the multiple roles Super's Development Theory (1980) says

people will take on during a lifetime.

Finally, several career development theories discussed in the literature review involved individuals needing to know what their work values are to identify an appropriate career environment. Practitioners and career counselors can help students articulate their values that allow them to identify potential industry or volunteer environments that align with their values. Whenever practitioners can provide opportunities for sorority members to see the relationship between their out-of-the-classroom experiences to their futures, the members gain a clearer picture of what a successful life looks like after college.

Areas for Further Research

Career development is a large concept as defined by Super (1980). This study focused on life cycle, self-concept, and life roles. Future studies could consider the development of transferable or soft skills. Participants also noted mentoring/grooming as being a factor in a sorority member pursuing formal roles. Super (1980) did not include mentor as a defined role. In considering the term “big sister” as a role model and mentor, the examples provided by the participants provides insight into another research study. Future research could explore the connection between formal and informal mentoring and the ability to serve in various formal leadership roles. Future studies could also examine the experience of sorority women who are not in formal leadership positions.

This study supported the complex nature of the career development of college students as well as fraternity/sorority membership from the perspective of student affairs practitioners. Future studies could focus on the perceptions of chapter advisors who are not employed by the university since they may have a broader perspective of working with an entire chapter, not just its leadership. Investigating the perspectives of graduate students or organization staff

members or volunteers who work with different sororities, chapters, and councils could be informative. Ultimately it would be beneficial to explore sorority members themselves either while they are in college or after a designated time period. While this study focused on female members, mostly of NPC organizations, from a mid-sized public institution, it would be important to investigate if the theory is applicable to men’s or multicultural organizations as well as different types of institutions where chapter and campus population sizes vary.

Conclusion

This study sought to fill a gap in the literature by examining how student affairs practitioners perceive the career development of sorority membership. With an evolving world of work and younger generations being on track to change jobs at a higher rate than previous generations, sororities can play an integral role in better equipping thousands of college students every year to navigate their careers, not just their first jobs out of college. The topic of investigating career development made the research timely and relevant. If career development theories are not taken into consideration when counseling students or developing programming, student affairs practitioners and organization staff members could be missing out on the opportunity to optimize member development.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE LEADERSHIP, STUDENT, AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT GAINS OF NIC FRATERNITY MEN CONTROLLING FOR SEXUALITY AND INSTITUTION SIZE

SHAWN M. DOWIAK

The study presented in this article examined the contributions of ritual to the fraternity experience, as well as challenges that exist for fraternity men in order to frame an examination of leadership, moral, and student development gains, measured on a leadership continuum, using data from the 2012 administration of the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership, while controlling for institution size and sexuality. The findings reveal a picture of near parity in the development of leadership constructs between fraternity men and non-affiliated men, with some exceptions.

Introduction

Fraternities have been part of the landscape of higher education since the early years of the American college experience (Anson & Marchesani, 1990; Rudolph, 1990), and while the role of fraternities on campus has evolved over time, similar core values have always been purported to be a compelling reason for fraternities under the umbrella of social development (Rudolph, 1990). However, serious doubts have been raised as to whether or not North-American Interfraternity Conference (NIC) fraternities are successful experiences, and whether they pose any value for today's college students (Flanagan, 2014a; Flanagan, 2014b; Friedman, 2008; McCurtie, 2015). Therefore, an analysis of the moral, student, and leadership development of NIC fraternity men using national data from the 2012 administration of the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL) provides a snapshot into the leadership, student, and moral development gains made by NIC fraternity men. Further, when analyzing these gains while controlling for sexuality and campus size, a specific knowledge and acumen into the NIC fraternity experience is gained that can assist the fraternity/sorority professional in fostering best practices among diverse student populations.

At one time, NIC fraternities were made up of only the most homogenous memberships, usually comprised of students who were White,

presumed straight, and affluent (Dilley, 2005; Rudolph, 1990; Syrett, 2005; Syrett, 2009). However, NIC fraternities, in their most visible form, are college organizations, for it is through membership in a college chapter that most men are initiated (NIC, 2012). As such, as times changed, so did fraternities (Horowitz, 1987).

Today, NIC fraternities claim to be egalitarian, and to admit students regardless of race, creed, or national origin (NIC, 2015). However, when considering gay, bisexual, and questioning fraternity members, earlier researchers have observed an "invisible membership" (Case, 1996, p. 1; Case, Hesp, & Eberly, 2005, p. 1). While the NIC, the trade association that represents 74 (inter)national fraternities, recognizes the need for its member organizations to offer membership to all college men without regard to race, creed, or national origin, it does not offer a statement concerning the admittance of men regardless of their sexual orientation (NIC, 2015). Windmeyer and Miller (2012) state that approximately 10 % of NIC fraternities' headquarters have adopted non-discrimination clauses regarding sexual orientation; consequently, students' experiences are often left up to the climate of the campus and the community. Therefore, the leadership, student, and moral development of gay/bisexual/questioning (GBQ) fraternity men is important to examine using a national dataset as GBQ students represent a specific subset of the fraternity population, and a population that is

currently understudied (Case, 1996; Case, Hesp, & Eberly, 2005; Dilley, 2005). Additionally, by considering the leadership, moral, and student development gains of heterosexual students as well, the current study offers insight into the entire fraternity population.

The Importance of the Fraternity Ritual

Fraternities have, within their organizational structure, a strong symbolic frame that can provide direction to students' as they seek to personally develop (Bolman & Deal, 2013; Callais, 2002; Callais, 2005; Eberly, 1967; King, 2010). Despite a press toward values-alignment and a strong symbolic frame, fraternities have experienced significant problems that have plagued both the organizational structure of undergraduate NIC fraternity chapters and which has affected the overall success of fraternity men (Allan & Madden, 2008; Dugan, 2008; Fernandez & Pérez-Peña, 2015; Flanagan, 2014a; Flanagan, 2014b; Friedman, 2008; McCreary, 2012a; Sasso, 2012a). McCreary (2012b) and Sasso (2012b) both claim that a lack of best practices and concerns within the fraternity/sorority profession may explain why fraternities fall short of their stated values.

The Current Challenge of Fraternity

Fraternity/sorority professionals at the (inter)national office and on the college campus are under a barrage of attacks from the media for the continually escalating negative press that NIC fraternity chapters bring to college campuses (Fernandez & Pérez-Peña, 2015; Flanagan, 2014a; Kelderman, 2015; McCurtie, 2015). These difficult challenges seem to have eclipsed the earlier concerns of hazing that have permeated the fraternity experience for decades and that are still a concern for today's fraternity chapters (Allan & Madden, 2008; McCreary, 2012a). Despite the concerns that consistently challenge the fraternity/sorority profession, the relationship that currently exists between fraternity headquarters professionals and campus-based pro-

fessionals has been characterized as a "divorce" (McCurtie, 2015, p. 6). Further, fraternity/sorority professionals have not had access to best practices for over a decade (Gregory, 2003), and current researchers in the field make it clear that best practices are rarely supported or used by fraternity/sorority professionals (McCreary, 2012b; Sasso, 2012b).

Additionally, men in NIC fraternities have little national headquarters advisement with the exception of having young, traveling consultants visit them who are fraternity employees and who have varying levels of education and training (Sasso, 2012b). Regarding the (inter)national office, a continued movement toward the professionalization of the Executive Directorate at each office continues to take place (Dunn, 2005). However, in some organizations, the question of who the (inter)national office of fraternities actually serves (i.e. the best interests of the students or the preservation of national fraternity assets) has been called into question (Flanagan, 2014a).

On campus, advisement at larger institutions is often primarily done by graduate students with professional staff oversight. Also problematic is that fraternity/sorority professionals oftentimes remain in their job for less than four years (Sasso, 2012b). This high turnover rate is disconcerting because it demonstrates a clear lack of continuity in program structure at each institution with a fraternity/sorority community. What is worse, despite core competencies for fraternity/sorority professionals, there is no modern compendium of best practices that fraternity/sorority professionals can consult in order to assist them in being successful (Gregory, 2003, McCreary, 2012b; Sasso, 2012b).

This lack of stable advisement, best practices, and professional experience in the field frames the backdrop of developmental gains related to fraternity men and provides a foundation upon which to build the current study. Further, the lack of overall congruence between the supports provided to NIC fraternity men from the host

institution and from the (inter)national office no doubt frames the potential outcomes for fraternity members (McCurtie, 2015).

One analysis of the problems facing undergraduate NIC fraternity chapters links fraternity men's reliance upon popular culture's notion of fraternities as vehicles of hedonistic excess to the idea of fraternities as values-based organizations. This dissonance may be the result of fraternity men seeing their fraternity's ritual merely as a tradition as opposed to a vehicle for change within their organization (Bolen, 2013; Callais, 2005; Eberly, 1967; King, 2010). Additionally, the lack of cohesive best practices by fraternity/sorority professionals on campus and within the (inter)national office adds to this inability of fraternity men to properly use their ritual as a way to shake off the hedonistic excesses of fraternity life (Callais, 2005; Eberly, 1967; McCreary, 2012b; Sasso, 2012b).

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the current study is to analyze the fraternity experience through the lenses of campus size and sexuality to determine the moral, student development, and leadership gains made by fraternity men. Additionally, leadership gains are used for bivariate analysis of moral and student development gains; earlier studies into the fraternity experience have done similarly (Christman, 2013; Dowiak, 2016; Shalka, 2008; Shalka & Jones, 2010). The development of leadership in fraternity men is a purported primary purpose of the fraternity experience (Biddix, Matney, Norman, & Martin, 2014). Therefore, analyzing the moral development of fraternity men along Kohlberg's (1987) moral development scale and self-authorship along the continuum described by Baxter Magolda (2008; 2009) using leadership principles that align with these developmental outcomes is apropos to the fraternity experience as established in the literature (Christman, 2013; Dowiak, 2016; Shalka, 2008; Shalka & Jones, 2010). Finally, the current study seeks to distinguish itself by controlling for sex-

uality and institution size – two understudied areas of fraternity research as identified in the literature.

Literature Review

Fraternity Members and Socially Responsible Leadership

Fraternity men have been analyzed for socially responsible leadership in previous literature. Wisner (2013) compared fraternity men in cultural fraternities (e.g. National Pan-Hellenic Council [NPHC] fraternities) to fraternity men from predominantly White social fraternities (e.g. NIC fraternities). Wisner found that cultural fraternity men had significantly higher mean scores than fraternity men in predominantly White social fraternities on every question on the citizenship measure of the Socially Responsible Leadership Scale (SRLS). This is important to the current study as it demonstrates a direct analysis of social fraternity men's performance on the SRLS.

In another study using the Socially Responsible Leadership Scale Version 2 (SRLS-2) using data from the 2009 administration of the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL), Johnson, Johnson, and Dugan (2015) found that Interfraternity Council (IFC) fraternity men showed significant differences from National Panhellenic Conference (NPC) sorority women in their propensity to develop socially responsible leadership. Additionally, sorority women in general, regardless of council affiliation, showed significant differences from men on leadership development in aspects of the social change model. It is clear, from the studies of both Wisner (2013) and Johnson et al. that IFC or NIC fraternity men show a significantly lower propensity for leadership development. What remains to be seen is how particular sub-populations of IFC fraternity men seem to perform with regard to their leadership development.

In yet another study that used MSL data from the 2009 administration, Supple (2015) found

that fraternity and sorority membership had a negative impact on social perspective taking. Social perspective taking contributes to moral reasoning, which is one of the outcomes being measured in this study. In fact, using data from the MSL, Supple (2015) found that fraternities and sororities actually attracted men and women with lower social perspective taking. Similarly, Shalka and Jones (2010) found that fraternity men did not demonstrate significantly greater growth in the variable on the SRLS called Consciousness of Self; Shalka (2008) determined that Consciousness of Self was a congruent variable with self-authorship as elucidated by Baxter-Magolda.

In a counterinterviewing study, Martin, Hevel, and Pascarella (2012) found that among freshman students, fraternity and sorority membership had a positive effect on some of the subscales of the SRLS. However, in a follow-up study two years later, Hevel, Martin, and Pascarella (2014) found that fraternity and sorority membership had no significant effect on leadership development based on the scales of the SRLS by senior year. Therefore, while fraternity and sorority membership might have had some impact during the freshman year of college development, that impact was short-lived and did not continue until the end of the senior year (Martin et al., 2012; Hevel et al., 2014). Further, Hevel et al. (2014) found that the gains found in the earlier study by Martin et al (2012) were not replicable in the later study.

Despite the strong advocacy for fraternity membership as a leadership development experience, the literature focused on NIC fraternity membership has trouble baring out those claims.

Sexuality and NIC Fraternity Membership

In 1996, the first national study of lesbian (lesbian, gay, and bisexual) fraternity and sorority members was conducted (Case, 1996) and was presented again in a peer reviewed form nine years later (Case, Hesp, & Eberly, 2005). Case found over 500 respondents to his 32-ques-

tion survey. Over 90% of the study respondents were men; women were less likely to be involved in the study because the addition of women to the survey took place after the survey had already been in distribution (Case, 1996). The study focused on simply creating a typology of the “lesbigay” fraternity/sorority experience. This seems like a logical first step in the research on gay, bisexual, and lesbian fraternity and sorority members, who have traditionally been so deep in the closet that they were described by Case (1996) as the invisible membership.

Through the survey results, Case (1996) determined that on average gay or bisexual members made up approximately 5% of each chapter. Additionally, gay and bisexual fraternity men and lesbian sorority women were chapter leaders at a rate of over 80% of that survey sample (Case, 1996; Case, Hesp, & Eberly, 2005). Further, many of the men and women in the study (almost 70%) faced some sort of homophobia as a result of membership (Case, 1996). The Case study was extremely important because it gave a snapshot for the first time into the membership of an organization that some have claimed is hyper-masculine and gave visibility to what was once invisible (Case, 1996; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Additionally, in relation to leadership development, earlier studies have already demonstrated that fraternity and sorority leaders have high rates of leadership development; therefore, if GBQ members of fraternities are in the leadership of their chapter at a rate of 80%, then that could bode well for GBQ students leadership development in the context of their fraternity membership (Case, 1996; Case et al, 2005; Cory, 2011).

As a follow-up to the Case (1996) study, Hesp (2006) found that gay fraternity men experienced tremendous obstacles when they sought to affiliate with a fraternity. In his ethnography, Hesp (2006) found that gay students often try to mask their true identity by giving rise to heteronormative behavior (e.g. such as bringing a female date to fraternity functions). What is

interesting in the Hesp (2006) study is the way that the gay men in this study characterized the values and support that their fraternity provided them through its training and rituals.

In contrast to Hesp (2006), Dilley (2005) frames several categories for collegiate men who are not straight, and three of these categories relate to the fraternity experience: closeted, normal, and parallel. Closeted students are characterized by Dilley (2005) as living on the fringes. They neither identify with heterosexual students nor with gay or queer students. The men in this category may have been closeted for fear of social revision, arrest or incarceration, or forced therapy (Dilley, 2005). Closeted students did not allow themselves to interact in situations that could reveal their sexuality, but they were aware of their sexuality and the implications of it (Dilley, 2005). Dilley (2005) finds that Closeted students had a sexual and personal identity associated with their sexuality, but hid it. The implications for these findings in the current study are of paramount importance considering other fraternity researchers have found that most gay/bisexual members enter their fraternity as closeted individuals (Dilley, 2005; Hesp, 2006). By contrast, those students that Dilley classified as "normal students" did not have an identity that was non-heterosexual. The men in this category would engage in homosexual behavior, but not consider themselves any different from other "normal" students (Dilley, 2005). They would engage only in tearoom (e.g. public and random) sexual experiences. What is interesting about normal students is their ability to see their sex lives as separate from their identity. Therefore, "normal" students do not seem to see themselves as existing within a closet. "Parallel students," on the other hand, are identified in Dilley's (2005) study as realizing that their sexuality was a clandestine life that they led alongside their normal, on-campus life.

Dilley's (2005) research bears heavily on the current study. Fraternity men who engaged in either closeted, normal, or parallel experiences,

as defined by Dilley (2005), would each have different experiences within their fraternity, and would all have a contrasting experience with heterosexual fraternity men. This is because the student may not see a way to integrate their life in the fraternity house with their sex life. No doubt, these characterizations are applicable to students today, and therefore it is likely that sexuality may have a bearing on the leadership and student development of fraternity men (Dilley, 2005; Hesp, 2006).

What is emerging as a divergent view from previous studies is that fraternities are becoming more accepting of gay and bisexual men. In their cohort analysis, Rankin, Hesp, and Weber (2013) found a significant difference in students and alumni who joined their fraternities prior to the year 2000 and after the year 2000. Men who joined fraternities after the year 2000 found more acceptance of their sexuality (Rankin, Hesp, & Weber, 2013). The researchers concluded that the fraternity communities studied at the colleges were indeed becoming more diverse and less of a place where LGBT students had to worry about the perception their sexuality had on their fraternity membership for fear of being shunned by their fraternity brothers (Rankin, Hesp, & Weber, 2013).

What follows next is an analysis of the relationship between campus size and the fraternity experience. While there is little literature on this topic, there is good reason to consider that, like sexuality, campus size may play a role in fraternity members' development.

Campus Size as a Factor in Leadership, Student, and Moral Development

The current study analyzes the effect of institution size upon the effectiveness of NIC fraternity members' gains in leadership, student, and moral development, while at the same time creating a second control for campus populations.

There has been a demonstrated connection between both campus size and chapter size and the relative success of fraternity/sorority chap-

ters. Lounsbury and DeNeui (1996) found in their study that there was a negative correlation between psychological sense of community on campus and the increase in institution size. Additionally, Lounsbury and DeNeui (1996) found that psychological sense of community was more positive among fraternity and sorority members. Psychological sense of community encompasses feelings of belongingness, togetherness, attachment, commitment to the setting, positive affect, concern for the welfare of the community, and an overall sense of community (Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1996).

In initial, unpublished research, one researcher looked at the progression of sisters of sororities toward what was termed “selfless sisterhood,” which developed among sorority women who had a common goal or purpose in their chapter (McCreary, 2015). What is interesting to note in the initial display of findings that McCreary (2015) provided, is that a chapter size where the women in the chapter have over 150 members results in the decreased ability to find common purpose, and thus a regression toward selfish sisterhood (what can I get from fellow members) as opposed to selfless sisterhood (what can I give to fellow members).

Conversely, one study found that fraternity gains in leadership and diversity were congruent in a regression model only when fraternity chapter sizes were bigger (Turk, 2012). Turk (2012) provides a relatively small explanation of the effect of openness to diversity and leadership based on chapter size, and does not find a topping out point as does McCreary (2015).

Research into institution size calls to mind the research of others who found that 150 people in a social organization is the maximum that a social organization could hold and still function to provide membership development (Dunbar, 1992; Gladwell, 2002). Fraternity chapter size should have a link with undergraduate college/university population size, but the literature is unclear on this.

Additionally, in a study by Gleason (2012), in-

stitution type was used to compare scores on the SRLS omnibus measure of the MSL. The SRLS Omnibus measure shows the overall gains that a student makes in all aspects of the SCM (Gleason, 2012). Gleason (2012) separated institutions by Carnegie Classification, and found no significant difference in the omnibus scores based on institution type. Carnegie Classification measures schools by type (e.g. Research Institution-High, Master’s level institution, bachelor’s level institution, etc.) (Gleason, 2012). Therefore, Gleason’s (2012) findings are relevant to the current study because bachelor level institutions tend to be smaller and research institutions tend to be larger. So, when Gleason is controlling for Carnegie classification he is really controlling for institution size. However, despite the significant similarities that Gleason found based on institution type, it is clear that Gleason did not differentiate by student characteristics or involvement (Gleason, 2012).

Analyzing the leadership, student, and moral development of fraternity men while controlling for institution size and sexuality will lead to a clearer understanding of the fraternity experience. What follows next is the theoretical and conceptual frame for the current study.

The Theoretical & Conceptual Frame

The Social Change Model (SCM) is the primary theoretical frame for the current study and is the conceptual framework for the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL) – the source of data used in this study (Astin & Astin, 1996; MSL, 2015a). The SCM posits that the Individual, the Group, and the Society move in concert with one another to foster leadership development on seven contingencies (e.g. the seven “C’s”) in order to foster the eighth C, change (Astin & Astin, 1996). These seven constructs work in concert with the particular components of the model, namely, the Individual, the Group, and the Society (Astin & Astin, 1996). In the current study, NIC fraternity members are compared

with non-fraternity members on three of the constructs from the SCM that are measured on the MSL: Consciousness of Self (CS), Commitment, and Congruence.

CS is defined as the awareness of one's beliefs, values, and emotions which motivate an individual to take action (Astin & Astin, 1996). Commitment is defined as the purposeful investment of time and physical and psychological energy in the leadership development process (Astin & Astin, 1996). Congruence is defined as feeling, thinking, and acting with consistency, genuineness, and authenticity in connection with one's values (Astin & Astin, 1996). All three of these constructs are measures taken from the Individual frame of the model (Astin & Astin, 1996). CS development and gains have been associated in three earlier studies measuring self-authorship (Christman, 2013; Dowiak, 2016; Shalka, 2008; Shalka & Jones, 2010). And so, in the current study, when measuring for CS, we are performing a bivariate outcome analysis for CS and development along the continuum of self-authorship as distinguished by Baxter Magolda (2008; 2009).

Additionally, the current study uses the construct of internalized moral perspective (IMP), which is one leadership quality described within the model of authentic leadership (Walumbwa, Avolio, Gardner, Wernsing, & Peterson, 2008). IMP is defined as the ability of leaders to violate the allegiances that they have to a group when the group acts against their individual value systems and threatens to hurt individuals (MSL, 2015a; Walumbwa et al, 2008). The component items that help to identify if a student is progressing toward the development of an IMP are Congruence and Commitment from the SCM, as well as Resiliency and Cognitive Skills. The measurement of Resiliency on the MSL analyzes how students deal with change, whether or not they follow through with goals regardless of obstacles, how they handle fear, anger, sadness, and stress, and how they react to problems (MSL, 2011). Cognitive Skills analyze the amount of cognitive

growth that students have made in college in relation to the ability to see relationships between ideas, critically analyze ideas and information, learn on one's own, and learn about new things (MSL, 2011).

Finally, by measuring for component items of IMP we are also measuring for component items of Kohlberg's sixth stage of moral reasoning (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn 2010; Kohlberg, 1987; Kohlberg, 2000). The sixth stage of moral development for Kohlberg involves the individual acting in a way that is universally ethical, meaning a way that will preserve human dignity regardless of personal consequences, when basic human dignity is being violated (Evans et al., 2010; Kohlberg, 1987; Kohlberg, 2000). Similarly, the development of an IMP is the ability to act against the interests of a group that one leads or belongs to when individuals may be harmed by the group (Walumbwa et al., 2008). The key, overarching construct existing within both measures of moral development is the ability to act when human dignity is violated (Dowiak, 2016; Evans et al., 2010; Walumbwa et al., 2008). Fraternity members who have developed to this stage of moral development in either model would be able to stand up to their fellow members when faced with a compromise to basic human dignity or human harm.

Methodology

Research Questions

The research questions for this study are:

- Do NIC fraternity men differ from non-affiliated men in their development of Self-Authorship and Consciousness of Self, controlling for institution size and students' sexuality?
- Do fraternity men differ from non-affiliated men in the components of the MSL theoretically related to Internalized Moral Perspective and Kohlberg's sixth stage of moral reasoning, controlling for institution size and sexuality?

Sample

The sample for the current study was taken from the 2012 administration of the MSL. Based on the 2012 administration of the MSL, data from approximately 77,150 students from 82 campuses in the United States, Mexico, Canada, and the Caribbean constitute the entire collection of MSL Data (MSL, 2015b; MSL, 2015c). Of these, 22,680 seniors (MSL, 2015c) constituted the potential sample for this study, of which 8,025 constituted the actual study sample. This study will focus on the survey answers of senior students because the measurements that this study seeks to find related to gains in self-authorship and advanced moral development would only be characteristic of older students based on the underlying theories of student development and leadership that are central to the study.

The research variables for this study are divided into three groups: independent variables, dependent variables, and control variables.

Independent Variables

The independent variable for this study is NIC fraternity membership. The MSL asks (Item 16) if students were part of student groups. Students who answered yes to 16q “social fraternities or sororities (ex. Panhellenic or Interfraternity Council groups such as Sigma Phi Epsilon or Kappa Gamma)” and who identified as male will be included in the NIC fraternity group (MSL, 2011). All other males, excluding members of multi-cultural fraternities (who were removed from the dataset because they answered yes to 16p: Multi-cultural Fraternities and Sororities), are in the non-affiliated group. The removal of multi-cultural fraternity men was done to ensure that there was no overlap between groups, and to focus membership on NIC fraternity men (Johnson, Johnson, & Dugan, 2015).

Control Variables

The control variables for this study are institution size and sexuality.

Institution Size. Institutions for this study are

divided into three categories: small, medium, and large (Beazley, 2013). This is based on the IPEDS data related to undergraduate institutions as captured by the MSL: small institutions are those which are smaller than 5,000 undergraduate students; medium institutions are those with between 5,000 and 15,000 undergraduate students; and large institutions are above 15,000 undergraduate students.

Sexuality. The MSL survey asks students to identify their sexuality (Item 32). Answers are coded 1 through 5:

1. Heterosexual
2. Bisexual
3. Gay/Lesbian
4. Questioning
5. Rather Not Say

Students who identified as bisexual (2), Gay/Lesbian (3), Questioning (4), or Rather Not Say (5) were part of the GBQ group.

Dependent Variables

Consciousness of self. CS is measured on the MSL through the main portion of the MSL, the SRLS-Rev 3 (Beazley, 2013) because it is one of the variables of the social change model. There are nine questions on the SRLS which make up the CS scale. Students respond to these items on a 5 point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The students mean score of all of those self-reported outcomes will constitute their score on Consciousness of Self. For the CS Scale, a valid measure of internal reliability was obtained, $\alpha = .79$, as any Cronbach's alpha score above a .7 on newer scales is considered reliable (Field, 2009).

Internalized Moral Perspective. IMP is a composite variable and was determined by looking at four measures of the MSL based on the theoretical underpinnings of the principle (Walumbwa et al, 2008; MSL, 2015a). Congruence is measured on the SRLS-Rev 3 (MSL, 2011). The Cronbach's Alpha for Congruence was measured at $\alpha = .846$. There are seven items that measure for values congruence and students answer based

on a 5 point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Commitment, the third individual “C,” makes up the second component of IMP, and this too is measured on the SRLS-3. The Cronbach’s Alpha for Commitment was measured at $\alpha=.817$. Four items make up the scale for commitment. Next, Resiliency is a five point Likert scale rated from strongly agree to strongly disagree, and it measures the ability to thrive in the face of adversity while also learning to accept change. It is not measured as part of the SRLS and is a sub-scale on the MSL (MSL, 2011). The Cronbach’s Alpha for Resiliency was measured at $\alpha=.898$. Finally, cognitive skills are measured on a 4 point Likert scale from “not grown at all” to “grown very much,” and this is the final component of the IMP variable (MSL, 2011). The Cronbach’s Alpha for cognitive skills was measured at $\alpha=.868$. Four items constitute this final scale and it is measured separate from the SRLS-3.

To test the construct of IMP, all the items for each of the scales that were sub-constructs were also tested using a Cronbach’s Alpha, yielding internal reliability, $\alpha=.92$. All the reliability findings fell within the acceptable scale for analysis of the topics being covered (Field, 2009).

Limitations

Because this study used a national dataset based on self-reported data, it is suggested that caution be used when making institutional policy based on these results. Likert scale data is susceptible to bias because of the halo effect, and national data samples do not give snapshots into the particular program on any one college campus (Ahren, Bureau, Ryan, & Torres, 2014; Asel, Seifert, & Pascarella, 2009; Hevel et al, 2014; Martin et al, 2012; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). The fraternity experience is as much related to institutional support and best practices as any other campus program (McCreary, 2012b; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Pike, 2003; Sasso, 2012b).

Another limitation is the limited way in which sexuality can be described in a quantitative study.

Dilley (2005) makes it clear that there are differences within the experiences of GBQ fraternity men that may impact their development because of the way they view their sexuality. The current study can only give a snapshot of gains related to the fraternity experience for GBQ students who participate in NIC fraternities and cannot do justice to the diversity of human sexuality that is existent.

Analysis

Despite the fact that the dependent variables were ordinal, they were measured for normality, and when the dependent variables demonstrated that they were outside the bounds of normality, it was determined that the Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA was the best methodology for the study based on the research design. Analysis was performed by comparing like groups to one and other. For example, GBQ fraternity men were compared to GBQ non-affiliated men.

Results

Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA Results

Regarding students who identified as GBQ, regardless of campus size, there were no significant differences between fraternity members and non-fraternity members. On the other hand, heterosexual students who were fraternity members were significantly different than non-fraternity members in the measurement of CS at medium and large institutions. Table 1 shows the reporting statistics for fraternity men and non-fraternity men across groupings. It is clear that those students who demonstrated the lowest medians in comparison to their counterparts were students who are GBQ fraternity members attending small institutions.

Post Hoc Analysis

As per Field (2009), for the two significant results found in the study, post hoc Analysis was performed via the Mann-Whitney U Test. Table 2 below gives the results of the Mann-Whitney U

Test which substantiated the results of the Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA. The Pearson's r gives effect size and is calculated by dividing the z-score by the square root of n (Field, 2009). In both cases, the mean ranks of fraternity men were

higher than their non-affiliated counter-parts. Therefore, greater gains were made in the area of CS by heterosexual fraternity men over their heterosexual counterparts who are not fraternity men, however based on the low Pearson's r

Table 1
Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA scores controlling for Sexuality and Institution Size

Category	Measure	Total Participants (n)	DF	Median for Fraternity	Median for Non-Fraternity	H value	Sig. (p) value
GBQ Small	Consciousness	72	1	4.0	4.0	.000	.993
Hetero Small	Consciousness	624	1	4.1677	4.1677	.683	.409
GBQ Small	Congruence	72	1	4	4.2	.606	.436
Hetero Small	Congruence	624	1	4.6	4.4	1.696	.193
GBQ Small	Commitment	72	1	4.333	4.333	.188	.665
Hetero Small	Commitment	624	1	4.333	4.5	.006	.938
GBQ Small	Resiliency	72	1	3.85	4.0	.419	.654
Hetero Small	Resiliency	624	1	4.3	4.0	2.952	.086
GBQ Small	Cognitive Skills	72	1	3.3750	3.5	.404	.525
Hetero Small	Cognitive Skills	624	1	3.25	3.25	.240	.624
GBQ Med	Consciousness	358	1	4.1667	4.1667	.333	.564
Hetero Med	Consciousness	3,490	1	4.1667	4.1667	7.460	.006*
GBQ Med	Congruence	358	1	4.2	4.2665	.009	.924
Hetero Med	Congruence	3,490	1	4.2	4.2	.188	.665
GBQ Med	Commitment	358	1	4.4123	4.5	.100	.752
Hetero Med	Commitment	3,490	1	4.5	4.5	.341	.559
GBQ Med	Resiliency	358	1	3.9	4.0	.358	.549
Hetero Med	Resiliency	3,490	1	4.1	4.0905	1.441	.230
GBQ Med	Cognitive Skills	358	1	3.25	3.5	.472	.492
Hetero Med	Cognitive Skills	3,490	1	3.25	3.25	.292	.589
GBQ Large	Consciousness	300	1	4.333	4.000	2.292	.130
Hetero Large	Consciousness	3,181	1	4.1667	4.1667	9.597	.002*
GBQ Large	Congruence	300	1	4.4	4.2	.075	.784
Hetero Large	Congruence	3,181	1	4.2	4.2	.912	.340
GBQ Large	Commitment	300	1	4.5	4.333	3.016	.082
Hetero Large	Commitment	3,181	1	4.5	4.5	1.156	.282
GBQ Large	Resiliency	300	1	4.15	4.0	1.082	.298
Hetero Large	Resiliency	3,181	1	4.1	4.1	.711	.399
GBQ Large	Cognitive Skills	300	1	3.5	3.25	1.333	.248
Hetero Large	Cognitive Skills	3,181	1	3.25	3.25	2.358	.125

Note: Significance Values are marked with an asterisk (*)

scores, the effect size was minimal.

Discussion and Implications

The findings in this study help to support the development of best practices and calls into

question the structure of leadership advisement provided by fraternity/sorority professionals. The SCM has been described as the ubiquitous model for student leadership development on college and university campuses in the United States (Dugan, 2008; Whitney, 2015). Since the

Table 2

Mann-Whitney U Test Post Hoc Analysis on Heterosexual Fraternity Members and Non-affiliated Students at Medium and Large Institutions

Category	N	Median Fraternity	Median Non-Fraternity	U Score	z-Score	Sig. (p) value	r score
Hetero Medium CS	3,490	4.1667	4.1667	684,846.00	-2.731	.006	-0.046
Hetero Large CS	3,181	4.1667	4.1667	582,600.00	-3.098	.002	-0.052

SCM is considered by researchers to be the ubiquitous model of leadership development for college students, it is clear that the fraternity experience is not aligning to the leadership model that U.S. colleges and universities are using to teach leadership development; this and other studies demonstrate a lack of gains for fraternity men along the SCM leadership continuum (Dowiak, 2016; Dugan, 2008; Martin et al, 2014; Shalka, 2008; Shalka & Jones, 2010; Supple, 2015; Wisner, 2013). This finding supports the possibility that the fraternity/sorority profession is failing at advancing leadership education for members, especially if fraternities are being billed as the premiere leadership experience on college campuses (Biddix et al, 2014; Dugan, 2008; Friedman, 2008; McCreary, 2012b; Sasso, 2012b; Whitney, 2015). Establishing best practices around leadership education would entail fraternity/sorority professionals educating students for the SCM. This would help students not only in their leadership development, but in their student and moral development as well (Christman, 2013; Dowiak, 2016; Shalka, 2008; Shalka & Jones, 2010).

For GBQ fraternity men, we can see that gains in self-authorship and Kohlberg's sixth stage of moral development are advancing at the same rate as non-affiliated GBQ men. As Pike

(2003) suggests, parity of measures does not justify the fraternity experience, nor does it avail the fraternity experience for these students. The fraternity experience on any campus requires the substantial input of talent, time, and money by participants, and therefore showing parity with others students is not demonstrating that the investment is worth the cost. This lack of clear gains over non-fraternity GBQ men demonstrates that the fraternity experience may not be the premiere leadership opportunity it portends to be on most college campuses for GBQ students (Friedman, 2008).

Regarding the findings related to heterosexual students, the current study provides insight into the fraternity experience when controlling for campus size. With the exception of two significant findings related to CS at medium and large institutions, which did not demonstrate a strong effect, fraternity men showed parity in every other area measured with non-affiliated men. Additionally, none of the variables associated with IMP was found to be significant. This brings into question how bystander intervention programs could be successful when students in fraternities show no development toward IMP. Bystander intervention programs ask the bystander to intervene when the organization

is wrong (McCreary, 2012a). Having an IMP is necessary for students to be able to stand up for human dignity and against their fraternity when their fraternity is wrong. IMP is clearly not a developed perspective among fraternity men, regardless of campus size. Until students can stand up to their peers regarding negative situations that plague some fraternities, substantial change in regard to the fraternity experience will not take place and the evidence of that is visible today (Allan & Madden, 2008; Fernandez & Pérez-Peña, 2015; Flanagan, 2014a; Flanagan, 2014b; McCreary, 2012a; Sasso, 2012a).

While the current study examined a large cluster of constructs, all of these constructs are indicative of what fraternities should be able to provide to students based on the billing of the fraternity experience as a leadership development program and on the ubiquitous presence of the SCM in leadership education in U.S. institutions of higher education (Biddix et al., 2014; Dugan, 2008; Friedman, 2008; Whitney, 2015). The fraternity experience is also intended to be a moral compass through values-development; it is supposed to provide training that creates better, ethical leaders; and it is supposed to provide the ability to develop an internal foundation that should assist the student in their self-authorship because of its strong symbolic frame (Bolman & Deal, 2013; Callais, 2002; Callais, 2005; Dowiak, 2016; Eberly, 1967; King, 2010; Shalka, 2008; Shalka & Jones, 2010; Schutts & Shelley, 2014). Therefore, this parity in scores represents the need for fraternity/sorority professionals to begin to focus on best practices that provides for moral education, as was called for by earlier researchers (McCreary, 2012b), and for better leadership education models that are aligned with the social change model and the model of authentic leadership (Astin & Astin, 1996; Dugan, 2008; Walumbwa et al, 2008; Whitney, 2015).

The findings in this study represent a positive contribution to what is known about both the GBQ and straight fraternity experience on

today's college campuses. Sometimes the adoption of the null hypothesis, as has happened most often in this study, identifies where we need improvement in current practice.

Implications for Further Research

Further research needs to be conducted that examines the student development, moral, and leadership gains that GBQ students make in the context of their fraternity membership. GBQ fraternity members' experiences have oftentimes been typographies. It is time to go beyond describing the experience and for future research to analyze how GBQ fraternity students experience student development, moral, and leadership gains related to their fraternity membership.

Additionally, as called for by McCreary (2012a), more research is necessary into already existent programs that have eliminated the traditional new member process to see if that experience, which centers more on developmental education in fraternities, has produced any results that show differences between these students and students who emerge from a more traditional chapter. This may have a large impact on moral, leadership, and student development.

Finally, further research is necessary on the moral and values development education of fraternity men, as educating for moral and values development is one way to help students go through the process of values discovery leading to self-authorship and encourages bystander intervention in fraternal organizations. It is important for us to show what works and does not work when educating for morality.

Conclusion

The current study examined the relationship between NIC fraternity membership, sexuality, institution size, and leadership, moral, and student development. The study found that with the exception of straight fraternity men at large and medium institutions, there was no difference in the gains made by fraternity and non-affiliated

men in the leadership, moral, and student development variables that were studied. The current study gave examples for developing best practices and provided a useful critique of the fraternity/sorority profession and how its members engage in leadership development of fraternity students.

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PERCEPTIONS OF NEW MEMBER ACADEMIC ENGAGEMENT: A MIXED METHODS CASE STUDY

MARK J. HARTLEY AND CHARLES G. EBERLY

A mixed methods case study was conducted to triangulate a comprehensive assessment of the perceptions of fraternity/sorority life from three different stakeholders on a liberal arts campus. Three electronic surveys were sent to selected groups that asked respondents to provide perceptions of the academic engagement of affiliated students on the campus. In addition, affiliated student's grade point averages were monitored across three semesters to determine if there was a marked change in academic performance while going through the new member education process. Results showed that new member academic performance was similar across the semester prior to, during, and after the new member experience. Survey results showed differences in perception of affiliated students' academic engagement by group surveyed, and provided sources of common interest to promote greater understanding between stakeholder groups.

This article focuses on the academic engagement of new fraternity and sorority members at a small liberal arts institution sheltering local fraternities and sororities with recruitment deferred until the second semester of the freshman year. Grade Point Averages (GPAs) of affiliated students prior to joining an organization, during the semester they became members, and the semester immediately following their initiation were compared to determine change in achievement levels.

As an emerging student affairs professional, the first author was confronted by many faculty members who questioned the value of campus fraternities and sororities, and who maintained the organizations were contrary to the mission of the institution (Conroy, 2007). The present study was undertaken as a means of providing evidence that the campus fraternity / sorority experience was a value-added component to the institution's educational mission.

In his daily work, the first author encountered faculty members who questioned the very existence of the organizations. These faculty skeptics maintained that students who joined the organizations had a "dramatic decline" in GPA the semester after affiliation. On the other hand, the fraternity / sorority students with whom he

worked said they received benefits from their membership that would last a lifetime. Many students in the fraternity/sorority community felt their time management skills were refined as a result of clearly defined schedules, thus resulting in an improvement in their academic performance. This observation is consistent with numerous studies that show co-curricular programs assist students in taking their theoretical knowledge and putting it into practice (Barger & Hall, 1965, Eurich, 1927, Iffert, 1958, Pascarella, Edison, Whitt, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1994, Pascarella, Flowers, & Whitt, 2001, Reed, 1994, Scott, 1965, Sherron, 1970, Stannard & Bowers, 1970).

A policy of deferred recruitment was implemented by the campus administration in 1996. First semester students were prohibited from joining a fraternity or sorority, and only second semester students who obtained a 3.0 or above, submitted two faculty recommendation letters, and were involved in community service could petition to join a fraternity or sorority. While the university's Office of Community Service Learning reported annually that the fraternity/sorority community consistently performed more community service hours than all other clubs and organizations combined, there remained signifi-

cant doubt among the faculty as to whether these groups contributed meaningfully to campus life. Based on survey data collected for this study, faculty members at the university had particular concerns about the academic performance of new fraternity and sorority members.

At the time of this study ten local fraternal organizations (five fraternities and five sororities) were recognized on the campus. While each group had specific eras in their history where members strayed from their mission statements and core values, the qualitative data collected for this study suggested the groups had developed a renewed commitment towards academic achievement. The fraternity/sorority community's cumulative GPA rose steadily from 2000 to 2006. In fall 2006, the community's mean GPA had risen to a cumulative 3.15 (N = 315), up from a 2.71 in fall 2004 (N = 290).

Methods

The present mixed methods case study design (Yin, 2003) was intended to assess perceptions about the value of fraternity/sorority involvement toward the academic mission of a small Liberal Arts private university in the United States. Following IRB approval, the total population of the three campus constituencies of interest were emailed a locally-developed open-response survey in April - May 2006: (1) 194 full-time faculty members (including coaches who had faculty status), (2) 2,269 non-affiliated students, and (3) 323 fraternity and sorority members. Each constituency received a survey tailored to their group. SurveyMonkey.com, an online assessment tool that assists individuals to design, collect, and analyze data via the World Wide Web, was used to collate responses. Respondents had 14 days in which to complete the on-line survey. After the first week, the survey was re-sent to non-respondents and they were given an additional week to complete the survey. In addition, a one-way ANOVA was performed on quantitative GPA data for all fraternity and sorority members

across two years for a three-semester block: the semester prior to affiliation, the semester of affiliation, and the semester after affiliation.

Setting

The residential liberal arts campus on which this study was conducted was founded in 1907. The first fraternity on this campus was established in 1909, while the first sorority on this campus was established in 1910. At the time of this study, there were five local fraternities and five local sororities with a total membership of 323 students. Chapters ranged in size from eight to 52 members. Fraternity and sorority members represented 12.5% of all undergraduate students, almost all of whom ranged in age from 18 to 23. Close to 90% of all students resided in on-campus housing. All fraternity/sorority groups had on-campus housing supported by the Office of Residence Life and Housing. Each chapter enjoyed the support of a faculty member or an administrative staff member as a chapter advisor. Finally, fraternity and sorority sponsored activities provided a major social outlet for most undergraduate students on the campus.

Institutionally, faculty members were encouraged to engage students outside as well as inside the classroom. All first year and transfer students were required to enroll in a First-Year Seminar class. Students in these classes were often invited for dinner at faculty members' homes to build a lasting relationship and aid in retention. Faculty members were frequently asked to participate in residence hall discussions on various topics such as politics, civil rights issues, and other current events. The university has had a long history of academic engagement efforts for both students and faculty, closely paralleling the recent initiatives sponsored by the Association of American Colleges and Universities (Hodge, Baxter, Magolda, & Hines, 2009).

Instrumentation

Three non-overlapping open-ended surveys were developed for purposes of the present

study, each individually tailored to the specific campus entity. While the non-overlapping surveys limited some direct comparisons between the respondent groups, there is evidence to suggest that an “implicit” response bias exists between students who join and do not join a fraternity / sorority (Wells & Corts, 2008), since “individuals favor groups they belong to in order to increase their self-esteem” (§ 16).

Faculty Survey. Open-ended questions on the faculty member survey included 10 demographic questions such as sex, tenured status, years of teaching experience, years of teaching experience on the specific campus, if they advised a club or organization, and if they were affiliated with a fraternity or sorority as an undergraduate. Free response items included the degree to which the faculty members perceived fraternity/sorority members to be academically engaged in their classrooms, the degree to which they perceived the fraternity/sorority experience aided in leadership development, community service efforts, and interpersonal social development such as communication skills, people skills, and time management.

Non-Affiliated Student Survey. The non-affiliated student survey contained seven demographic items and 23 free response items focusing on non-affiliated students’ perceptions of fraternity and sorority members’ academic engagement in their undergraduate classes. Students were asked to compare the hours per week they spent studying and in social activities, and to provide an estimate of the hours per week they perceived fraternity/sorority members to study and spend in social activities. Students also were asked if they went through the recruitment process as a proxy measure of non-affiliated students’ exposure to fraternity/sorority life.

Affiliated Student Survey. Fraternity and sorority members completed 15 demographic questions including ethnicity, class standing, major, their GPA prior to membership, during the new member education period, and after the new member education period, on or off-campus

residence, number of hours worked per week, semesters of membership, and semester pledged (second semester freshman, first semester sophomore, and second semester sophomore). Free response items tailored specifically to affiliated students *a priori* perceptions by the first author included whether they felt discriminated against by faculty members in the classroom as a result of their fraternity/sorority affiliation, their perceptions of fraternity/sorority academic performance prior to joining the community, their current perception of fraternity/sorority academic performance compared to their non-affiliated fellow students, and their perceived academic engagement (mentally and physically present in the classroom, utilizing faculty office hours, positive classroom participation, completing course assignments, and interacting with faculty members inside and outside the classroom).

Data

A total of 58 surveys (29.9 %) were returned from the 194 full-time faculty members. Among the 2,269 non-affiliated students, 470 (20.7%) returned completed surveys. The 323 fraternity/sorority members surveyed returned 215 (66.6%) completed surveys. Self-reported quantitative data were collected from the fraternity/sorority new member classes from fall 2004 and spring 2005 for a total of 115 new members who joined the ten organizations during the time period of the study.

Data Analysis

The primary researcher conducted content analysis on open-ended surveys within group by item. Written responses were coded using a constant comparative method of qualitative analysis (Schumacher & McMillan, 2003). As codes were developed, prior responses were reviewed for content until categories and themes emerged from the verbal data within each respondent group (faculty members, non-affiliated students, and fraternity/sorority members). In order to gain an outsider’s (etic) view of un-

dergraduate fraternity/sorority members, non-affiliated students were asked to provide their perceptions about the academic engagement of affiliated fraternity and sorority students in their undergraduate classes. The fraternity/sorority members provided the insider (emic) perceptions of their academic engagement inside and outside the classroom, and faculty members' open-ended survey questions provided a second, etic window into their perceptions of affiliated students' academic engagement in their university classrooms, laboratories, and playing fields in the case of coaches. The purpose of surveying faculty and staff members, fraternity/sorority members, and non-affiliated students was to triangulate a comprehensive assessment of the perceptions of fraternity/sorority life from three different stakeholders on a liberal arts campus, thus providing multiple forms of evidence.

Results

Quantitative Results. Of the 115 fraternity/sorority new members in the quantitative sample, 71.3% ($n = 82$) of them were women. More than half, 53.9% were in the sophomore class, ($n = 62$), 37.4% freshmen ($n = 43$), 6.1% were juniors ($n = 7$), and 2.6% were seniors ($n = 3$). About 75% were in-state students. The ethnic breakdown was 65% White, 10% Declined to Answer, 9% Hispanic/Latino, 8% Asian American, 5% Multiethnic, and 3% African-American.

After analyzing the mean GPAs for all students over the course of the three semesters tracked, there was no meaningful statistical difference in GPAs from one semester to the next. While there was a slight decrease of 0.15 GPA from BEFORE to DURING and a slight increase of 0.09

from DURING to AFTER (Table 1), neither GPA change resulted in a statistical difference between pre, during, and after GPA outcomes, $F(2, 342) = 1.994, p = 0.138$ (Table 2).

Fraternity/Sorority Survey: Descriptive Data

A total of 215 total members, or 66.6%, responded to a survey of seventy-two total questions that was a mixture of Likert scale questions and short, open-ended free response qualitative items. Of those surveyed 58.1% ($n = 125$) were females in sororities and 41.9% ($n = 90$) were males in fraternities. All groups were single sex organizations. The majority, 74% ($n = 159$), lived on campus in residence halls, university owned apartment complexes, or in their organization's houses, which were also university owned.

The ethnic breakdown of those fraternity/sorority members responding to the survey mirrored that of the university, with 79.5% ($n = 171$) being White Americans, 7.4% ($n = 16$) Latino/ Spanish Heritage, 5.6% ($n = 12$) Multiracial, 3.3% ($n = 7$) Asian American, 2.3% ($n = 5$) Other, 1.4% ($n = 3$) African American, and .5% ($n = 1$) International Students. A total of 135 fraternity/sorority members (64.6%) reported they were in-state students.

The class breakdown was evenly split. Of the fraternity/sorority members who responded to the survey, 28.8% ($n = 62$) were seniors, 27.4% ($n = 59$) were juniors, 29.8% ($n = 64$) were sophomores, and 11.2% ($n = 24$) were second-semester freshmen. In addition, there were 3 students (1.4%) who declared to be fifth-year seniors and another 3 students (1.4%) who declared to be graduate students. The most common undergraduate majors among fraternity/sorority members were Business Administration

Table 1
Fraternity/Sorority New Members' GPAs Before, During, and After Their Affiliation (Mean, Median, and Standard Deviation)

<i>N = 115</i>	<i>GPA Before</i>	<i>GPA During</i>	<i>GPA After</i>
Mean	3.25	3.10	3.19
Median	3.33	3.19	3.31
Standard Deviation	0.49	0.58	.64

(15.5%; $n = 30$), followed by Communicative Disorders (8.8%; $n = 17$), Psychology (8.8%; $n = 17$), and Government (7.2%; $n = 14$).

Of the fraternity/sorority members surveyed, 100% responded to having a cumulative undergraduate GPA of at least 2.0 on a 4.0 scale. There were 97.5% ($n = 209$) who stated they had above a 2.5 cumulative undergraduate GPA, and 72.5% ($n = 155$) who stated they had above a 3.0 cumulative undergraduate GPA. There were 52% ($n = 112$) who stated they had above a 3.3 cumulative undergraduate GPA, and 31.5% ($n = 68$) who stated they had above a 3.5 cumulative undergraduate GPA. Finally, 5.5% ($n = 12$) of affiliated students participating in the survey stated they had between a 3.80 and 4.0 cumulative undergraduate GPA.

Asked about their employment time commitments, 46.7% ($n = 97$) of fraternity/sorority members surveyed worked between 6-15 hours per week in a paid job, which included on-campus work-study, during the current academic year, while 14.3% ($n = 31$) worked 16 or more hours per week. Another 30% of fraternity/sorority members surveyed were not employed while attending school during the 2005-2006 academic year.

Queried about their time commitment towards studying outside of the classroom, 85.2% ($n = 178$) of fraternity/sorority members surveyed studied six or more hours per week during the 2005-2006 academic year, while 45.8% ($n = 96$) said they studied 11 or more hours per week. Central to this survey, fraternity/sorority members stated that during the semester they were going through the new member education process, 92.9% ($n = 194$) studied six or more hours per week, while 55.2% ($n = 116$) reported they studied 11 or more hours per week.

Fraternity/Sorority Survey: Perceptions of Academic Performance

A seven-point Likert Scale was used for quantitative survey items, with "Not Applicable" being one of the options. The options were: 1 =

Not at All, 2 and 3 = *Slightly or Hardly at All*, 4 and 5 = *Moderately*, 6 and 7 = *Extremely*. The survey items asked, "To what degree has your fraternity/sorority experience enhanced your ability to 'X'?" The eighteen survey items dealt with Academics, Personal Development, Leadership Development, and Fraternity/sorority Life Success.

Of the 206 fraternity/sorority members reporting these data, 22.9% ($n = 46$) responded by saying that their ability to prepare for tests was extremely enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience and an additional 55% ($n = 123$) responded by saying their ability to prepare for tests was moderately enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience. Asked about their ability to engage faculty outside of the classroom 32.5% ($n = 67$) of fraternity/sorority members surveyed responded by saying that their ability was extremely enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience and an added 44.1% ($n = 91$) responded by saying it was moderately enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience. When asked about their ability to set higher academic goals, 42% ($n = 86$) of fraternity/sorority members surveyed responded by saying that their ability was extremely enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience and an additional 43.5% ($n = 89$) responded by saying it was moderately enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience.

When asked about their ability to establish an effective study schedule 37.1% ($n = 76$) of fraternity/sorority members surveyed responded by saying that their ability was extremely enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience and an added 49.7% ($n = 102$) responded by saying it was moderately enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience. When asked about their ability to set priorities to accomplish what is most important, 58.3% ($n = 120$) of fraternity/sorority members surveyed responded by saying that their ability was extremely enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience and an additional 34.4% ($n = 71$) responded by saying it was moderately enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience.

sorority experience. When asked about their ability to organize time to meet responsibilities, 66.4% ($n = 136$) of fraternity/sorority members surveyed responded by saying that their ability was extremely enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience and an added 29.7% ($n = 61$) responded by saying it was moderately enhanced by their fraternity/sorority experience.

Faculty Survey: Descriptive Data

The demographics of the faculty members who completed the 25-question survey (58 out of 194, or 29.9%) were as follows. Nearly nine in 10, 89.7% ($n = 52$) had taught and/or researched exclusively at the host institution for three or more years. A total of 96.6% ($n = 56$) faculty members had taught and/or researched at the college level for three or more years, and 25.8% ($n = 15$) of that group had taught at the college level for twenty-one or more years.

Of the faculty members (including coaches who had faculty status) surveyed, 52.7% ($n = 29$) were full-time, tenured faculty and another 43.6% ($n = 24$) were full-time, tenure-track professors. The percentage of faculty members who have been, or were at the time of the survey, advisors of a student club or organization was 62.5% ($n = 35$). The percentage of faculty members who have been, or were advisors to either a fraternity or sorority was 19.3% ($n = 11$). More than 20% ($n = 12$) was a member of a social fraternity or sorority during their undergraduate experience.

Faculty and Non-Affiliated Students Surveys: Perceptions of Fraternity/Sorority Members

Faculty and Non-affiliated Students were asked to respond to items based on a five op-

tion Likert survey, *Mostly Positive, Slightly Positive, Neutral, Slightly Negative, and Mostly Negative*. Response categories Mostly Positive and Slightly Positive, and Mostly Negative and Slightly Negative, were collapsed into Positive and Negative for the purposes of this article, and are shown in tandem with the perceptions of non-affiliated students on the same items below (Table 2).

Of the faculty members surveyed, 45.1% ($n=23$) had a negative view of fraternity/sorority members, and 15.7% ($n = 8$) had a positive perception of students affiliated with fraternities or sororities. Asked about their perception of fraternity/sorority GPAs, almost half (49%) claimed neutral, while 35.3% ($n = 18$) stated they had a negative perception. The same percentage of faculty members, 15.7% ($n = 8$), had a positive perception of students affiliated with fraternities or sororities and had a positive perception of their GPAs.

Of the faculty members surveyed, 31.3% ($n=16$) had a negative opinion of affiliated students' behavior inside the classroom. Again, 15.7% ($n = 8$) saw their behavior as positive inside the classroom and 54.9% ($n = 28$) surveyed had a negative opinion of affiliated students' behavior outside the classroom, while 9.8% ($n=5$) saw their behavior as positive outside the classroom.

Asked about leadership development and community service efforts completed by affiliated students, 35.3% ($n = 18$) of the faculty surveyed had a positive perception of fraternity/sorority members' leadership development and 58.8% ($n = 30$) had a positive perception towards their community service efforts. However, 54.9% ($n = 28$) held a negative view about affiliated students' academic engagement.

Table 2

One-way ANOVA of Fraternity/Sorority New Members' GPAs Before, During, and After Their Affiliation

GPA/Sem	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	sig.
Between	1.311	2	.656	1.994	.138
Within	112.415	342	.329		
Total	113.726	344			

Non-Affiliated Student Survey: Descriptive Data

The demographics of the non-affiliated students surveyed were as follows: There were 138 (29.3%) freshmen, 131 (27.8%) sophomores, 93 (19.7%) juniors, and 103 (21.9%) seniors who responded to the survey. In addition, there were five students (1.1%) who stated they were fifth-year seniors. Of the 2,269 students who were emailed the 30-question survey, 20.7%, or 470 students, responded. The non-affiliated students were asked if they participated in extra-curricular activities and 63.6% ($n = 299$) had a positive response; however, 21% ($n = 77$) stated that they had participated in Fraternity/Sorority rush or pledging.

Non-Affiliated Student Survey: Academics

During an average week, 92.4% ($n = 340$) of the non-affiliated students said they spent six or more hours in the classroom. However, 77% ($n = 283$) said they studied four or more hours, only 56.5% ($n = 208$) say they studied 6 or more hours, and just 23.6% ($n = 87$) said they studied 11 or more hours per week.

Non-Affiliated Student Survey: Perceptions of Fraternity/Sorority Members

Similar to the faculty perception data, non-affiliated student perceptions were collapsed into three categories, Positive, Neutral, and Negative (see Table 3). While fraternity/sorority members prided themselves on their leadership skills and their community service endeavors, based on this survey, non-affiliated students did not agree with their affiliated colleagues. When asked about fraternity/sorority leadership development skills, among non-affiliated students 48.3% ($n = 194$) claimed neutral, 16.4% ($n = 66$) had a negative view, and 35.3% ($n = 141$) thought it was positive (see Table 2). Slightly more positive was community service; 46.6% ($n = 186$) of the respondents saw this as positive, 35.6% ($n = 143$) were neutral, and 17.9% ($n = 72$) viewed fraternity/sorority community ser-

vice efforts negatively. Finally, when asked about fraternity/sorority members' social lives, more than two in five non-affiliated students (40.1%) had a negative perception, 24.1% ($n = 97$) were neutral, and 35.9% ($n = 144$) had a positive perception. Interestingly, 89.9% of non-affiliated students said they socialized up to ten hours a week; however, nearly half, 48.9% ($n = 25$) said they socialized less than one hour per week with fraternity/sorority members.

In general, the majority of non-affiliated students were neutral when asked about the academic lives of fraternity/sorority members. When specifically asked about their perception of fraternity/sorority members' grade point averages, 52.5% ($n = 211$) claimed neutral, while 25.7% ($n = 102$) had a positive perception and 21.9% ($n = 88$) had a negative perception. When asked about their perception of students who are affiliated with social fraternities or sororities, 31.4% ($n = 126$) claimed neutral, 25.4% ($n = 102$) had a positive perception; however, 43.2% ($n = 173$) had a negative perception.

Faculty Survey Qualitative Results

Qualitative outcomes are presented first for faculty members, then non-affiliated students, and finally, affiliated students. Keep in mind that the open-ended survey questions were not completely parallel in their construction. Faculty members' anecdotal statements about their perceptions of fraternity and sorority members were culled from written, open-ended questions on the faculty survey. Written comments were consistent with surveyed faculty perceptions (Table 2) that tended toward the negative.

- During the [pledging] period, individual students' grades appear to go down. I would expect if you took a survey of the Greek GPAs against the entire campus, it would be higher. This gives you the false impression that Greek Life is good for academics.
- I have noticed that students often have a small to significant downturn in their

Table 3*Perceptions of Faculty Members and Non-Affiliated Students Toward Fraternity/Sorority Life*

<u>Measures</u>	<u>Mostly/Slightly Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Mostly/Slightly Negative</u>
Perceptions of F/S Overall			
Faculty (n = 51)	15.7%	39.2%	45.1%
Non-Affiliated (n = 401)	25.5%	31.4%	43.2%
F/S GPA			
Faculty (n = 51)	15.7%	49.0%	35.3%
Non-Affiliated (n = 401)	25.4%	52.6%	21.9%
F/S Academic Engagement			
Faculty (n = 51)	11.8%	33.3%	54.9%
Non-Affiliated (n = 401)	28.9%	54.4%	16.7%
F/S Behavior in the Classroom			
Faculty (n = 51)	15.7%	52.9%	31.3%
Non-Affiliated (n = 401)	25.5%	52.1%	22.5%
F/S Behavior outside the Classroom			
Faculty (n = 51)	9.8%	35.3%	54.9%
Non-Affiliated (n = 401)	20.0%	27.2%	52.9%
F/S Social Life			
Faculty (n = 51)	19.6%	23.5%	56.9%
Non-Affiliated (n = 401)	35.9%	24.2%	39.9%
F/S Leadership Development			
Faculty (n = 51)	35.3%	43.1%	21.6%
Non-Affiliated (n = 401)	35.2%	48.4%	16.5%
F/S Community Service			
Faculty (n = 51)	58.8%	31.4%	9.8%
Non-Affiliated (n = 401)	46.4%	35.7%	17.9%

academic performance during rush. Also, I have known a few students who have been heavily involved in fraternities or sororities, and that involvement does often take up quite a bit of their time to the detriment of their academic work.

- I believe there is a correlation between lower GPAs and pledging and attention needs to be paid this area to create the best environment for new Greek members as possible.
- Despite all PR about study hours etc., I always see pledge students' grades drop.

Other faculty members' anecdotal statements about their perceptions of fraternity and sorority members' academic engagement during the new member, or pledging, process are detailed below. The pledge period was a particular source of faculty member's ire.

- Zero [academic engagement] during pledging; the same value they get on assignments and tests during pledging. They are not alert in class, always sleepy or exhausted, and cannot successfully complete weekly assignments.
- My response is shaped primarily by the

many weeks around pledging. Even great students seem to drop off a cliff during the weeks of pledging. They are tired, distracted, and there is almost always a huge drop off in performance not only by students who are pledging, but by other students who get involved in the social activities. Pledging season has a very negative impact on classroom time on our campus.

- Again, it is VERY NEGATIVE with regard to those who are pledging; for all others, it is neutral, at least in my classes. I do hear stories from other professors about continuing problems with students after pledging, but that has not been my experience.
- When students miss class or sleep in class on Fridays because of Thursday night parties, I think there is something very wrong with the fraternity/sorority system! There is no way that it can be considered “co-curricular” when it has such a negative impact on academics.

However, not all faculty members found fraternity/sorority affiliation to be an academic disadvantage. At least some faculty members, as reflected below, found the social connectedness nurtured within fraternity and sorority life to be an occupational asset.

- Not sure I can identify a huge difference. Often Greek students are more confident, given I teach Speech this is relevant. They think they are more worldly, and often are. Sometimes, like [students participating in a special alternative education program at the university], I fear they believe they are more entitled. However, from my discipline their Greek life is an asset.

Non-affiliated students’ anecdotal statements about their perceptions of fraternity and sorority members taken from the open-ended section of the non-affiliated survey offered additional insight into their perception of fraternity/soror-

ity life on their campus. Non-affiliated students appeared to be very aware of the party-oriented aspects of fraternity/sorority life on the campus in question.

- I live with an individual involved in the Greek system, and I feel that the amount of drinking and inappropriate behavior apropos the Greeks is excessive and tarnishes the school’s reputation as an academic institution primarily focused on education.
- I feel that a lot of Greeks just party, the ones that are in my classes don’t actively participate; some have missed month’s worth of classes. Especially within fraternities, a lot of the members come off as slackers.
- There are a few individuals who do not responsibly represent their fraternity or sorority.

Additionally, non-affiliated students were also very aware of the manner in which members treated their “brothers” and “sisters” on a personal level, and doubted whether community service as performed by the groups was a sincere activity motivated by altruistic purposes.

- They speak about their own brothers and sisters in negative ways, they are always drunk and sleeping around (not a stereotype), and their “community service” is a joke.
- Pretty negatively for the girls in sororities, not as much for the guys in fraternities. The girls seem to all come from the same stupid mold, they lack any individuality. Many of them disgust me!

Non-Affiliated Student Survey: Perceptions of Fraternity/sorority Members

Below are the written voices representative of non-affiliated students about their perceptions of fraternity and sorority members’ grade point averages and academic engagement. One emerging theme was an association made between partying, activities, and poor academic performance.

- I am assuming that with all of their partying that their grades cannot be that great. I am sure that some have good grades while the majority probably does not.
- Everyone I know who is in Greek life is having serious trouble with their grades this year. They don't have time for academics with their activities.
- There is no way that they [F/S grades] are higher due to being in it [a fraternity or sorority]. I think it would only have a negative result on someone's potential.

Some non-affiliated students recognized that fraternity/sorority affiliation meant more than just an active social life to a member, and acknowledged that there were members within the organizations with outstanding academic records.

- I think Greek students get a label slapped on them as stupid and only in the organization for drinking. My roommate is in a sorority and is Phi Beta Kappa. There are some really intelligent Greek life students on this campus.

Still, other non-affiliated respondents found fraternity and sorority members to be no different than other students or groups of students on their college campus.

- Some are smart, some are dumb. Just like most people.
- I don't think they are that different from any other student, especially athletes. An athletic team is basically a fraternity or sorority.

Finally, at least one non-affiliated student seemed to echo the faculty's lament about fraternity and sorority affiliated students being disengaged in their classes.

- My experiences have tended to be that Greek students have not engaged as fully or contributed as much in discussion-oriented classes.
- Mostly neutral, slightly negative. I don't see an over average emphasis from the Greek students on academics. They seem

to be about on par with the average for the university as a whole. If academic leadership is their goal, they need to try harder.

Discussion

Based on the quantitative and qualitative data from this study, there was no statistical difference in the GPAs across the semester prior, during or after affiliation for students involved in the new member process of the fraternity/sorority community (Table 2). This is not to say that students' academic performances were not affected by the new member process. Clearly, faculty members and non-affiliated students complained about problems with fraternity/sorority new members in their classroom who were not academically engaged. Lack of sufficient sleep, inattentiveness during class, and deficient academic focus were all cited by faculty members towards fraternity/sorority members during the new member process.

Conversely, affiliated students perceived their academic and social skills to be enhanced based on their affiliation with their fraternity or sorority. The affiliated survey data clearly showed that fraternity/sorority life had a positive impact on students' perception of their leadership skills, personal development, commitment to high academic standards, social development, and overall college success.

Is it a myth that fraternity/sorority members are not as academically engaged as their non-affiliated counterparts or a self-fulfilling prophecy? Are faculty members so used to seeing a few fraternity/sorority members struggling academically that they generalize negative perceptions towards all affiliated students? Do fraternity/sorority members portray themselves to their faculty members in such a way that they perpetuate stereotypes? Would there be an increase in fraternity/sorority GPAs if biases were eliminated? Equally important, would there be an increase in fraternity/sorority GPAs if the new member

process was reframed to be more academically engaging?

Affiliated students, faculty advisors, and student life professional staff members need to implement better academic programs for all students, not just newly affiliated students. All groups surveyed agreed that the new member process was the most significant issue affecting fraternity/sorority academic life. While the fraternity/sorority respondents perceived the faculty as viewing them as an academically engaged community (77.1%), most faculty members saw affiliated students as academically unengaged (54.9%). The difference in perception was large, which the researchers believed has its roots in two areas: 1) there was no clear definition of *academic engagement* by the fraternity/sorority community, nor by the faculty at this institution, and 2) faculty members' biases, whether conscious or unconscious, towards affiliated students continued to perpetuate negative academic stereotypes (Abrahamowicz, 1988). Despite affiliated students all being unique individuals, affiliated students appeared to have an identity label (Jones & McEwen, 2000) placed on them as if all shared the same characteristics and lived experiences.

Miscommunication between faculty members, affiliated and non-affiliated students will continue unless initiatives are taken to find common ground. In this case, all parties need to become better educated about the other's perceptions. The first step is to make each party aware of the major problems (lack of academic engagement and unwarranted biases). Since "group membership is an option...and individuals favor groups they belong to in order to increase their self-esteem" (Wells & Corts, 2008, ¶ 16), it may not be possible to entirely mitigate these stereotypical perceptions. Step two is to begin a campus-wide dialogue on the definition of academic engagement as well as the determination of fraternity / sorority life value-added outcomes to the mission of university education. The objective of The Franklin Square Group was just such a call for campus-wide discussion and values congruence

(Rogers, ND).

The principal researcher began this case study by suggesting based on his personal experience that many faculty members held perceptions that there were no value-added academic or educational outcomes associated with fraternity / sorority life. The GPA data analysis (Table 2) revealed that there was no statistical difference in affiliated new members' GPAs from one semester to the next. Survey data, both quantitative and qualitative, confirmed major differences in the manner fraternity / sorority activities were viewed across the three groups, and supported other research finding similar differences (Abrahamowicz, 1988; Wells & Corts, 2008)

The principal researcher suggests that these data be used as a motivator for the fraternity/sorority community to strive for an increase, whether significant or not, in their GPA from one semester to the next. More importantly than the GPA progression, affiliated students need to realize that being actively engaged in and out of the classroom is central to their success since the perception of their success, in the eyes of the faculty, is tied to academic engagement. And academic engagement, in faculty members' personal and professional lives, is measured via the metric of the grade point average.

Limitations

The most glaring limitation of the present case study was that the three surveys for affiliated, non-affiliated, and faculty constituencies were not completely parallel in form (Yin, 2003). Future research of a similar nature should be developed with clearly parallel items across all three groups for comparative analysis, and should include multiple campuses. Engaging representatives of all three groups in the construction of the survey instruments would also be helpful. Whereas a content analysis of open-ended written responses were reported in the present case study, a much stronger design would include targeted focus groups drawn from identifiable cam-

pus stakeholders.

Conclusion

A renewed interest in fraternity/sorority academic achievement has emerged on a national level (Gamma Sigma Alpha Annotated Bibliography, 2007). Millennial fraternity and sorority members are increasingly embracing academic success as an important value. Campus professional staff can capitalize on this trend by asking chapters and individuals to revisit their scholarship objectives and holding members accountable to the organizational principles of their fraternity that support their undergraduate institutions' missions.

Randall and Grady (1998) reported in their article *The Greek Experience and Critical-Thinking Skills* that there were positive effects stemming from fraternity/sorority life, clubs and organizations, faculty interaction, peer interaction, living on campus, and employment of critical thinking. Students involved in these activities experienced a positive gain in critical thinking compared to students who were not involved (p. 29). The same could be said for fraternity and sorority life and the four pillars of success; academics, leadership, community service efforts, and kinship. These positive gains should not be overlooked, especially as the fraternity and sorority community moves towards dispelling decade-old myths of slothfulness. The GPA data showed that for this group of affiliated students there was no statistical difference (Table 2) in the grade point averages of new members when compared to the semesters prior to and after joining the fraternity/sorority community at this liberal arts campus, which runs counter to prevailing perceptions about the effects of membership on academic achievement. In addition, the benefits that affiliated students acknowledge they are receiving due to their membership are indications that they believe they are developing a well-rounded core set of value-added skills.

The literature and research reveal

many advantages to Greek Life; "... they identified the benefits derived from Greek membership, which included such frequently made claims as the ability of fraternities to make integration into campus life more easy, the sense of community and lasting friendships they provide, the opportunities they give to develop leadership and social skills and to perform social service, their encouragement of high ideals and academic achievement, and the network of contacts they engendered that would extend beyond college" (Neuberger & Hanson, 1997, p. 95).

As fraternity and sorority life moves forward, stakeholders must find ways to successfully showcase organizational and individual successes to faculty members. By the same token, the leadership of the fraternity/sorority community must be more attentive when faculty members give suggestions on how to become, and stay, academically engaged.

It is important to realize that administrators who oversee fraternity and sorority life have a crucial role in bridging the connection between affiliated students and faculty members. There is no clear solution to this challenge; however, "continued study of the impact of student affairs administrators rather than faculty members might offer suggestions on how faculty members and student affairs staff members could work together to ensure that students maximally profit from both groups" (Hernandez, Hogan, Hathaway, & Lovell, 1999, p. 8). The goal should be to find common ground that infuses into the fraternity/sorority experience a new 21st century structure that benefits both entities. When "Greek students feel actively engaged by their community . . . they feel a sense of community and feel that their community has shaped their identity" (Blackburn, 2003, p. 52). Faculty members need to be active participants in this equation.

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REVIEW OF PAYING FOR THE PARTY: HOW COLLEGE MAINTAINS INEQUALITY

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Armstrong and Hamilton (2013) start with a simple question: what is the college experience of a cohort of women assigned to the same floor of a party residence hall to begin their first year? The narrative that developed from their qualitative ethnography surprised even the researchers as the pervasiveness of party culture defined the experience for the cohort of women in the study. *Paying for the Party* highlights not only how participating in the college party culture can influence the student experience, but also how the secondary effects for a party culture can dominate the college experience of even those who have no interest in participating. Armstrong and Hamilton demonstrate that colleges have nurtured and reinforced a party pathway through college that has resulted in the perpetuation of privilege and inequality among students.

In an era of heightened risk management, a drinking age of 21, and the fraternal values movement it might be easy to assume that the golden era of college partying from the mid-twentieth century has passed. The evidence brought forth by Armstrong and Hamilton starkly refutes this notion and provides evidence of a thriving party culture. Students gave reports of Wednesday through Sunday partying, lax peer monitoring of parties, class-based stratification within sororities, and fraternity men acting in sexist and dehumanizing ways towards women. The evidence made clear that the party culture is alive and well on today's college campus.

The differentiated experiences of undergraduate women based on class was highlighted through the different pathways available and the vastly differing college outcomes to the women in the ethnography. While often heralded as a force for equalization and meritocracy,

Armstrong and Hamilton argue that the college experiences of the women in their study reinforced and cemented class differences. Middle and working class women lacked the physical capital to afford the most meaningful and career-building college experiences, and they often lacked the social capital to form peer support networks that could have enriched their investment in the college. The significance of this finding is not lost upon the authors, nor do they make such an assertion lightly. Armstrong and Hamilton (2013) note that, "it is damning that not one of the working class students graduated from MU in five years" (p. 179). Meanwhile, their affluent peers with similar or lower academic ability used peer networks to find easy classes and family networks to secure competitive internships.

Equally damning is the extent to which structural forces contribute to the negative experiences and outcomes of the women in the study. The authors go to great lengths to critically examine the policies and practices of the college administration that influenced the lives of the participants. Beginning with the recruitment of wealthy out of state students, Armstrong and Hamilton critique the host college for permitting college legacies and other cultural insider students to self-select into party or alternative residence halls at the cost of isolating others. The authors found the college equally at fault for segregating the brightest and most motivated students into living-learning communities, supporting a dominant white and affluent fraternity and sorority party culture, permitting lax peer enforcement of policies for fraternity parties, turning a blind eye to sexist fraternity behaviors that increase the risk for sexual assault, offering easy and overpopulated majors with little career transferability, and stunting the

least prepared students with the least experienced teachers through remedial courses. These policies and procedures contributed to the divergent paths for wealthy and working class student and reinforced the inequalities in their college outcomes.

On a surface level, the inequities reinforced through structural systems at the college hold practical implications for offices and departments across campus. Offices of admissions, financial aid, fraternity and sorority life, residential life, student housing, student conduct, campus safety and security, honors colleges, off-campus study, and academic affairs are all implicated for their unequal treatment of students and given an imperative to act. From an equally poignant position, the evidence portrayed by Armstrong and Hamilton should provide every faculty, staff, and administrator the imperative to conceptually reconsider the status quo of their daily work. The lived experiences of the women represented in this study are a striking and valid counter-narrative to the idealized values of higher education institutions. Offices and individuals are equally accountable to the successes and failures of higher education and should view *Paying for the Party* as evidence towards the need for cultural change.

Written by a sociology faculty member and a graduate student, *Paying for the Party* gives voice to the lived experiences of the women in the study. Armstrong and Hamilton frequently explain student quotes as if correcting the misinformed perceptions of faculty. However, the authors also provide depth to their analysis through ancillary interviews with student affairs staff so as to better understand the administrative decisions that reinforce the party pathway. Even with this analysis, Armstrong and Hamilton barely touch on the multitude of research from the field of higher education and student affairs that both reinforces and contradicts their findings. Some of the staunchest defenses of fraternities and sororities have come from the Center for the Study of the College Fraternity –

housed at the same campus where this ethnography took place. For example, a faculty member (Pike, 2000) at the same institution studied by Armstrong and Hamilton used data from an unnamed single-institution study to refute a multi-institutional study that had indicated lower cognitive development by fraternity and sorority members in the first year (Pascarella et al., 1996). This led to two subsequent studies that largely reinforced the original finding (Pascarella, Flowers, & Whitt, 2001, 2006). The irony of these contrasting perspectives should not be lost to the informed student affairs professional. Armstrong and Hamilton introduce a new perspective that brings into question the assumptions and validity of existing research.

Reading *Paying for the Party* can leave the reader with a nihilistic perspective on both the present and future state of higher education, but it is important to frame the findings in the context of the study. Armstrong and Hamilton highlighted the stories of a small group of women with a unique college experience. The study was focused on the experience of women on a single floor of a residence hall that was culturally identified as a party hall. The campus where the study took place had an atypical fraternity and sorority culture and a unique set of campus traditions. The authors note that secondary evidence suggests that the experiences of men on the same campus may be very different based on the differing recruitment methods of fraternities and male cultural norms. While generalizing the experiences of the women in the study would be inappropriate, a reader should use the stories to challenge assumptions and question existing policies and procedures on college campuses.

The calls for change in higher education have become numerous and varied based on a plethora of converging factors such as emerging technologies, changing demographics, or financial sustainability. The question of equity and access are two critical issues for the future of higher education. Yet for all the critiques and manifes-

tos charged at traditional higher education based on these themes, few carry the weight and the impact of *Paying for the Party*. Armstrong and Hamilton address a third critical issue of student success and portray an institution that is supporting student experiences that directly contradict its mission. As mission-driven institutions, colleges and universities are faced with

the unavoidable imperative of responding in meaningful ways to the evidence brought forth in the narratives of the women in the study. If change in higher education is inevitable, perhaps *Paying for the Party* will be the impetus that finally moves higher education in a meaningful way.

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