



afa ORACLE

THE RESEARCH JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION OF FRATERNITY | SORORITY ADVISORS

VOLUME 11 ISSUE 1, SPRING 2016

TABLE OF CONTENTS

iv EDITORIAL TEAM

v GENERAL INFORMATION

vi LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

1 THE EFFECTS OF SORORITY RECRUITMENT ON PSYCHOLOGICAL WELLBEING AND SOCIAL SUPPORT

COLLEEN KASE, NATASHA RIVERA, AND MELISSA G. HUNT, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

We explore the relation of deferred sorority recruitment and early membership to variables such as self-esteem, depressive and anxious symptoms, social support, and personality characteristics. Survey data were collected at four time points from 171 freshman women. Successful participants reported the highest levels of social support and wellbeing prior to recruitment. The recruitment process itself had negative effects on social support and mood, with all participants reporting an increase in anxiety during recruitment. The first few months of sorority membership did improve feelings of belonging, but this improvement was largely accessed by women who were already socially successful.

17 EXAMINING SOCIAL DESIRABILITY ORIENTATION AND ALCOHOL USE EXPECTATIONS AS FACTORS IN FRATERNITY DRINKING

PIETRO SASSO, MONMOUTH UNIVERSITY AND ALAN M. SCHWITZER, OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY

This study examined two constructs, (a) an orientation toward social desirability, and (b) expectations of alcohol use, as factors in fraternity member alcohol consumption. 324 participants from 13 different fraternity chapters at 12 different institutions completed measures of social desirability orientation (Social Desirability Scale; Marlowe & Crowne, 1964) and expectations of alcohol use (Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire; Brown, Goldman, Inn & Anderson, 1987) and additional demographic information. We found high social desirability orientations, strong expectations for the outcomes of alcohol use, and relationships between these two constructs. Implications for institutional programming and practice, limitations, and future research directions are discussed.

**36 THE HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE “COLLEGE MAN” IDENTITY AND
WORLD WAR I ERA ARCHIVE OF A DENISON UNIVERSITY FRATERNITY MAN
LIZ ROHAN, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-DEARBORN**

This article foregrounds a portion of an archive featuring the artifacts of a historical college student, John M. Price, who attended Denison University in Granville, Ohio during and after World War I, who was also a member of Phi Gamma Delta fraternity like his brothers, father and uncles. Price’s interest in writing, as well as reading, was developed in tension with prescribed identities in World War I era collegiate America deemphasizing scholastics. Price’s documents not only provide a historical example of a young man responding to prescribed cultural identities, but also show him struggling to maintain this identity, a struggle that can be food for thought for contemporary college students whose personal values may conflict with the values prescribing their public behavior, and behavior that has historical roots in the era when Price attended college.

**46 JUST THE FACTS, BRO: DEVELOPING A SUCCESSFUL ALCOHOL EDUCATION
PROGRAM FOR FRATERNITY MEMBERS**

K. JOY HAMM, CHATTAHOOCHEE VALLEY COMMUNITY COLLEGE

The purpose of this study was to assess the impact of Alcohol Skills Training Program (ASTP) on fraternity drinking, ascertain elements of the program that may lead to behavioral change and understand the role chapter culture plays in the success of the program. Although the researcher did not find significant evidence to support ASTP as an effective alcohol education program for reducing high-risk drinking, certain elements of ASTP do seem to be viewed as useful by members of fraternities. The findings from this study enabled the researcher to make several recommendations regarding alcohol education within the fraternal community.

2016 EDITORIAL TEAM

EDITOR

Georgianna L. Martin, Ph.D.
University of Southern Mississippi

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

Diana Hernández
The College of William and Mary
Doctoral Candidate

PEER REVIEW BOARD

Cassie Barnhardt, Ph.D.
University of Iowa

J. Patrick Biddix, Ph.D.
University of Tennessee

Denny Bubrig, Ph.D.
Samford University

Daniel Bureau, Ph.D.
University of Memphis

Mari Ann Callais, Ph.D.
Delta Delta Delta

Trace Camacho
Michigan State University

Brandon Common
Illinois Wesleyan University

Amber Garrison Duncan,
Ph.D.
University of Oregon

Charles Eberly, Ph.D.
Eastern Illinois University

Jennifer Plagman-Galvin,
Iowa State University
Doctoral Candidate

David Grady, Ph.D.
The University of Iowa

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

James P. Barber, Ph.D.
The College of William and Mary

Teniell Trolian
University of Iowa

Dennis Gregory, Ed.D.
Old Dominion University

Michael Hevel, Ph.D.
The University of Arkansas

Steven M. Janosik, Ed.D.
Virginia Tech

Matthew Johnson, Ph.D.
Central Michigan University

Kenneth Jones
University of Pennsylvania

John Wesley Lowery, Ph.D.
*Indiana University of
Pennsylvania*

Travis Martin
University of Georgia

Malinda Matney, Ph.D.
University of Michigan

Adam McCready
Boston College
Doctoral Candidate

Gentry McCreary, Ph.D.
Dyad Strategies, LLC

MARKETING & COMMUNICATIONS MANAGER

Andrea Starks-Corbin
*Association of Fraternity/Sorority
Advisors*

Donald Mitchell, Jr., Ph.D.
Grand Valley State University

Andy Morgan, Ph.D.
*Southern Illinois University
at Carbondale*

Kimberly Nehls, Ph.D.
*University of Nevada
at Las Vegas*

Eric Norman, Ed.D.
*Indiana University Purdue
University Fort Wayne*

Pietro Sasso, Ph.D.
Monmouth University

Joshua Schutts, Ph.D.
University of West Florida

Michele Smith, Ph.D.
Missouri State University

Dianne Timm, Ph.D.
Eastern Illinois University

Carolyn Whittier, Ph.D.
Valparaiso University

Robert Wood,
*Department of Defense at the
Pentagon*

GENERAL INFORMATION

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.

Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors is published biannually. Past issues of *Oracle* are available on the AFA website.

COPYRIGHT:

Copyright © 2016 Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors, Inc. (AFA). All material contained in this publication is the property of AFA. The opinions expressed in *Oracle* do not necessarily reflect those of AFA. Requests for permission to reprint should be sent to the AFA Central Office at info@afa.1976.org or 970.797.4361.

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.

SPRING INTO PROFESSIONAL GROWTH! INCORPORATING RESEARCH INTO YOUR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND PRACTICE

GEORGIANNA L. MARTIN, ORACLE EDITOR

Spring is upon us! It's that time of year when we start spending more time outside: farmer's markets, festivals, swimming, hiking, BBQs, and more. It's also a hectic time as many of us plan for the end of another academic year. As we welcome spring and close out another academic year, let's take time to assess where we are professionally and what we've accomplished this year. Did you keep your professional development goals this year? Did you succeed in launching the initiative you've been thinking about and planning for the last 18 months? Did you finish your dissertation? Did you read all of the books you had on your 'to do list' this year? If you're anything like me, you may find that you fall a bit short of the lofty expectations you set for yourself from time to time. However, you also can probably identify a number of wins this year! Did you have any moments where you genuinely felt like you helped a student or an organization? Did you take pride in mentoring a new colleague at your institution or within your organization? Did you read any of the books on your 'to do list' this year? Did you have any moments that reminded you why you love your job? Spring is a time to reflect on where we've been and to push the reset button as the summer approaches.

In addition to enjoying more time outdoors, what new goals might you set for yourself professionally? Are there reading, writing, or planning goals you need to make a priority this summer? For many of you catching up on recent research in the field might make it to your list of goals; we have four articles in this issue of Oracle that can help you accomplish that goal! I hope for some of you that contributing to the research in the field by conducting your own study (and submitting it to Oracle!) is part of your plan. In the spirit of continual improvement, I encourage us all to take a moment to think about how we contribute to the research in the field. Maybe it's through being a good consumer of research or maybe it is through encouraging dialogue among your colleagues (or students!) about a recent article you've read. Maybe it's through writing and conducting research on your own or with a group or maybe it's through blogging about how you can translate research to practice for other professionals in the field.

In the Spring 2016 issue you will find four articles that contribute to the growing body of literature on the fraternity/sorority experience. First, Colleen Kase, Natasha Rivera, and Melissa G. Hunt discuss how sorority recruitment contributes to psychological well-being and social support in their article titled *The Effects of Sorority Recruitment on Psychological Well-being and Social Support*. This particular article adds to the growing body of literature exploring how various aspects of the fraternity/sorority experience influence college outcomes. Next, in their article titled *Examining Social Desirability Orientation and Alcohol Use Expectations as Factors in Fraternity Drinking*, Pietro Sasso and Alan M. Schwitzer discuss the relationship between students' expectations for alcohol use and social desirability adding further nuance to the already sizeable research on fraternity alcohol use. Then, Liz Rohan's historical piece titled *The Historical Construction of the "College Man" Identity and World War I Era Archive of a Denison University Fraternity Man* explores the diaries of John Price and offers Oracle readers a rarely seen historical article on the experiences and writing of one fraternity man's struggle to maintain prescribed cultural identities during and after World War I. Finally, we close out this issue with K. Joy Hamm's article *Just the Facts, Bro: Developing a Successful Alcohol Education Program for Fraternity Members*. The final article in this issue presents findings

on an alcohol education intervention (ASTP), a piece that may be particularly helpful for professionals working on harm reduction initiatives. In closing, wherever you find your strengths and talents related to research, I hope you'll consider making research on fraternity/sorority experiences an important part of your professional development goals!

THE EFFECTS OF SORORITY RECRUITMENT ON PSYCHOLOGICAL WELLBEING AND SOCIAL SUPPORT

COLLEEN KASE, NATASHA RIVERA, AND MELISSA G. HUNT, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

We explore the relation of deferred sorority recruitment and early membership to variables such as self-esteem, depressive and anxious symptoms, social support, and personality characteristics. Survey data were collected at four time points from 171 freshman women. Successful participants reported the highest levels of social support and wellbeing prior to recruitment. The recruitment process itself had negative effects on social support and mood, with all participants reporting an increase in anxiety during recruitment. The first few months of sorority membership did improve feelings of belonging, but this improvement was largely accessed by women who were already socially successful.

Over 100,000 undergraduate women participate in the Panhellenic sorority recruitment process annually, and over four million women have been involved in Panhellenic sororities throughout their histories (National Panhellenic Conference, 2013). Despite these numbers, very little empirical research has been conducted on the psychological effects of sorority recruitment and membership. The majority of studies focus on sorority members' increased levels of drinking and drug use, disordered eating, and sexual assault victimization as compared to undergraduate women not involved in sororities (e.g., Allison & Park, 2004; Capone, Wood, Borsari, & Laird, 2007; Minow & Einolf, 2009). However, women report that one of their primary goals for participating in sorority recruitment is to gain opportunities for friendship, social support, and feelings of belonging to a community (Fouts, 2010). It is therefore puzzling that very few prior studies have examined the impact of sorority recruitment and membership on these positive outcomes. Woodward, Rosenfeld, and May (1996) found that members of sororities reported that their sorority helped fulfill their desire for relationships with other students who could help them cope with daily stressors, and that their sorority provided them with a place to belong. However, this study did not include a comparison group of women who were not in sororities.

Social support is typically associated with

better psychological adjustment, especially for women (Kendler, Myers, & Prescott, 2005). Therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that if sorority membership does indeed increase social support, it should also lead to lower levels of depression (Hefner & Eisenberg, 2009) and anxiety (Hawkins, 1995) and higher levels of self-esteem (Goodwin, Costa, & Adonu, 2004; Williams & Galliher, 2006). However, the few studies that examined these outcomes found that sorority membership was not associated with higher mean self-esteem (Saville & Johnson, 2007) or less depression (Ridgway, Tang, & Lester, 2014) as compared to non-membership. Thus, further longitudinal research is necessary to examine the potential benefits of acceptance into a sorority, especially with regard to social support, belonging, and psychological well-being.

Before women can join a sorority and gain any possible benefits, they must first successfully navigate the recruitment process. The National Panhellenic Conference reports that the recruitment process allows "85 to 95 percent of undergraduate women to be matched with the chapters they are most interested in joining" (National Panhellenic Conference; n.d.). However, these percentages do not take into account women who do not complete all the rounds of recruitment. Many women withdraw early or are eliminated from the recruitment process altogether. This number is about 22% of the overall potential new member pool on average, and may be as high as 30%

or more on some campuses (Johnson & Martini, 2011; Moore, 2012). Moreover, the recruitment process exposes participants to the potential for social rejection, which could have negative effects on psychological well-being, including depression, anxiety, self-esteem, perceived social support, and sense of belonging, a hypothesis supported by some first person accounts (e.g. Brown, 2013).

Several empirical studies have examined the impact of successful versus unsuccessful recruitment experiences on psychological well-being, but they have found conflicting results. Chapman, Hirt, and Spruill (2008) found that unsuccessful recruitment participants experienced a significant decline in self-esteem from pre- to post-recruitment (a rejection penalty), while successful participants experienced a significant increase. On the other hand, Atlas and Morier (1994) reported that women who successfully joined a sorority experienced decreased depressive symptoms five months post-recruitment as compared to the beginning of the school year, while women rejected from recruitment experienced no change (no rejection penalty). Thus, further research is necessary to examine the impact of the recruitment process itself on psychological well-being.

Another important question to consider is what individual differences predict the decision to participate in sorority recruitment, as well as the outcome of recruitment participation. Past research has indicated that undergraduates self-select into recruitment participant and non-participant groups based on criteria such as family income, weight, physical attractiveness, and alcohol use. Similar criteria have also been shown to predict whether they will be successful or unsuccessful in the recruitment process (Basow, Foran, & Bookwala, 1997; Atlas & Morier, 1994). However, we found no studies that examine the baseline differences between participants and nonparticipants in terms of personality factors or psychological variables such as self-esteem and depressive or anxious symptoms.

The current study sought to fill several of these

gaps in the existing literature. First, we wanted to focus on the potential *benefits* that might accrue with sorority membership, particularly in the domain of perceived social support and a sense of belonging. Thus, we hypothesized that women who successfully participated in recruitment would experience increases in perceived social support and belonging both during the recruitment process and thereafter, while unsuccessful participants would experience decreases and nonparticipants would remain at baseline. Second, we wanted to examine the impact of recruitment itself, particularly whether there might be a “rejection penalty” for unsuccessful participants. Thus, we hypothesized that women who successfully participated in recruitment would experience increases in self-esteem and decreases in depressive and anxious symptoms and negative affect, while unsuccessful participants would experience decreases in self-esteem and increases in depressive and anxious symptoms and negative affect and nonparticipants would remain at baseline. Third, we hypothesized that women who planned on participating in recruitment would exhibit lower levels of perceived social support at baseline, following the rationale that they would be more likely to desire the opportunity for social support that sororities purportedly offer. Finally, we wanted to examine how individual differences in personality and psychological well-being at baseline predicted both recruitment participation and success.

The study was designed as a longitudinal, self-reported study. We gathered baseline data on personality and expected recruitment plans, and repeated measures on perceived social support, belonging, self-esteem, depressive and anxious symptoms, and negative affect. The University of Pennsylvania, where the study was carried out, uses a deferred (spring) recruitment system, as do approximately 25% of colleges and universities that host Panhellenic sororities (National Panhellenic Conference, 2015). Thus, the first wave of data collection took place in November of the fall semester. The second wave of data was collected during the first week of the spring

semester, prior to the start of recruitment. The third wave of data was collected during the week immediately after recruitment ended. The final wave of data was collected in March of the spring semester, approximately 2 months after recruitment. The study was approved by the University's Institutional Review Board, and the first survey included an approved informed consent form.

Methods

Participants

Women of the freshman class at the University of Pennsylvania were surveyed. Of the 1,395 undergraduate freshmen women emailed, 355 responded to the first survey, 263 participants responded to the second survey, 203 responded to the third, and 207 to the fourth. 171 participants responded to all 4 surveys. Demographically, our baseline participants included American Indian or Alaska Native (0.5%), East Asian (21.3%), South Asian (6.3%), African American (8.7%), and White (54.8%) female students, and 12.9% of the participants identified as Hispanic or Latina. The demographics of the 207 women who responded to the fourth survey were somewhat similar, with 1.0% identifying as American Indian or Alaskan Native, 21.8% identifying as East Asian, 5.8% identifying as South Asian, 7.8% identifying as African American, 54.9% identifying as White, and 9.7% identifying as Hispanic or Latina.

Instruments

Interpersonal Support Evaluation List, College Version (ISEL; Cohen & Hoberman, 1983)

The ISEL assesses four areas of perceived social support: tangible support ("I know someone who could loan me \$50 so I could go away for the weekend"); a sense of belonging ("People hang out in my room or apartment during the day or in the evening"); the appraisal of social support ("I know someone who I see or talk to often with whom I would feel perfectly comfortable talking about any problems I might have adjusting to

college life"); and self-esteem ("Most people who know me well think highly of me"). Each subscale contains 12 items, and participants can respond in one of four ways: definitely true, probably true, probably false, and definitely false. We chose to use a measure of perceived social support because it has been shown that people's perceptions of social support are more highly related to psychological outcomes than more objective measures of support (Haber, Cohen, Lucas, & Baltes, 2007). In addition, we did not include the self-esteem subscale because we used a separate self-esteem measure. As a whole, the scale has an alpha of 0.77 and test-retest reliability coefficient of 0.70. Each scale has an alpha of between 0.71 and 0.77 and a test-retest reliability of between 0.67 and 0.84. In this study, the Cronbach's alpha was 0.93.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965)

The RSE consists of 10 statements used to assess global self-esteem. Participants can respond in one of four ways: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree. The points are summed with scores ranging from 10-40, with higher scores reflecting higher self-esteem. Rosenberg (1965) reported internal consistency reliability ranging from 0.85 to 0.88 for college samples. In this study, the Cronbach's alpha was 0.90.

NEO Five Factor Inventory (NEO-FFI; Costa & McCrae, 1992)

The NEO-FFI consists of 60 items measuring the five factors of personality (Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness). These five areas are measured by separate subscales consisting of 12 items each. The NEO-FFI subscales are reported to have alpha ranging from 0.68 to 0.89 and test-retest reliability coefficients ranging from 0.75 to 0.83 in a college sample. We chose to exclude the neuroticism scale as we included measures of negative affect elsewhere. In this study, the Cronbach's alphas were 0.83, 0.67, 0.77, and 0.84 for extraversion, openness, agreeableness, and conscientiousness, respectively.

State-Trait Anxiety Inventory-State (STAI-S;

Spielberger & Vagg, 1984)

The STAI-S is the state anxiety subscale of the 40-item STAI, which assesses both trait anxiety and state anxiety. Participants can respond to the 20 items in one of four ways, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 4 (very much so). The Cronbach's alpha is reported to be 0.80. Test-retest reliability coefficients range from 0.65 to 0.75 (Spielberger, 1983). In this study, the Cronbach's alpha estimate was 0.93.

Beck Depression Inventory II (BDI-II; Beck, Steer, & Carbin, 1988).

The BDI-II contains 21 items assessing the severity of depression symptoms. It is rated on a four-point scale ranging from 0 (not endorsing symptom) to 3 (severe symptoms). The points are summed for a total score. The BDI-II has an alpha coefficient of 0.93 and a test-retest correlation of 0.93 for college students. In this study, the Cronbach's alpha estimate was 0.92.

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988)

Six items from the PANAS Negative Affect subscale were used in this study – those that were deemed to represent independent emotions (e.g., hostile was not considered independent from angry). The items are rated on a 1-5 scale, 1 being “I feel this very slightly or not at all” and 5 being “I feel this extremely.” The reported Cronbach's alpha coefficients range from 0.84 to 0.87, and the test-retest correlations range from 0.39 to 0.71. In this study, the Cronbach's alpha estimate was 0.85.

Procedure

Participants were recruited to the study via emails, which invited them to participate in a study examining the effects of sorority involvement on social support. The emails contained a link to a survey that collected data on demographics, sorority involvement, perceived social support, self-esteem, depression, anxiety, negative affect, and personality. The participants were asked to provide their university email address at each time point in order to track individual responses over time.

The first survey (“baseline”) was emailed to all female students in the class of 2017 on November 1, 2013. This survey introduced them to the study, provided an electronic consent form, collected demographic information, and collected responses to the college version of the ISEL, the NEO-FFI (excluding neuroticism), the RSE, STAI-S, BDI-II, and PANAS. The total survey took an average of 26 minutes to complete. Participants were given two weeks to respond. Reminder emails were sent to all possible participants and flyers about the study were posted throughout campus. Approximately a quarter of female freshman responded to and completed at least some portion of the survey, 355 women in total.

The three later surveys were sent only to those women for whom we had collected baseline data. The surveys included questions about the participants' plans for and experiences with recruitment and the ISEL, RSE, STAI-S, BDI-II, and PANAS. The second survey (“pre-recruitment”) was sent to participants during early January, and they were able to complete it throughout the week immediately preceding recruitment. The third survey (“post-recruitment”) was distributed at the end of January, and participants were able to complete it throughout the week immediately following recruitment. The final survey (“follow-up”) was distributed at the end of March and participants were given two weeks to complete.

Statistical Analysis

Data were collected using Survey Monkey's secure servers and analyzed using SPSS version 21. Summary scores for each scale were calculated by reverse scoring appropriate items and summing. Because the overall percentage of missing items within otherwise completed scales was low, scores were not imputed for missing items. We first analyzed descriptive statistics of the data for outliers, but because all outliers seemed to accurately represent the population (for example, extreme scores on the BDI-II were due to severely depressed participants rather than

error), we decided not to remove or correct outliers. We compared demographic and sorority participation data for our sample to actual university data and analyzed dropout rates across groups using chi-squared tests. We ensured that scales we expected to be related, such as depressive symptoms and social support, were associated in the expected direction using Pearson's correlations. We compared baseline differences between participants using univariate ANOVAs and pairwise comparisons. We compared changes over time between groups using ANCOVAs with baseline data as a covariate as well as paired samples t-tests. We also calculated group differences in recruitment success rates using independent samples t-tests. We calculated effect sizes using Cohen's η^2 and d guidelines (1992). In addition, we analyzed participants' comments on the third survey about recruitment and social life by having two raters independently code each comment's emotional valence on a scale from -3 to 3. We calculated two-way mixed intra-class correlation coefficients to ensure inter-rater reliability. After all the comments were coded, the raters came to a consensus on codes that were disputed and descriptive statistics and independent samples t-tests were utilized. Final analyses were based on these consensus scores.

Results

Sample Characteristics

Our baseline sample was representative of the freshman class as a whole in terms of successful versus unsuccessful recruitment outcome as compared to historical data. However, our sample was not representative of the university's freshman class in terms of race. Chi-squared analyses revealed that there were significantly more Asian women than would be expected in the sample, $\chi^2(1, N = 104) = 10.8, p = .001$, and significantly fewer Caucasian women than would be expected, $\chi^2(1, N = 164) = 4.4, p < .05$, based on the estimated racial makeup of the

university as a whole [0.3% American Indian/Alaskan Native, 21.8% Asian, 8.0% Black/African-American, 10.3% Hispanic/Latino, 3.3% Multi-race (not Hispanic/Latino), 0.1% Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander, 51.2% White]. In addition, our sample included significantly fewer recruitment participants than would be expected based on historical data, $\chi^2(1, N = 155) = 17.9, p < .001$. Chi-squared analyses also revealed that race was a significant predictor of recruitment participation, $\chi^2(18, N = 359) = 190.8, p < .001$, with White women more likely to participate in recruitment as compared to other groups.

Although there was significant participant attrition across the time points, chi-squared tests demonstrated that dropout rates were equal across successful recruitment participants, unsuccessful recruitment participants, and non-participants, $\chi^2(2, N = 352) = .102, p = .95$, suggesting that these conclusions were unbiased. We also noted that baseline belongingness was a significant predictor of study dropout, with women who dropped out ($M = 39.03, SD = 5.18$) reporting higher levels of belongingness than women who did not drop out of the study ($M = 27.52, SD = 6.19$), $t(353) = 2.12, p < .05$. All measures were correlated in the expected direction (e.g., depressive symptoms were positively correlated with anxious symptoms and negatively correlated with social support).

Baseline Characteristics

Our first semester data revealed significant baseline differences between women who planned to participate in recruitment ($n = 131$), women who did not ($n = 123$), women who were unsure of their plans for the recruitment process ($n = 87$), and women who did not plan to participate because they hoped to become involved in another fraternity/sorority organization such as a Multicultural Greek Council sorority or a service fraternity ($n = 14$). Women's first semester "sorority plan" was significantly associated with baseline social support, $F(3, 354) = 8.23, p <$

.001, $\eta^2 = .07$, a small effect size. Contrary to our first hypothesis, women who planned on participating reported significantly higher levels of social support ($M = 118$, $SD = 14.6$) as compared to women who did not plan on participating ($M = 111$, $SD = 15.6$), $p < .05$, women who were unsure ($M = 107$, $SD = 19.3$), $p < .05$, and women who planned on joining other fraternity/sorority organizations ($M = 108$, $SD = 22$), $p < .05$. Of those women not planning to participate in recruitment, the vast majority (89%) reported they had found community or a sense of belonging elsewhere at the university, such as a residential facility or a club. Because the group of women who planned on participating in another fraternity/sorority organization was small compared to the other groups and was not central to our hypotheses, most of our discussion and conclusions refer only to the three largest groups.

There were also significant baseline differences between the groups on personality variables. Sorority plan was significantly associated with extraversion, $F(3, 289) = 12.54$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$, a small effect size. Pairwise comparisons revealed that women planning on participating in recruitment ($M = 45$, $SD = 6.3$) were significantly more extraverted as compared to those not planning to participate ($M = 40$, $SD = 7.7$), $p < .05$ and those unsure about participating ($M = 41$, $SD = 6.3$), $p < .05$. Interestingly, Levene's test for equality of variances was significant, with the group of women planning not to participate showing much more heterogeneity than the other two groups. Sorority plan was also significantly associated with agreeableness, $F(3, 288) = 3.11$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$, a small effect size. Women planning on participating ($M = 46$, $SD = 5.6$) reported significantly higher agreeableness than those not planning on participating ($M = 44$, $SD = 6.4$), $p < .05$, those who were unsure ($M = 44$, $SD = 6.0$), $p < .05$, and those participating in another fraternity/sorority organization ($M = 42$, $SD = 5.1$), $p < .05$.

In addition, sorority plan was significantly

associated with depressive symptoms $F(3, 261) = 4.63$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .12$, a small effect size. Women who were unsure about participating ($M = 12$, $SD = 10.6$) reported significantly more depressive symptoms than women who planned on participating ($M = 8$, $SD = 6.9$, $p < .01$) and women who did not ($M = 9$, $SD = 7.7$), $p < .05$. Sorority plan was also significantly associated with self-esteem at baseline $F(2, 277) = 3.22$, $p < .05$, with women who planned on participating ($M = 31$, $SD = 4.9$) reporting significantly higher levels of self-esteem as compared to women who were unsure ($M = 29$, $SD = 4$). Finally, while the overall ANOVA comparing state anxiety levels across sorority plan was not significant $F(2, 266) = 2.08$, $p = .13$, planned comparisons revealed women who planned on participating ($M = 40$, $SD = 10.9$) reported significantly lower levels of anxious symptoms than women who were unsure ($M = 44$, $SD = 12.7$), $t(168) = -2.03$, $p < .05$. All baseline differences are summarized in Table 1.

Another way to consider baseline differences was women's eventual recruitment outcomes, using the categories of successful participant (any women who received an invitation for membership from a sorority, $n = 106$), unsuccessful participant (any women who were registered for the recruitment process but did not receive a membership invitation, $n = 47$), and nonparticipant ($n = 199$). Of particular interest were the baseline differences between women who went on to be successful and those who went on to be unsuccessful. Chi-squared analyses indicated that women who were unsure of their plan for recruitment at baseline were significantly less likely than women who were sure they would participate to complete the process successfully if they ultimately did decide to participate in recruitment $\chi^2(205) = 115$, $p < .001$, $V = 0.45$, a large effect size.

Independent samples t -tests revealed that women who went on to be successful participants ($M = 31$, $SD = 5$) reported significantly higher levels of baseline self-esteem as compared

to those who went on to be unsuccessful ($M = 29, SD = 4.3$), $t(127) = 2.80, p = .01$. In addition, women who went on to be successful ($M = 38, SD = 10$) reported significantly lower levels of baseline anxious symptoms as compared to unsuccessful participants ($M = 43, SD = 12.4$), $t(119) = -2.38, p < .05$. Successful women ($M = 7, SD = 10.4$) also reported lower levels of baseline depressive symptoms than unsuccessful women ($M = 10, SD = 8$), $t(120) = -2.43, p < .05$.

ANOVAs also revealed that recruitment outcome was significantly associated with openness, with nonparticipants ($M = 46, SD = 5.7$) reporting significantly higher openness as compared to successful participants ($M = 44, SD = 5$), $p < .05$, and unsuccessful participants fall-

ing in the middle. In addition, recruitment outcome was associated with conscientiousness, with successful participants ($M = 46, SD = 5.9$) reporting significantly higher conscientiousness as compared to nonparticipants ($M = 43, SD = 7$), $p < .05$, and unsuccessful participants again falling in the middle. Recruitment outcome was associated with extraversion, with successful participants ($M = 46, SD = 6$) reporting higher levels of extraversion as compared to both unsuccessful participants [$(M = 44, SD = 6), p < .05$] and nonparticipants ($M = 41, SD = 7.3$), $p < .05$. Finally, recruitment outcome was significantly associated with agreeableness, with successful participants ($M = 46, SD = 5.5$) reporting higher levels of agreeableness as compared to nonparticipants ($M = 44, SD = 6.2$), $p < .05$.

Table 1
Baseline differences.

	Planned to participate ("yes") ($n = 131$)	Unsure ("unsure") ($n = 87$)	Did not plan to participate ("no") ($n = 123$)	Significance	Effect Size of overall model
Extraversion	45.4 (6.3)	41.4 (6.3)*	39.9 (7.7)*	Yes significantly more extraverted than unsure and no	$\eta^2 = .12$
Agreeableness	46.9 (5.6)	43.9 (6.0)*	44.3 (6.4)*	Yes significantly more agreeable than unsure and no	$\eta^2 = .04$
Perceived social support	117.5 (14.6)	106.7 (19.3)*	111.2 (15.6)*	Yes significantly more socially supported than unsure and no	$\eta^2 = .07$
Anxiety	39.92 (10.9)*	43.7 (12.7)		Unsure significantly more anxious than yes	
Depression	8.1 (6.9)**	12.0 (4.6)	8.8 (7.7)*	Unsure significantly more depressed than yes and no	$\eta^2 = .12$
Self-esteem	30.6 (4.9)	28.5 (5.0)*		Yes report significantly higher self-esteem than unsure	$\eta^2 = .02$

Notes: Data denote Mean (SD); ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$.

Change over Time Prior to Recruitment

Interestingly, the entire sample experienced modest improvements in distress and perceived social support from baseline to pre-recruitment. Total perceived social support, self-esteem, anxiety, negative affect, and depression all incremen-

tally improved for the whole sample [all $t(215) > 2.89$, all $p < .01$]. This is certainly related to deferred recruitment and the amount of time that passed between baseline and pre-recruitment testing (approximately 2 months). However, there were some group differences in degree of

improvement. Controlling for baseline, women who ultimately went on to successfully participate in recruitment reported significantly higher perceived social support and belonging at pre-recruitment ($M = 120, SD = 14.2$, and $M = 40, SD = 5.9$, respectively) as compared to nonparticipants [$(M = 110, SD = 17$ and $M = 36, SD = 6$, respectively), $p < .05$], and slightly lower levels of negative affect [Successful ($M = 7.7, SD = 2.3$), Nonparticipant ($M = 8.9, SD = 3.60$), $p < .05$], with unsuccessful participants falling in the middle.

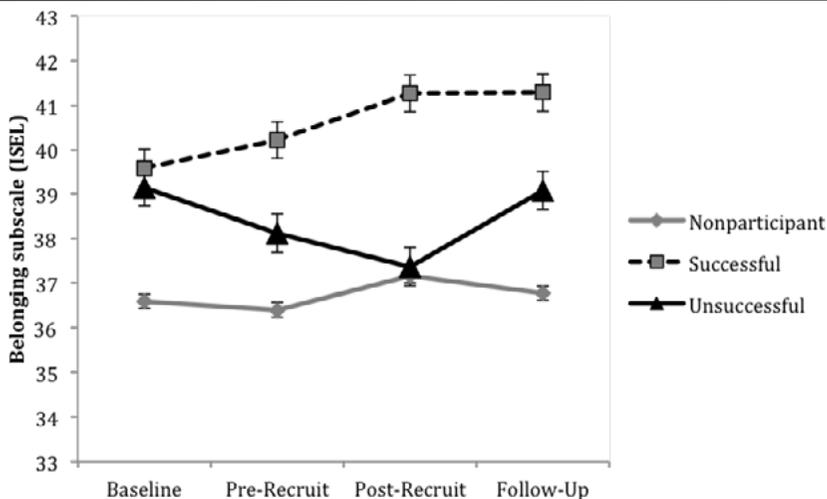
Acute Recruitment Effects

Using the categories of successful participant, unsuccessful participant, and nonparticipant, we were able to examine how the two weeks of recruitment acutely affected distress and perceived social support. None of the ANCOVAs predicting post-recruitment self-reported variables controlling for pre-recruitment levels based on recruitment outcome were significant. However, planned comparisons revealed two effects. Unsuccessful participants ($M = 37, SD = 6$) reported lower levels of perceived belonging-

ness than did nonparticipants [$(M = 37, SD = 6), p = .05$] *controlling for pre-recruitment*, but not less than successful participants ($M = 41, SD = 6$). Unsuccessful participants also reported the highest level of negative affect controlling for pre-recruitment ($M = 10, SD = 4$) and were significantly more distressed than nonparticipants ($M = 9, SD = 4$), $p < .05$, with successful participants falling in the middle ($M = 8, SD = 3$).

We also explored change over time within each group using paired samples t-tests. Nonparticipants experienced significant improvement in perceived social support and belonging [both $t(106) > 3.37$, both $p \leq .001$] over the course of the recruitment process. They also experienced a marginally significant increase in self-esteem, $t(103) = 1.87, p = .065$. Successful participants experienced a significant increase in state anxiety over the course of recruitment, $t(47) = 2.51, p < .05, d = 0.51$, a medium effect size. Unsuccessful participants experienced significant increases in both state anxiety and negative affect [both $t(20-22) > 2.29$, both $p < .05$, both $d > 0.68$, both medium effect sizes]. See Figures 1-3.

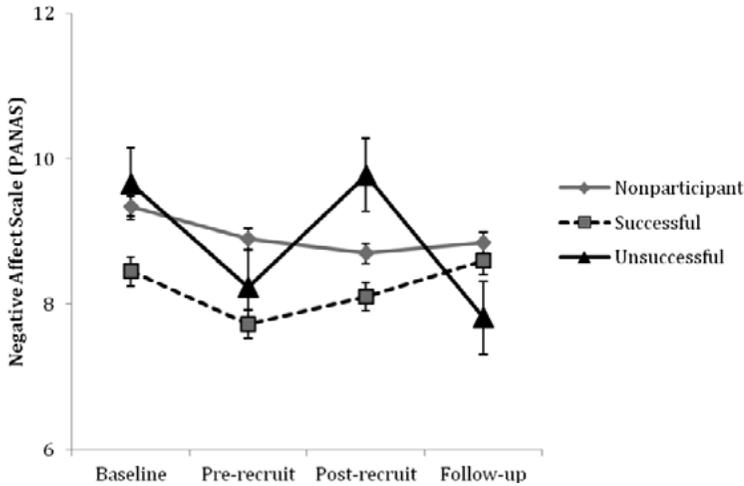
Figure 1
Changes in belongingness over time.



Note: Error bars represent the standard error of the mean.

Figure 2

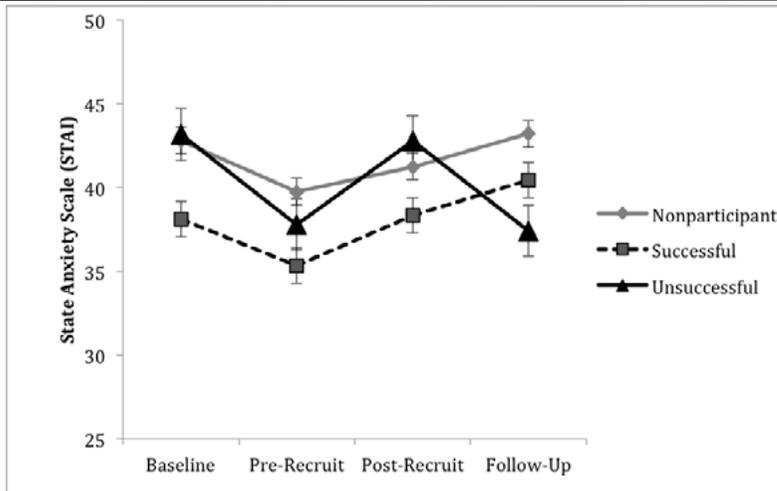
Changes in negative affect over time.



Note: Error bars represent the standard error of the mean.

Figure 3

Changes in anxiety over time.



Note: Error bars represent the standard error of the mean.

Qualitative Descriptions of Recruitment

In addition to the quantitative results summarized above, we found important qualitative trends through respondent comments. Inter-rater reliability for comment scoring was excellent, as the intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC)

for average measures was .91 with $p < .001$ for the social support comment (“Feel free to share any thoughts, feelings, or observations you have about social life and social support at Penn”) and .96 with $p < .001$ for the recruitment comment (“Feel free to elaborate on your experiences with

Panhellenic recruitment and explain your decisions above. In particular, if you withdrew from recruitment, please indicate your reasons for doing so"). Descriptive analyses revealed both comments were rated on the full range of possible values, with a minimum of -3 and a maximum of 3. The mean for the social support comment was .14 with a standard deviation of 1.65. The mean for the recruitment comment was -.73, with a standard deviation of 1.49. Pearson's correlations revealed that the two comments were strongly related, $r = .53, p < .001$. In addition, paired samples *t*-tests revealed that social support comments were significantly more positive than recruitment comments (Mean difference = .71, $SD = 1.63$), $t(44) = 2.92, p = .01$.

Independent samples *t*-tests revealed no significant mean differences between successful participants, unsuccessful participants, and nonparticipants in terms of the social support comment. However, unsuccessful participants ($M = -1.35, SD = 1.22$) were rated as having significantly lower scores on the recruitment comment than successful participants ($M = .00, SD = 2.04$), $t(29) = 2.29, p < .05$ and nonparticipants ($M = -.48, SD = 1.01$), $t(42) = -2.56, p = .01$. In addition, when the mean recruitment comment score for each group was imputed for every member of that group, the average recruitment rating for the overall sample was -.45. Representative comments are reproduced in Table 2.

Post-Recruitment Effects

In addition to the acute effects of the recruitment process, ANCOVA analyses revealed a significant effect of the first few months of sorority membership on respondents' social support. Even controlling for post-recruitment level of belongingness, women who were members of a Panhellenic sorority at follow-up ($M = 41, SD = 5.5$) reported significantly higher belongingness at follow-up than women who were not members of a sorority ($M = 37, SD = 6.1$), $p < .05$, with women who had joined other fraternal organizations falling in the middle. Women

who joined a Panhellenic sorority reported this increase in belongingness whether they joined their sorority through the formal or informal recruitment process. In addition, it is important to note that women who were unsuccessful in the recruitment process largely recovered from the decrease in belongingness associated with unsuccessful recruitment participation; at follow-up, their scores were not significantly different than their scores at baseline or pre-recruitment.

Discussion

Our first hypothesis was that sorority membership would have benefits, particularly in the domain of perceived social support. Thus, we hypothesized that women who successfully participated in recruitment would experience increased feelings of belonging both during the recruitment process and thereafter, while unsuccessful participants would experience decreases and nonparticipants would remain at baseline. These hypotheses were partially supported. Sorority membership (though not participation in recruitment) was associated with increased feelings of belonging at follow-up for the women who successfully completed recruitment. Unsuccessful participants experienced a temporary decrease in feelings of belonging during the recruitment process, but recovered to baseline two months later. Nonparticipants' feelings of belonging remained at baseline.

Our second concern was whether there might be a "rejection penalty" for unsuccessful participants. Thus, we hypothesized that women who successfully participated in recruitment would experience increases in self-esteem and decreases in negative affect and anxious and depressive symptoms during the recruitment process, while unsuccessful participants would experience decreases in self-esteem and increases in negative affect and anxious and depressive symptoms and nonparticipants would remain at baseline. Contrary to our expectations, neither successful nor unsuccessful participants reported a change

Table 2*Selected comments about the sorority recruitment process.*

	Negative Comments	Positive Comments
Successful Participants	<p>- Recruitment was a little depressing having gotten invited back to so few sororities the first round. It made me second guess my personality and character. However, I am more than relieved to have been accepted to the sorority I am currently in. (-1)</p> <p>- Absolute worst experience of my life. Panhellenic recruitment was a nightmare. I have never felt so ashamed of myself. I felt constantly rejected. (-3)</p>	<p>- It was an exhausting process but I think being a part of a sorority will be worth it. (1)</p> <p>- I had an amazing time during recruitment. I feel as though I met some amazing women and have been inspired by many to do things from study abroad to community outreach to trying out minors/majors. [My sorority] was the best fit for me, the girls made me feel incredibly welcome and wanted- and they remembered me which was amazing. (3)</p>
Unsuccessful Participants	<p>- At times the process felt superficial and unfair, but in the end I don't think being in a sorority matters that much in the end. (-1)</p> <p>- I am hurt, humiliated, and have gone back into the depression that I was in for much of the first semester. I am extremely disillusioned with the Greek system at Penn. (-3)</p>	<p>- I withdrew from recruitment because I don't think sorority life is for me, recruitment was fun. (1)</p>
Nonparticipants	<p>- I did not participate. I heard from those who did that it was a lot of mindless socializing. The whole process was nerve-wracking but honestly not that dramatic. (-1)</p> <p>- I was not interested in having to get dressed up and mingle only to be judged by a room full of girls. (-2)</p>	<p>- After seeing some friends go through the rush process, I kind of wish I did also so that I would have those experiences. Sisterhood seemed more appealing now, more than ever. (2)</p>

Note: Comments were chosen based on their representativeness. The number in parentheses indicates the valence score given to the comment.

in self-esteem during the recruitment process. However, there was a significant anxiety penalty for both successful and unsuccessful recruitment participants, both of whom reported increases in state anxiety during the recruitment process. That is, simply participating in recruitment, regardless of the outcome, led to significant increases in anxiety, whereas non-participation was not associated with any increase in anxiety over the same time period. There was also a significant rejection penalty for unsuccessful participants who experienced an increase in negative, dysphoric affect over the course of recruitment. However, this rejection penalty was fairly short-lived; most unsuccessful participants returned to pre-recruitment baseline levels of anxiety and dysphoria two months later.

Our third question related to what, if any,

baseline differences would predict both the decision to participate in recruitment and the eventual outcome of recruitment. Thus, we hypothesized that women who planned on participating in recruitment would exhibit lower levels of perceived social support at baseline, following the rationale that they would be more likely to desire the increased social support sororities purportedly offer. Contrary to our expectations, we found the opposite. In fact, women who planned from the outset to participate in recruitment were a surprisingly uniform group, reporting high rates of perceived social support at baseline, as well as high levels of extraversion, agreeableness, self-esteem, and psychological well-being. Thus, the data demonstrated that the typical woman planning to participate in recruitment was already socially successful prior to the

recruitment process, and was likely less daunted by the process than other women who did not plan to participate in the recruitment process due to their high levels of extraversion and agreeableness.

In contrast, women who were unsure of their plans for recruitment in the fall were the most distressed group, and the most likely to report low levels of belonging and well-being. Specifically, women who were unsure about participating were significantly more depressed than the other two groups. They also reported lower self-esteem, lower levels of social support, and higher anxiety as compared to the women who definitely planned to participate and women who definitely did not want to participate falling in the middle. These findings have led us to speculate that unsure women had not yet found their community at the university. This situation is in contrast to women who definitely did not want to participate in recruitment, almost 90% of whom stated that they felt that they had found a community. The fact that such a high percentage of women felt that they had found a community is likely unique to the deferred recruitment system used at the University of Pennsylvania (and about 25% of other institutions). On campuses where recruitment takes place in the fall, most women have not yet had the opportunity to find other social communities and sources of support, but the deferred system allows women a chance to do so during the fall semester. Unsure women, on the other hand, may have looked to the sorority recruitment process to find their niche, and yet they may not have felt that they had attributes of the “typical” extraverted sorority woman.

Moreover, baseline differences in personality and psychological well-being also predicted recruitment outcomes for the women who eventually participated in recruitment. Women who reported higher levels of extraversion and self-esteem and lower levels of anxious and depressive symptoms at baseline were more likely to obtain a membership offer. In addition, women

who were unsure about participating in recruitment at baseline were significantly less likely than other women to complete it successfully.

Taken together, these results indicate that the most distressed women, who are unsure about the recruitment process and whose distress and low levels of extraversion are associated with a decreased success rate if they do decide to participate, are the least likely to be able to enjoy the social benefits of joining a sorority. In short, the sorority recruitment process is unlikely to benefit those it could help most. Instead, it caters to a distinct group of women who already report high levels of social support and psychological well-being.

These results indicate that recruitment may be more difficult for unsuccessful participants than for successful participants. However, most of the results demonstrate that recruitment is a difficult process for all participants, regardless of outcome. While nonparticipants experienced “natural” increases in self-esteem, belongingness, and social support from pre-recruitment to post-recruitment that followed the overall trend for improved psychological health throughout the year, neither successful nor unsuccessful recruitment participants experienced these increases. Furthermore, both successful and unsuccessful participants experienced significant increases in anxiety from pre- to post-recruitment, which nonparticipants did not experience. Thus, the data demonstrated that many participants, regardless of eventual success, found the recruitment process distressing. Recruitment may be perceived as involving the judgment of candidates primarily on the basis of their personalities, likely leading unsuccessful candidates to feel rejected on the basis of core, unchangeable attributes about themselves. Furthermore, it is possible that even some successful candidates may go through one or more rejections before completing the process.

The distressing nature of recruitment is supported by our qualitative analysis of respondents’ comments. Unsuccessful participants described

the process very negatively, indicating that, for many women, the decision to drop out is the result of a negative experience or rejection as opposed to a simple lack of interest. Nonparticipants also professed a negative view of the recruitment process, suggesting negative perceptions of the recruitment process in the non-fraternity/sorority community. Even successful participants experienced the process as neutral, on average, indicating that a positive recruitment experience is not simply a matter of receiving a membership offer.

Although the recruitment process itself does not seem to offer any social benefits, our results support the widespread belief that sorority membership increases the availability of social support and belongingness for those women who successfully join (Fouts, 2010). Even accounting for the fact that women who eventually join sororities report higher levels of social support at baseline, the first few months of sorority membership did have a measurable positive impact of members' feelings of belonging. This increase is likely the result of the heightened atmosphere of community, friendship, and "sisterhood" emphasized by sororities. As is noted above, however, this positive outcome is most likely to be available to those women who are already well-adjusted and socially successful. The case of women who are unsuccessful in the formal recruitment process and then successful in the later informal process is particularly interesting, as their later success alters their course from a downward trend in social support to an upward trend. These cases suggest that sorority membership can have a positive social impact on those who are able to access it.

Limitations

Because this study was conducted at a large, urban, competitive research university with an approximately 30% sorority participation rate and a deferred recruitment system, our results can only be generalized to similar institutions. It is unclear how well these results would translate

to an institution with a different sorority participation rate or to an institution using a primary (fall) recruitment system. Another limitation of the study is that our sample consisted of significantly higher proportions of Asian students and recruitment nonparticipants than would be expected. In addition, we treated unsuccessful recruitment participants as a monolithic group in the interest of simplicity and statistical power, so we were not able to tease apart differences between women who withdrew due to lack of interest and those who withdrew because they had a negative experience or were eliminated from the process. However, our data from participant comments indicated the recruitment process was a very negative experience for those participants we considered "unsuccessful." Finally, we recognize that comment data are subject to response bias and therefore may indicate more extreme trends than would otherwise be observed.

Future Directions

Most importantly, the results of this study need to be replicated at different institutions with both primary and deferred recruitment systems. However, we believe that the preliminary results of this study reveal a need for change within the current recruitment system. Sorority membership did appear to confer benefits; women who had joined sororities experienced a significant increase in belonging during the first few months of membership as compared to nonmembers. However, the new sorority members were typically women who were the least distressed and already the most socially supported. Thus, the women who needed the boost of sorority membership the least were those who largely experienced it. Ironically, the women who were most distressed and felt least socially supported, and who could therefore benefit most from joining a sorority, were the least likely to be offered membership. University administrators and fraternity/sorority governing bodies should consider making changes to the recruitment pro-

cess to make it more accessible to all interested women, particularly if our findings about the social benefits of membership are replicated.

Additionally, the process of recruitment itself was largely experienced as negative (or neutral at best) by participants, with one successful participant calling Panhellenic recruitment “the absolute worst experience of my life.” Both successful and unsuccessful recruitment participants experienced significant increases in anxiety during the recruitment process, and unsuccessful participants experienced increases in negative affect. More research is needed to determine exactly what factors make recruitment a distressing process for the majority of participants, how to improve the process, and how to offer effective emotional support to all participants.

Based on the results of this study, the authors propose two specific changes that could have a positive impact on the way women experience the recruitment process:

1. Current national protocols for recruitment require every potential new member to visit every sorority at her university during the first round of recruitment. This policy logically increases the likelihood of multiple rejections. We suggest that potential new members be allowed to visit only those sororities that interest them during the first round of recruitment, allowing naturally occurring self-selection to take its course. Recruitment participants could select into those sororities that are the best fit for them, decreasing the amount of needless, but emotionally damaging, rejections they receive from sororities that do not fit their interests and personalities in the first place. On the other hand, such a system might lead to women visiting only a few high-profile chapters that would not select them, which would unintentionally increase the rejection rate. Much more research is needed to determine how such a system would operate logistically and what its impact would be. Fur-

thermore, this proposal might be more effective at deferred system institutions, where women would already be familiar with the reputation of each group by the time that recruitment occurs in the spring.

2. It would also be beneficial if campuses had enough new member slots to accommodate all the women who are interested in joining a sorority. This suggestion could be achieved by either increasing the number of sororities or increasing the size of new member classes. Doing so has the potential to make the process less competitive and increase potential new members’ chances of success. Again, more research is needed to determine the plausibility and effectiveness of such a change.

While more research is needed to assess the usefulness of these suggestions and to determine other ways in which recruitment can be improved, it is clear that some changes are needed to make recruitment less aversive and to make the benefits of sorority membership available to all those who desire them.

References

- Allison, K. C., & Park, C. L. (2004). A prospective study of disordered eating among sorority and nonsorority women. *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 35(3), 354-358.
- Atlas, G., & Morier, D. (1994). The sorority rush process: Self-selection, acceptance criteria, and the effect of rejection. *Journal of College Student Development*, 35(5), 346-353.
- Basow, S. A., Foran, K. A., & Bookwala, J. (2007). Body objectification, social pressure, and disordered eating behavior in college women: The role of sorority membership. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31(4), 394-400.
- Beck, A. T., Steer, R. A., & Carbin, M. G. (1988). Psychometric properties of the Beck Depression Inventory: Twenty-five years of evaluation. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 8(1), 77-100.
- Brown, B. (2013, September 13). Running of the bulls: The psychology of sorority rushing. *The Lafayette*. Retrieved from <http://www.lafayettestudentnews.com/blog/2013/09/13/running-of-the-bulls-the-psychology-of-sorority-rushing/>
- Capone, C., Wood, M. D., Borsari, B., & Laird, R. D. (2007). Fraternity and sorority involvement, social influences, and alcohol use among college students: a prospective examination. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors*, 21(3), 316-327.
- Chapman, L., Hirt, J. B., & Spruill, N. R. (2008). The effects of sorority recruitment on self-esteem. *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity Advisors*, 3(2), 38-51.
- Cohen, J. (1992). A power primer. *Psychological Bulletin*, 112(1), 155.
- Cohen, S., & Hoberman, H. M. (1983). Positive events and social supports as buffers of life change stress. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 13(2), 99-125.
- Costa, P. T., & McCrae, R. R. (1992). Normal personality assessment in clinical practice: the NEO Personality Inventory. *Psychological Assessment*, 4(1), 5-13.
- Fouts, K. S. (2010). Why undergraduates aren't "going Greek": Attraction, affiliation, and retention in fraternities and sororities. *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity Advisors*, 5(1), 24-31.
- Goodwin, R., Costa, P., & Adonu, J. (2004). Social support and its consequences: 'Positive' and 'deficiency' values and their implications for support and self-esteem. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 43(3), 465-474.
- Haber, M. G., Cohen, J. L., Lucas, T., & Baltes, B. B. (2007). The relationship between self-reported received and perceived social support: A meta-analytic review. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 39(1-2), 133-144.
- Hawkins, M. J. (1995). Anxiety in relation to social support in a college population. *Journal of College Student Psychotherapy*, 9(4), 79-88.
- Hefner, J., & Eisenberg, D. (2009). Social support and mental health among college students. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 79(4), 491-499.
- Johnson, J., & Martini, C. (2011). *Release figure methodology (RFM) for fraternity/sorority professionals*. Retrieved from <http://www.slideshare.net/AFLV/npc-release-figure-method>
- Kendler, K. S., Myers, J., & Prescott, C. A. (2005). Sex differences in the relationship between social support and risk for major depression: A longitudinal study of opposite-sex twin pairs. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 162(2), 250-256.
- Minow, J. C., & Einolf, C. J. (2009). Sorority participation and sexual assault risk. *Violence against Women*, 15(7), 835-851.
- Moore, A. S. (2012, July 16). Pledge prep. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/22/education/edlife/prepping-students-for-sorority-rush.html?pagewanted=all>

- National Panhellenic Conference (n.d.). *Frequently asked questions about sorority recruitment*. Retrieved from <https://www.npcwomen.org/resources/pdf/Frequently%20Asked%20Questions.pdf>
- National Panhellenic Conference (2013). *2012-2013 Annual report*. Retrieved from <https://www.npcwomen.org/resources/pdf/2013%20Annual%20Report%20Final.pdf>
- National Panhellenic Conference (2014). *Unanimous agreements*. Retrieved from <https://www.npcwomen.org/resources/pdf/Unanimous%20Agreements.pdf>.
- Ridgway, R., Tang, C., & Lester, D. (2014). Membership in fraternities and sororities, depression, and suicidal ideation. *Psychological Reports, 114*(3), 966-970.
- Rosenberg, M. (1965). Rosenberg self-esteem scale (RSE). *Acceptance and Commitment Therapy. Measures Package, 61*.
- Saville, B. K., & Johnson, K. B. (2007). Year in college and sorority membership in predicting self-esteem of a sample of college women. *Psychological Reports, 101*(3), 907-912. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2466/PRO.101.7.907-912>
- Spielberger, C. D. (1983). *Manual for the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory STAI (Form Y) ("Self-Evaluation Questionnaire")*. Retrieved from <https://ubir.buffalo.edu/xmlui/handle/10477/1873>.
- Spielberger, C. D., & Vagg, P. R. (1984). Psychometric properties of the STAI: a reply to Ramanaiah, Franzen, and Schill. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 48*(1), 95-97.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: the PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54*(6), 1063.
- Williams, K. L., & Galliher, R. V. (2006). Predicting depression and self-esteem from social connectedness, support, and competence. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 25*(8), 855-874.
- Woodward, M. S., Rosenfeld, L. B., & May, S. K. (1996). Sex differences in social support in sororities and fraternities. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 24*(4), 260-272.

Author Biographies

Colleen Kase graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with a B.A. in Psychology in 2014. She currently works as a research coordinator in the Psychology Department at Drexel University and will be pursuing a Ph.D. in counseling psychology at the University of Maryland in Fall, 2016.

Natasha Rivera graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with a B.A. in Psychology in 2015. She currently works as a counselor in a juvenile detention facility in southern PA. She intends on pursuing a Ph.D. in affective sciences studying the intersection between pro-social emotions and antisocial behavior.

Melissa G. Hunt, Ph.D., serves as the Associate Director of Clinical Training in the Psychology Department at the University of Pennsylvania. She is a licensed clinical psychologist who trains and supervises young clinicians, mentors undergraduates interested in clinical psychology, conducts research and treats adults with a range of affective, anxiety and personality disorders.

This study was funded in part by the Center for the Study of the College Fraternity and the University of Pennsylvania's College Alumni Society Undergraduate Research Grant.

EXAMINING SOCIAL DESIRABILITY ORIENTATION AND ALCOHOL USE EXPECTATIONS AS FACTORS IN FRATERNITY DRINKING

PIETRO SASSO, MONMOUTH UNIVERSITY AND ALAN M. SCHWITZER, OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY

Alcohol misuse by members of collegiate fraternal organizations has been cited as a This study examined two constructs, (a) an orientation toward social desirability, and (b) expectations of alcohol use, as factors in fraternity member alcohol consumption. 324 participants from 13 different fraternity chapters at 12 different institutions completed measures of social desirability orientation (Social Desirability Scale; Marlowe & Crowne, 1964) and expectations of alcohol use (Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire; Brown, Goldman, Inn & Anderson, 1987) and additional demographic information. We found high social desirability orientations, strong expectations for the outcomes of alcohol use, and relationships between these two constructs. Implications for institutional programming and practice, limitations, and future research directions are discussed.

College and university campuses continue to experience significant concerns associated with student alcohol use (Weitzman, Nelson, Lee, & Wechsler, 2004; Wechsler, Davenport, Dowdall, Moeykens, & Castillo, 1994), and fraternities in particular continue to be cited as a primary contributor to student alcohol misuse (Fabian, Toomey, Lenk, & Erickson, 2008). At the same time, extant research, policy, and programming efforts generally have had only limited success promoting a better understanding of, or addressing behavior change regarding, problematic alcohol consumption among fraternity populations on campuses (Crosse, Ginexi, and Caudill, 2006; Gurie, 2002; Wall, 2006). Correspondingly, this article reports on a study examining two individual factors that might be important to understanding and addressing fraternities and alcohol: (a) a student's orientation toward social desirability, and (b) his expectations of alcohol use. First, alcohol use among college students generally and fraternities in particular is reviewed; and social desirability and alcohol expectation constructs are introduced. Next, our multi-campus research study is described, tentative findings are reported, and implications for practice are suggested. Finally, we describe the study's limitations and directions for future investigation.

College Students, Fraternities, and Alcohol

Although the majority of undergraduate students are under the age of 21, alcohol consistently has been found to be the most popular drug among college populations and its consumption on campuses (NIAA, 2005; Wechsler, Lee, Kuo, Seibring, Nelson, & Lee, 2001). Aggregate data from several major studies suggest collegiate alcohol misuse is common and widespread (Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 2007; Presley, Meilman, & Cashin, 1996, U.S. Department of Education, 2002; Wechsler et al., 2001) and is one of the student health and behavioral concerns senior administrators continue to feel is a significant issue (Gallagher, Harmon, & Lingenfelter, 1994; Weitzman et al., 2004).

In turn, college and university Greek organizations have been cited as one relatively easy source of alcohol for undergraduates and one especially important contributor to student alcohol misuse (Fabian, Toomey, Lenk, & Erickson, 2008). Previous researchers have reported on the basis of various single campus and multi-institutional empirical studies that fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students are notably heavy alcohol users (Caudill et al., 2006; Presley et al., 2002; Wechsler et al., 1996; Workman, 2001 (Faulkner, Alcorn, & Garvin, 1988; Goodwin, 1989, 1990). When compared to other

groups, fraternities have been found to consume more than their “non-Greek” peers (Alva, 1998; Barry, 2007; Sher, Bartholow, and Nanda 2001, Wechsler et al., 1996). For instance, students in Greek organizations tend to consume more than their peers in volunteer service organizations (Pace & McGrath, 2002), residents in Greek housing consume more than their peers in other university housing (Larimer, Anderson, Baer, & Marlatt, 2000; Page & O’Hegarty, 2006), and they tend to be among the highest populations during campus-wide activities such as “game-days” before major athletic event (Glassman, Dodd, Sheu, Rienzo, & Wagenaar, 2010). Further, Wall (2006) that negative incidents with alcohol, such as alcohol-related student deaths, also are commonly reported in the popular media.

Within fraternities in particular, problematically high rates of alcohol consumption (Caudill et al., 2006; Caron, Moskey, and Hovey, 2004; Wechsler, Lee, Kuo, & Lee, 2000) and problematic patterns such as frequent binge drinking (Farlie et al., 2010; Long & Snowden, 2011) have been well-documented. Looking within Greek organizations, Eberhardt, Rice, & Smith (2003) found that Greek men report comparatively more use of, and more negative secondary negative effects from, alcohol than Greek women. This is an important college health and behavioral concern because problematic rates of fraternity alcohol use, and problematic patterns like binge-drinking, appear to be associated with a variety of negative impacts, including: unsafe sex practices (Dinger and Parsons, 1999; Kellogg, 1999; Wechsler et al., 1996), sexual assault and other forms of sexual violence (Foubert, 2000; Foubert, Garner, & Thaxter, 2006; Locke & Mahalik, 2005), hazing and violence (Allan and Madden, 2008; Ellsworth, 2006; Fabian, Toomey, Lenk, & Erickson, 2008; Menning, 2009), poor bystander responses (Cokley et al., 2001; Drout & Corsoro, 2003), and the legal problem of underage drinking (Fabian, Toomey, Lenk, & Erickson, 2008).

Although incidence, patterns, and negative outcomes of fraternity alcohol consumption are well-documented, factors contributing to these dynamics remain less well understood. Baer (1994) reported early on that understanding the social and environmental aspects of fraternity life associated with alcohol is complex (Baer, 1994). Attempts to restrict or reduce fraternity alcohol use or bingeing patterns through bans on common source containers like kegs, mandated dry housing, and other institutional policies generally have been ineffective (Crosse, Ginexi, and Caudill, 2006; Gurie, 2002; Wall, Reis, & Bureau, 2006). In fact, paradoxically, Kilmer, et al. (1999) found that such policies sometimes actually result in increased consumption rates and increased incidence of binge-drinking. Likewise, educational programs have had limited efficacy in addressing fraternity alcohol misuse (Wall, 2006). Therefore, we believe more research still is needed to better understand the psychosocial factors associated with alcohol misuse among individuals in the fraternity culture (Baer, 1994; Larimer, Irvine, Kilmer, & Marlatt, 1997; Danielson, Taylor, & Hartford, 2001). Two such potentially important factors were examined in the current study.

Social Desirability Orientation

Social desirability refers to an individual’s tendency to conform to recognized social norms and to engage in established socially desirable behaviors (Kimmel, 2008; Peralta, 2007). Previous authors have suggested that an orientation toward conforming with and engaging in established social norms might be one potentially useful construct for better understanding and responding to fraternity alcohol use (Peralta, 2007; Trockel, Wall, Williams, & Reis, 2008). College students generally tend to endorse notable levels of social desirability – especially regarding alcohol use. For example, although heavy drinking is seen overall as socially unacceptable at any age and college students report an awareness that frequent alcohol misuse has negative conse-

quences, college students also perceive a cultural norm supporting heavy alcohol consumption – and therefore suppress expressing any concerns about over-drinking due to fears of negative evaluations from peers (Del Boca, Darkes, Greenbaum, & Goldman, 2004; Maquire, 2010). In turn, previous authors have reported that students may engage in heavy drinking, decline to confront peers regarding their alcohol misuse, or both, due to a culture which defines alcohol use as well as silence about its consequences as socially desirable (Maguire, 2010; Weitzman, 2004). Therefore, social desirability is a potential covariate in explaining alcohol-related intentions and expectations (Maguire, 2010).

Further, social desirability may have special salience for fraternities. First, fraternities are male student organizations, and alcohol use has been found to be a socially expected component of male identity formation (Landrine, et al., 1988; Capraro, 2000; Cohen & Lederman, 1995; Schacht, 1996; Spade, 1996). Early on, Landrine et al. (1988) suggested that “drunkenness may be an aspect of the concept of masculinity” (p. 705). For instance, in studies of males outside the campus environment, alcohol use was found to be a component of male identity among certain groups of adult male beer drinkers (Hemmingson et al., 1998; James & Ames, 1989; Kaminer & Dixon, 1995). As follows, fraternities may be especially susceptible to creating social expectations of alcohol use and misuse because these are potential forms of gender expression (West, 2001). Second, fraternities are structured so that socialization of new members through indoctrination is considered an essential function of fraternity membership. The new-member or new member-period activities, ceremonies, and rituals for new members explicitly introduce new members to the group’s social-desirability expectations – including the connection between alcohol consumption and male identity – and reinforce these expectations through alcohol use throughout typical rites-of-passage associated with the new member process (Arnold, 1995;

Pascarella, Flowers, Whitt, 2001). Trockel, Wall, Williams, & Reis (2008) found that chapter expectations of male-oriented drinking are closely predictive of actual consumption behavior, suggesting strong social desirability orientation effects on members. Therefore, better understanding social desirability orientations among fraternity new members and members may provide new insight into their drinking dynamics.

Alcohol Use Expectations

Alcohol expectations (or expectancies) are underlying beliefs that are involved in the commencement, maintenance, and possibly termination of alcohol use (Corcoran, 2001; Borsasi & Carey, 2003; Reich, Goldman, & Noll, 2004; Trockel, Wall, Williams, & Reis, 2008). These student expectations about what effects and outcomes alcohol use will produce appears to be another potentially important factor influencing an individual’s drinking behavior (Corcoran, 2001; Reich, Goldman, & Noll, 2004). Whereas social desirability orientation may influence fraternity member alcohol use due to an individual’s tendency to conform to the organization’s strong efforts to socialize members regarding drinking norms and male identity, on the other hand, alcohol expectancies may also influence fraternity member alcohol use due to expectations about the positive experiences and gains it is believed to produce. For instance, students might have strong expectations regarding alcohol and its ability to produce physical pleasure, relaxation, and tension reduction; social pleasure, social assertiveness, or aggression; global positive changes and arousal; or sexual enhancement (Brown et al., 1987; Cohen & Vinson, 1995; McCarthy, Miller, Smith, & Smith, 2001).

Alcohol use expectations may have special salience for fraternities. Previous researchers have reported alcohol expectancies among fraternity members tend to be distorted and grossly exaggerated when compared to their non-Greek-member student peers (Bosari & Carey, 2003; Goodwin, 1989). For instance, based on alco-

hol expectancy, fraternity members might have unusually high expectations that drinking alcohol will allow them to: have more positive associations from social interactions with others; engage in more gregarious behavior with others; feel more stimulated or aroused; or experience sexual gains (Brown et al., 1987; Cohen & Vinson, 1995; McCarthy, Miller, Smith, & Smith, 2001). Specifically, fraternities tend to actively promote and advertise enhanced positive attitudes and beliefs about the role of alcohol (Rogers, 2006); and more senior members model these for newer members (Gurie, 2002).

Rationale for the Current Study: Social Desirability and Alcohol Expectations

The cultural association between alcohol use and the fraternity experience is so well-established that fraternity membership is predictive of increased alcohol consumption (Sher, Bartholow, & Nanda, 2001) -- with Arnold (1995) referring to fraternities early on as “addictive organizations” (p. 5). Moreover, students tend to arrive on campus with pre-college drinking experiences and predisposing drinking patterns (Grekin & Sher, 2006) – and often self-select into fraternities partly on the basis of their pre-college drinking characteristics (DeSimone, 2009; Juth, Smyth, Thompson, & Nodes, 2010; Park, Sher, Wood, & Krull, 2009). Because the search continues for research to better explain fraternity drinking phenomena and in turn lead to more effective policies, interventions, or programming, we identified social desirability and alcohol use expectations as promising constructs since by examining these two explanatory phenomena in combination, we could bring together in one research model both social influence factors (social desirability) and individual factors (expectations).

Current Study

This study was designed to examine whether fraternity students expressed high levels of so-

cial desirability orientations, whether they expressed high levels of alcohol use expectations, and whether increased levels of social desirability would be associated with increased levels of alcohol expectations. We also asked whether differences existed between new members and active members for social desirability and alcohol use expectations. Based on the existing literature, our rationale for the study’s design was that:

- high levels of social desirability orientations among fraternity students might account for some of the heightened alcohol use seen among fraternities if individuals who select fraternities are students who very heavily endorse college student conformity to group norms, including the norm supporting heavy alcohol consumption, and therefore are heavily responsive to fraternity indoctrination regarding norms including alcohol as an expected component of male identity formation (Arnold, 1995; Del Boca, Darkes, Greenbaum, & Goldman, 2004; Maquire, 2010; Pascarella, Flowers, Whitt, 2001; Trockel, Wall, Williams, & Reis, 2008; Weitzman, 2004);
- high levels of alcohol use expectations among fraternity students might account for some of the heightened alcohol use seen among fraternities if individuals who select fraternities are students who very heavily endorse strong positive expectations for the beneficial effects and salutary outcomes of alcohol, and therefore are heavily responsive to the “addictive cultures” perceived to characterize fraternity environments and to the distorted, exaggerated expectations about the positive role of alcohol (Bosari & Carey, 2003; Goodwin, 1989; Corcoran, 2001; Reich, Goldman, & Noll, 2004; Sher, Bartholow, & Nanda, 2001);
- social desirability and alcohol expectations might be especially valuable in account-

ing for some of the heightened alcohol use seen among fraternities if a positive relationship exists between these two variables such that as social desirability increases, alcohol expectancy also increases – in other words, if as students increasingly conform to socially desirable norms, among these norms to which they adhere increasingly is fraternities' exaggerated, distorted notions about positive alcohol effects (DeSimone, 2009; Juth, Smyth, Thompson, & Nodes, 2010; Park, Sher, Wood, & Krull, 2009); and

- understanding how new members versus more senior, active members compare for social desirability and alcohol expectations might add to the explanatory power of the research model, such that: on one hand, if new members express substantially greater social desirability and alcohol expectations than do more senior active members, then self-selection is especially important but over time fraternity members advance in their psychosocial development, become less reliant on socially desirable norms to set their individual identities, and become less reliant on exaggerated cultural norms regarding alcohol expectations and instead learn to set realistic expectations; on the other hand, if new members and active members express similar social desirability and alcohol expectations, then self-selection into the fraternity culture vis a vis alcohol, and the environment's perpetuation of these two factors, both are important (DeSimone, 2009; Juth, Smyth, Thompson, & Nodes, 2010; Park, Sher, Wood, & Krull, 2009; Sher, Bartholow, & Nanda, 2001).

Correspondingly, we asked the following straightforward research questions: What levels of social desirability orientation are found among fraternity students? What levels of alcohol use expectations are found among fraternity stu-

dents? What relationships exist among fraternity students' social desirability levels and their various alcohol expectations? How do fraternity new members and active members compare on the basis of social desirability and alcohol expectations?

Method

The research design for this project is a between-groups descriptive study evaluating scores on well-established, standardized psychometric assessments of social desirability and alcohol use expectations.

Participants and Procedure

Utilizing exclusionary criteria, a convenience sample was constructed through a chain-referral sampling procedure. A complete frame of available social fraternities available for participation in the study was established through contacting "gatekeepers." These gatekeepers provided access directly to the fraternity chapters. Members of the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors were randomly contacted and an electronic mail advertisement was forwarded to the Fraternity Executives Association. Responses were communicated via telephone and electronic mail. An initial frame of 32 fraternities was established and solicited for participation. Through chain-referral methodology, the sample consisted of 13 chapters from 12 postsecondary institutions. Once the sample was established, a researcher visited each institution and distributed and collected the research instruments locally, at each participating fraternity chapter. Participants comprised students enrolled at both private and public institutions in the Northeast, Midwest, and Southern United States. Participants represented Science-Technology-Engineering-Math (STEM), Liberal Arts, Art, Comprehensive, and Land-Grant institutions in rural, suburban, and urban environments. Student populations ranged between 1,000 and 35,000.

Table 1 summarizes data describing partici-

part characteristics. As can be seen in the table, the sample consisted of 99 new members and 225 active members (n=324). Twenty-three surveys were disregarded and appropriately destroyed due to inaccurate response patterns or

lack of completion. Information about membership status, academic level, undergraduate major, and highest level of leadership or responsibility appear in Table 1.

Table 1
Summary of Participant Characteristics.

Characteristic		Total Responses	Percentage	Cumulative Percent
Membership Status	New member	99	30.6	30.6
	Active	225	69.4	100.0
Academic Level	Transfer	3	.9	.9
	2 or < semesters	102	31.5	32.4
	3 to 4 semesters	107	33.0	65.4
	5 to 6 semesters	62	19.1	84.6
	7 to 8 semesters	46	14.2	98.8
	9 or more semesters	4	1.2	100.0
Academic Major	No Major	49	15.1	15.1
	Business	68	21.0	36.1
	Science	39	12.0	48.1
	Engineering	54	16.7	64.8
	Technology	16	4.9	69.8
	Arts	20	6.2	75.9
	Humanities	37	11.4	87.3
	Language	5	1.5	88.9
	Education	7	2.2	91.0
	Human Services	11	3.4	94.4
	Health Sciences	12	3.7	98.1
	Hospitality	3	.9	99.1
	Military Science	3	.9	100.0
	Highest Level of Leadership	No Leadership Position	139	42.9
President		27	8.3	51.2
Vice President		15	4.6	55.9
Secretary		16	4.9	60.8
Treasurer		18	5.6	66.4
Recruitment		17	5.2	71.6
New Member Educator		10	3.1	74.7
Risk Management		14	4.3	79.0
Scholarship		6	1.9	80.9
Other Chair		62	19.1	100.0

Note: N = 324 participants from 13 fraternity chapters at 12 institutions.

Measures

This study utilized two standardized measures to address the research questions: the Marlowe and Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSD; Marlowe & Crowne, 1964) (See appendix A) and the Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire - Adult Version (AEQ-A; Brown, Goldman, Inn, and Anderson, 1987) (See Appendix B). Additionally, a researcher-designed, demographic questionnaire was also distributed (See Appendix E).

The Marlowe and Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSD; Marlowe & Crowne, 1964) is utilized to measure need for social approval. As originally developed, this measure conceptualizes social desirability as “need for social approval.” This need for social approval, as conceptualized by the MCSD, is the tendency to report information that is colored by social desirability concerns which is as a personality trait which can be measured via the MCSD scale.

The MCSD defines a category of personality test items with two principal attributes: (1) a “good-bad” (social desirability) dimension, and (2) relatively likely to be true of most people or untrue of most people. This measure contains 33 true-false items that describe both acceptable but improbable behaviors. For each statement, the participant marks a “true” or “false” answer to indicate whether or not they agree or disagree in relation to their own personality style. The personal endorsement of “good” items means claiming some very improbable features about oneself, and rejection of “bad” items entails denial of common human imperfections. A final score is determined by calculating the participant’s answers with an answer key. Scores range from a minimum of 0 and a maximum of 33.

Based on the findings of previous studies, participants with higher MCSD scores were expected to have a higher need for social approval. The MCSD has been used widely across various contexts and has established a linear relationship between need for social approval and various experimental contexts. Studies have supported the MCSD’s effectiveness and validity (Carstensen

and Cone, 1983; Kozma and Stones (1987). Social validity of the MCSD has been established through research correlating the MCSD to symptoms of poor mental health as well as substance abuse (Bradburn and Sudman, 1979; Gove et al., 1976; Klassen et al., 1975; Welte and Russell, 1993).

The Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire-Adult (AEQ-A) was developed by Brown et al. (1987) to measure the reinforcing effects of alcohol consumption. The AEQ-A is a 120-item, forced choice (1=Agree or 2 = Disagree), self-report questionnaire assessing whether alcohol, when consumed in moderate quantities, produces specific positive expectancies. The AEQ-A provides a means of quantifying such expectancies. Scores range from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 120 with higher scores on the AEQ-A indicating participants perceive alcohol as having increased positive effects. The AEQ-A has six subscales that emerge as factors: Global Positive Changes, Sexual Enhancement, Physical and Social Pleasure, Social Assertion, Relaxation and Tension Reduction, and Arousal and Aggression.

The Global Positive Changes of the AEQ-A subscale measures positive associations with alcohol use gained from expectations. The Sexual Enhancement subscale measures the expected gains of sexual pleasure gained from alcohol consumption. The Physical and Social Pleasure measures the expected positive associations from social interactions with others. The Social Assertion subscale measures the expectancy level of gregarious behavior from oneself associated with alcohol use. The Relaxation and Tension Reduction subscale measures the expectancy of a reduction in perceived or self-identified stressors associated with alcohol use. The Arousal and Aggression subscale measures the expectations of alcohol use associated with aggressive behaviors or stimulation. The six subscales show both internal consistency and test-retest reliability. Concurrent validity and construct validity were also reported (Christiansen & Goldman, 1983;

Brown, 1980).

The AEQ-A plays an integral part in the clarification of personally perceived outcomes from alcohol use, as related to the initiation and maintenance of alcohol use in college-age adults. Furthermore, this test assists in identifying factors involved in the process of transition to or persistence of problem drinking. It has validity as it has been used in both clinical and non-clinical settings (Cohen & Vinson, 1995).

The AEQ-A has been validated by Christiansen et al. (1989) and by Brown et al (1987). It has been found to guide prevention efforts for addiction risk in adolescents; and may be used to assign clinical resources based on expectancies endorsed (Christiansen et al., 1989). Further, the instrument has been validated for use with traditional undergraduate college students in both African American and White ethnicities (McCarthy, Miller, Smith, & Smith, 2001).

The researcher-designed demographic questionnaire gathered information about participant fraternity membership. The questionnaire simply ascertained their membership status, academic level, major, and leadership positions held. Questions pertained to membership status (e.g., new member vs. active), number of semesters as a traditional full-time student (e.g., 1 year or two or less semesters, 2 years or 3 to 4 semesters, etc.), declared major (e.g., Health, Science, Art, Humanities, etc.), and level of leadership (e.g., President, Vice President, etc.). See Appendix E for additional information.

Data Analysis

The research design for this project was a between-groups descriptive study evaluating the factors related to alcohol misuse and social desirability in members of fraternities. The measures used in this study lent themselves to parametric statistics including Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) and bivariate correlation to answer the research questions.

Results

A summary of means and standard deviations for participant scores on the instruments measuring the study's dependent variables appears in Table 2. Table 2 shows total scores for social desirability as measured by the Marlowe and Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSD; Marlowe & Crowne, 1964), as well as total scores and 6 subscale scores for overall and specific alcohol expectancies as measured by the Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire-Adult (AEQ-A; Brown et al., 1987). Preliminary analyses revealed no statistically significant differences among participants according to fraternity chapter or institution so all data was analyzed in aggregate. Using these scores, statistical analyses were conducted to answer each of the research questions:

What levels of social desirability orientation are found among fraternity students?

Table 3 presents MCSD scores in high, medium, and low groups formed using a triadic split. As can be seen, a majority of the sample demonstrated high levels of social desirability. Although both moderate and high levels of social desirability were revealed among the new members and active members in the study, the large majority of participants reported high levels of social desirable orientation. These data suggest initial high social desirability levels as well as a pattern of continuing endorsement of socially desirable behaviors during the initial period of membership (new member) and persistence into full membership (active).

What levels of alcohol use expectations are found among fraternity students?

Table 3 also presents AEQ-A scores in high, medium, and low groups formed using a triadic split. As can be seen, a majority of the sample demonstrate high levels of social desirability. At least moderate levels are revealed among more than 75% of new members and actives. These data indicate a continued pattern of distorted

expectations of alcohol use regardless of membership status.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for MCSD and AEQ Scores among New members and Active Fraternity Members.^{1,2}

Variable		<i>n</i>	<u>Normative Range</u>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
MCSD Total Score			0 - 33		
	New member	99		22.12	4.97
	Active	225		21.66	5.24
AEQ-A Sex Enhancement			7 - 14		
	New member	99		11.59	1.75
	Active	225		11.07	1.99
AEQ-A Physical/Social Pleasure			9 - 18		
	New member	99		16.27	1.30
	Active	225		16.23	1.77
AEQ-A Social Assertion			11 - 22		
	New member	99		19.39	1.66
	Active	225		19.14	2.62
AEQ-A Relaxation/Tension Reduction			9 - 18		
	New member	99		15.78	1.63
	Active	225		15.43	1.91
AEQ-A Arousal and Aggression			2 to 10		
	New member	99		8.37	1.17
	Active	225		8.14	1.31
AEQ-A Total Score			66 - 240		
	New member	99		208.33	12.09
	Active	225		200.00	21.51

Notes: ¹ Marlowe and Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSD; Marlowe & Crowne, 1964) and Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire-Adult (AEQ-A; Brown et al., 1987). Higher scores indicate greater endorsement of social desirability orientation and greater endorsement of alcohol expectancies, respectively. ²Total n = 324 from 13 fraternity chapters at 12 institutions. Preliminary analyses revealed no statistically significant differences among participants according to fraternity chapter or institution so all data was analyzed in aggregate.

What relationships exist among fraternity students' social desirability levels and their various alcohol expectations?

Pearson-product moment correlations between MCSD scores and AEQ-A total scores and subscales scores are found in Table 4. As seen in the table, findings indicate that a statistically significant relation exists between social desir-

ability and expectations of alcohol. Using Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient, a weak correlation was found between social desirability as measured by the MCSD and alcohol expectancy as measured by the AEQ-A, $r(322) = .255, p < 0.01$. This suggests that an orientation toward socially desirable behaviors may influence expectations of alcohol use in fraternity

Table 3

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients between MCSD Total Scores and AEQ-A Total and Global Positive Change Subscale Scores.^{1,2}

	<u>MCSD</u> <u>Total</u> <u>Score</u>	<u>AEQ-A</u> <u>Global</u> <u>Positive</u> <u>Change</u>	<u>AEQ-A</u> <u>Sexual</u> <u>Enhancement</u>	<u>AEQ-A</u> <u>Physical/</u> <u>Social</u> <u>Pleasure</u>	<u>AEQ-A</u> <u>Social</u> <u>Assertion</u>	<u>AEQ-A</u> <u>Relaxation</u> <u>Tension</u> <u>Reduction</u>	<u>AEQ-A</u> <u>Arousal</u> <u>and</u> <u>Aggression</u>
MCSD Total Score		.304**	.305**	.061	.042	-.030	.185**
AEQ-A Total Score							
AEQ-A Global Positive Change	.304**		.586**	.477**	.607**	.468**	.531**

Notes: ¹ Marlowe and Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSD; Marlowe & Crowne, 1964) and Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire-Adult (AEQ-A; Brown et al., 1987). Higher scores indicate greater endorsement of social desirability orientation and greater endorsement of alcohol expectancies, respectively. ²Total n = 324 from 13 fraternity chapters at 12 institutions. Preliminary analyses revealed no statistically significant differences among participants according to fraternity chapter or institution so all data was analyzed in aggregate. **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4

MCSD and AEQ-A Scores by Levels for New members and Active Members.^{1,2}

<u>Variable Level</u> ³	<u>Range</u>	<u>New</u> <u>Member</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Active</u> <u>Member</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Cumulative</u> <u>Percentage</u>
MCSD Total Score						
Low	0-8	1	1.0%	2	0.9%	0.9%
Medium	9-19	29	29.3%	74	32.9%	31.8%
High	20-33	69	69.7%	149	66.2%	67.3%
Total		99	100%	225	100%	100%
AEQ-A Total Score						
Low	0-80	9	10.0%	47	20.8%	17.2%
Medium	81-160	32	32.3%	62	27.5%	29.0%
High	161-240	58	57.7%	116	51.7%	53.7%
Total		99	100%	225	100%	100%

Notes: ¹ Marlowe and Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSD; Marlowe & Crowne, 1964) and Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire-Adult (AEQ-A; Brown et al., 1987). Higher scores indicate greater endorsement of social desirability orientation and greater endorsement of alcohol expectancies, respectively. ²Total n = 324 from 13 fraternity chapters at 12 institutions. Preliminary analyses revealed no statistically significant differences among participants according to fraternity chapter or institution so all data was analyzed in aggregate. ³ Groups formed using triadic splits.

members.

In calculating the multiple Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients, moderate positive correlation between social desirability and Sexual Enhancement and Arousal and Ag-

gression. Significant relationships were found between the MCSD and the AEQ-A subscales of Sexual Enhancement $r = .305$, $p < 0.001$ and Arousal and Aggression $r = .185$, $p < 0.001$.

This research suggests that at least moderate

levels of conformity are related to increased expectations of alcohol in fraternity men. In particular, statistically significant differences were found between new members and active members in regards to expectations of alcohol use, leading to the next research question.

How do fraternity new members and active members compare on the basis of social desirability and alcohol expectations?

Returning to Table 2 and 3, Returning to Table 2 and 3, new members and active members demonstrated extremely high expectations of positive gains from alcohol use, at levels which indicate that these expectations are outside the expected norm and therefore likely are distorted in-group norms relegated to fraternity men. New members had slightly higher expectations of alcohol than active members. Further, as can be seen from the data, we found that new members are engaging in socially desirable behaviors at a statistically significant higher level than active members. In other words, we found between-group differences in new members and actives which indicated that new members have higher levels of conformity than active members. We found moderate levels of conformity as measured by the MCSD among active members.

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine if there were significant differences between the total AEQ-A score, MCSD, and the 6 subscales of the AEQ-A. Results from the one-way MANOVA revealed a significant main effect for member status, Wilks' $\Lambda = .911$, $F(8, 315) = 3.868$, $p < 0.05$. Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances indicated significant violation of homogeneity of variance for the variables of AEQ- Global Change, AEQ – Physical and Social pleasure, AEQ – Social Pleasure, and AEQ - Total. Follow-up analyses for between group differences were calculated using the Mann Whitney U test for the variables that violated Levene's test.

Due to the significant main effect, univariate

ANOVAs and the Mann Whitney U test were calculated as appropriate to determine which group difference(s) contributed to the main effect. A significant ANOVA for membership status was obtained for the AEQ-A subscale of Sexual Enhancement $F(1, 322) = 5.023$, $p = 0.026$, partial $\eta^2 = .015$. No significant differences were found for the AEQ-A subscales of, Relaxation and Tension Reduction, $F(1, 322) = 2.463$, $p = 0.118$, partial $\eta^2 = .008$, Arousal and Aggression, $F(1, 322) = 2.380$, $p = .124$, partial $\eta^2 = .007$ or for the MCSD total score $F(1, 322) = .544$, $p = .461$, partial $\eta^2 = .002$.

A Mann-Whitney U Test was calculated to determine if there were significant differences in the distributions between the new members and active members for the AEQ-A total score and AEQ subscales of Global Positive Change, Physical and Social Pleasure, and Social Assertion. Significant differences were found for AEQ-A Global Positive Change, $p < 0.001$ and AEQ-A Total, $p = 0.016$. No significant differences were found for AEQ-A Social Assertion, $p = .734$, Physical and Social Pleasure, $p = 0.449$, as well as for the MCSD total score, $p = 0.539$.

This indicates that socially desirability behaviors may increase when alcohol expectations are established based on overall positive gains, sexual enhancement, and aggression. Further, this research also suggests expectations of socialization at least moderately influence other expectations regarding sexual enhancement and physical and social pleasure from alcohol use. Therefore, this indicates that alcohol expectancies related to socialization is a key determinant in influencing how fraternity members believe alcohol will enhance their sexual interactions and what physical and social pleasure alcohol will provide for them.

Differences in expectations of alcohol were found between new members and actives in regards to overall affirmative gains and aggrandizement of sexual ability. New members demonstrated higher levels of conformity through social desirable behaviors specifically within these ar-

cas. Thus, our data suggest that fraternity membership encourages conformity based on notions of increased sexual ability and overall positive experiences from on alcohol use. As a cautionary note, however, it should be recognized that these data alone do not confirm a cause-effect relationship between social desirability and expectations of alcohol use among college fraternity new members and actives.

Discussion, Implications, and Limitations

This study examined whether two factors, social desirability orientation, and alcohol use expectations, might be associated with college and university fraternity student alcohol use. We believed examining an explanatory model that combined these two constructs might assist with better understanding some of the important influences on fraternity alcohol use and, in turn, potentially inform more effective approaches to policies, interventions, or programming with this campus population. According to our results, the investigation of social desirability combined with alcohol use expectations showed promise for extending the knowledge-base regarding fraternities and alcohol.

We were interested in social desirability orientation – the tendency to conform to recognized social norms and socially desirable behaviors – because college students generally have been reported to present unusually high social desirability, especially regarding alcohol use, with the result that they often endorse and support problematically high alcohol consumption if they perceive it to be a cultural norm, and suppress counter-views and countervailing behaviors due to fears of being negatively evaluated by their peers (Del Boca, et al., 2004; Marquiere, 2010). In turn, fraternity students might partially endorse and engage in heavy drinking in order to conform to perceived norms (West, 2001). We found essentially uniformly high levels of social desirability among new members as

well as among active members. In other words, students as new members may be attracted to, influenced by, and find it difficult to resist or suppress, fraternity culture norms emphasizing heavy drinking – and potentially nothing mitigates this tendency to conform to the desired norms during active membership. As follows, if social desirability levels remain consistently high, then members continue the tendency to conform to cultural expectations at strong levels, including the cultural expectation to engage in heavy drinking.

We were interested in alcohol use expectations – the tendency to express hopes and beliefs that alcohol consumption will produce salutary, beneficial, or positive outcomes for the individual who is drinking – because previously it has been suggested that fraternity environments support and promote distorted, exaggerated expectations about the positive role of alcohol and therefore might attract student with similar viewpoints and also create or strengthen these viewpoints (Basari & Corey, 2003; Reich, Goldman, & Noll, 2004). We found essentially uniformly high levels of alcohol use expectations among new members as well as among active members. In other words, students as new members may be attracted to and influenced by fraternity culture endorsement and promotion of distortedly positive alcohol use outcomes – and potentially little mitigates or corrects these faulty beliefs during active membership.

We also were interested in the interaction of social desirability and alcohol use expectations. Specifically, we asked whether these factors changed at all across the fraternity experience. As described, levels for both factors were high for both new members and active members. However, we also found that new members expressed slightly (and statistically significant) higher social desirability than active members – and also expressed slightly higher (and statistically significant) endorsement of two aspects of positive alcohol expectations: global positive expectations for alcohol use, and expectations

that alcohol drinking will enhance sexual experiences. It seems natural that new members might endorse even greater social desirability than their active member peers due to their psychosocial developmental status (Evan, et al., 2010) and their apprenticeship role in the fraternity ecosystem. (Shen-Miller, et al., 2013). In turn, our findings suggest that as social desirability increases (ie., as conformity increases), and more particularly increases in a fraternity culture which is promoting distorted alcohol use expectations, it will have a progressively greater effect on alcohol expectations. In other words, both social desirability and alcohol expectations are high – and during those moments at which, or for those individuals for whom, social desirability (ie., conformity to norms) is higher, one result is even greater endorsement of distorted beliefs about the social and personal benefits that heavy drinking will produce. Naturally, this mutual effect would support heavier drinking. Our finding is consistent with previous studies characterizing addictive qualities in fraternity cultures (Bosari & Carey, 2003; Corcoran, 2001; Reich, Goldman, & Noll, 2004; Sher, Bartholow, & Nanda, 2001).

Implications

Identifying and understanding factors closely influencing fraternity alcohol use has implications for student affairs professionals inside fraternity/sorority communities and in student affairs divisions, college health and mental professionals, advisors and mentors, and others providing education, programming, counseling, leadership development, and other psychoeducational experiences with the goal of improving men's health, mental health, adjustment, development, and learning in fraternities. Preventive programming and developmental programming and counseling generally are intended to prevent or forestall the onset of problems or personal-emotional needs; or are implemented when the need for assistance is emerging or clearly present in order to help students add new skills or di-

mensions to their lives or to prevent problematic behaviors from derailing normal development or adjustment (Drum & Lawler, 1988; Schwitzer, Bergholz, Dore, & Salimi, 1998). Students usually feel little to moderate urgency for assistance and low or no motivation for change (Drum & Lawler, 1988; Schwitzer, et al., 1998). Further, engaging college men often is especially challenging given the reluctance and propensity to express negative attitudes about health, mental health, and similar services found among male cultures like fraternities (Groeschel, Wester, & Sedivy, 2010; Shen-Miller, et al., 2013). Therefore, preventive and developmental interventions must aim to engage students and keep resistance low. Strategies emphasize educational formats, media presentations, group discussions and group formats, and student self-assessment. This type of programming primarily aims to provide more accurate information about self and about the psychoeducational topic, increase understanding, enhance attitudes, and promote healthier behavior. Such work with fraternities and alcohol should be specifically designed, in part, to (a) change social desirability orientations (that is, reduce conformity and increase resiliency to social norms and pressures and (b) change alcohol use expectations (that is, reduce distortions and replace them with accurate, balanced expectations). The model has been successful with other entrenched student issues such as college women with eating disorders (Schwitzer, et al., 1998; Schwitzer, 2012). In particular, Shen-Miller, et al. (2013) recently articulated an approach that simultaneously provides: psychoeducational programming (or counseling when indicated) for individuals; works within micro-systems providing interventions and programs for professors, advisors, friends and peers, and romantic partners aimed at male susceptibility to health and mental concerns such as social desirability-driven and expectation-driven heavy drinking; and works within larger campus systems to explicitly help educate and influence active interactions among those affecting tar-

get student populations, such as power-sharing and leadership programs for fraternity leaders, group facilitation among fraternity brothers (such as “Be That Guy” programs), collaborative work between fraternity advisors, conduct offices, and faculty advisors, etc. – all with the aim of addressing student’s health and mental health concerns while attempting to engage the men in need while keeping resistance low (O’Neil, 2008; Shen-Miller, et al., 2013). There are opportunities to focus on improving resiliency to social desirability orientations, and improving alcohol use expectations, at each of levels and through each of these methods.

serve male students on campus, investigations of the needs of men have been very limited over the past decades (Evans, 2013). Additional study next is needed to potentially confirm, revise, or extend our results and conclusions.

Limitations

This was a limited study. Inclusivity was limited to white male fraternity students on American campuses. It was beyond the study’s scope to examine effects of social desirability or expectation on the behaviors of students in historically Black fraternities, sorority women, or unaffiliated college students. For example, Butler et al, (2013) articulated the roles of mentoring, and rites of passage programs, for promoting African American student development and adjustment, but we did not address these among our implications for practice. Further research is needed to confirm and extend these findings with other relevant student populations. The study relied on fraternity agreeability to participate, student self-selection to participate, and self-report measures. Therefore, there may be undetected biases or other confounds which might limit confidence in our findings or generalizability. To mitigate these limitations as much as possible, we utilized psychometrically well-established instruments, covered a wide sample of institutions and chapters, and the direct data collection was conducted by a primary research who is very familiar and experienced with fraternities. Further, our analyses are suggestive rather than conclusive, and indicate probable relationships among the variables examined but did not establish causality. Despite the need to better understand and

References

- Allan, E., & Madden, M. (2008). Hazing in view: College students at risk. Initial findings from the national study of student hazing. Retrieved from <http://www.hazingstudy.org>
- Alva, S. A. (1998). Self-reported alcohol use of college fraternity and sorority members. *Journal of College Student Development, 39*, 3-10.
- Arnold, J. C. (1995). *Alcohol and the chosen few: Organizational reproduction in an addictive system*. Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University-Bloomington. Boca Raton, FL: Dissertation.com (1998).
- Baer, J. S. (1994). Effects of a college residence on perceived norms for alcohol consumption: An examination of the first year in college. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors, 8*(2), 43-50.
- Butler, S. K., Evans, M. P., Brooks, M., Williams, C. R., & Bailey, D. F. (2013). Mentoring African American men during their postsecondary and graduate school experiences: Implications for the counseling profession. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 91*, 419-427.
- Barry, A. (2007). Using theory-based constructs to explore the impact of Greek membership on alcohol-related beliefs and behaviors: A systematic literature review. *Journal of American College Health, 56*(3), 307-315.
- Borsari, B. E., & Carey, K. B. (2003). Descriptive and injunctive norms in college drinking: A meta-analytic integration. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 64*(3), 331-341.
- Bradburn, N. M. & Sudman, S. (1979) *Improving Interview Method and Questionnaire Design*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Brown, S.A., Christiansen, B.A. & Goldman, M.S. (1987). *The Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire: An instrument for the assessment of adolescent and adult alcohol expectancies*. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 48*, 483-491.
- Caudill, B. D., Crosse, S. B., Campbell, B., Howard, J., Luckey, B. & Blane, H.T. (2006). High-risk drinking among college fraternity members: A national perspective. *Journal of American College Health, 55*(3), 141-155.
- Carazo, R. L. (2000). Why college men drink: Alcohol, adventure, and the paradox of masculinity. *Journal of American College Health, 48*, 307-315.
- Caron, S. L., Moskey, E. G., Hovey, C. A. (2004). Alcohol use among fraternity and sorority members: Looking at change over time. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education, 47*(3), 51-66.
- Carstensen, L. L. and Cone, J. D. (1983). Social desirability and the measurement of psychological well-being in elderly persons. *Journal of Personality, 38*, 713-715.
- Christiansen, B. A., Smith, G. T., Roehling, P. V. & Goldman, M. S. (1989). Using alcohol expectancies to predict adolescent drinking behavior after one year. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 57*, 93-99.
- Cohen, D. J., & Lederman, L. C. (1995). Navigating the freedoms of college life: Students talk about alcohol, gender, and sex. In D. B. Heath (Ed.), *International handbook on alcohol and culture* (pp. 101-127). Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Cohen, B. B., and Vinson, D. C. (1995). Retrospective self-report of alcohol consumption: Test-retest reliability by telephone. *Clinical Alcoholism and Expectancy, 19*, 1156-1161.
- Cokley, K., Miller, K., Cunningham, D., Motoike, J., King, A., & Awad, G. (2001). Developing an instrument to assess college students' attitudes toward pledging and hazing in Greek letter organizations. *College Student Journal, 35*(3), 451-456.

- Crosse, S. B. Ginexi, E. M. & Caudill, B. D. (2006). Examining the effects of a national alcohol-free fraternity housing policy. *The Journal of Primary Prevention, 27*(5), 477-495.
- Crowne, D. P., and Marlowe, D. (1960). A new scale of social desirability independent of psychopathology. *Journal of Consulting Psychology, 24*, 349-354.
- Crowne, D. P., and Marlowe, D. (1964), *The Approval Motive*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Danielson, C., Taylor, S., & Hartford, M. (2001). Examining the complex relationship between-Greek life and alcohol: A literature review. *NASPA Journal, 38*(3), 451-465.
- Del Boca, K., Darkes, J., Greenbaum, P. E., & Goldman, M. S. (2004). Up close and personal: temporal variability in the drinking of individual college students during their first year. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical, 72*, 155–164.
- DeSimone, J. (2009). Fraternity membership and drinking behavior. *Economic Inquiry, 47*(2), 337-350.
- Dinger, M. K., & Parsons, N. (1999). Sexual activity among college students living in residence halls and fraternity or sorority housing. *Journal of Health Education, 30*(4), 242-246.
- Drout, C., & Corsoro, C. (2003). Attitudes toward fraternity hazing among fraternity members, sorority members, and non-Greek students. *Social Behavior & Personality: An International Journal, 31*(6), 535-543.
- Eberhardt, D., Rice, N. D., & Smith, L. D. (2003). Effects of Greek membership on academic integrity, alcohol abuse, and risky sexual behavior at a small college. *NASPA Journal. 41*(1), 135-146.
- Ellsworth, C. W. (2006). Definitions of hazing: Differences among selected student organizations. *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity Advisors, 2*(1), 46-60.
- Evans, M. P. (2013). Men in counseling: A content analysis of the *Journal of Counseling & Development and Counselor Education and Supervision 1981-2011*. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 91*, 467-474.
- Evans, N. J., Forney, D.S., Guido, F. M., Patton, L. D., & Renn, K. A. (2010). *Student development in college: Theory, research, and practice (2nd ed.)*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Fabian, L. E., Toomey, T. I, Lenk, K. M., & Erickson, D. J. (2008). Where do underage college students get alcohol? *Journal of Drug Education, 38*(1), 15-26.
- Fairlie, A. M., DeJong, W., Stevenson, J. F., Lavigne, A. M., & Wood, M. D. (2010). Fraternity and sorority leaders and members: A comparison of alcohol use, attitudes, and policy awareness. *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse, 36*, 187-193.
- Faulkner, K. M., Alcorn, J. D., & Garvin, R. B. (1988). Prediction of alcohol consumption among fraternity new members. *Journal of Alcohol & Drug Education, 34*(2), 12-21.
- Foubert, J. (2000). The longitudinal effects of a rape-prevention program on fraternity men's attitudes. *Journal of American College Health, 48*(4), 158-163.
- Foubert, J. D., Garner, D. N., & Thaxter, P. J. (2006). An exploration of fraternity culture: implications for programs to address alcohol-related sexual assault. *College Student Journal, 40* (2), 361-373.
- Gallagher, R. P., Harmon, W. W., & Lingenfelter, C. O. (1994). CSAO.s perceptions of the changing incidence of problematic student behavior. *NASPA Journal, 32*(1).
- Glassman, T. J., Dodd, V. J., Sheu, J., Rienzo, B. A., & Wagenaar, A. C. (2010). Extreme ritualistic alcohol consumption among college students on game day. *Journal of American College Health, 58*(5), 413-423.
- Goodwin, L. (1989). Explaining alcohol consumption and related experiences among fraternity and sorority members. *Journal of College Student Development, 30*(2), 448-458.

- Goodwin, L. (1990). Social psychological bases for college alcohol consumption. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, 36(1), 83-95.
- Gove, W. R., McCorkel, J., Fain, T. and Hughes, M. D. (1976). Response bias in community surveys of mental health: Systematic bias or random noise? *Social Science & Medicine*, 10, 497-502.
- Grekin, E. & Sher, K. (2006). Alcohol Dependence Symptoms Among College Freshmen: Prevalence, Stability, and Person-Environment Interactions. *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology*, 14(3), 329-338.
- Curie, J. R. (2002). *The relationship between perceived leader behavior and alcohol consumption among university students who are members of social fraternities* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3042909).
- Hemmingson, T., Lundberg, I., Diderichsen, F., & Allebeck, P. (1998). Explanations of social class differences in alcoholism in young men. *Social Science and Medicine*, 47(10), 1399–1405.
- Janes, C. R., & Ames, G. (1989). Men, blue collar work, and drinking: Alcohol use in an industrial subculture. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 13, 245–274.
- Johnston, L. D., O'Malley, P. M., Bachman, J. G., & Schulenberg, I. E. (2007). Monitoring the Future national survey results on drug use: 1975-2006. Volume 11: College students and adults ages 19-45 (NIH Publication No. 07-6206). Bethesda, MD: National Institute on Drug Abuse, 307 pp. Retrieved from <http://www.core.siuc.edu/>
- Juth, V., Smyth, J., Thompson, K., & Nodes, J. (2010). The influence of physical and social environmental factors on alcohol related legal infractions among college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 51, 373-384.
- Kaminer, D., & Dixon, J. (1995). The reproduction of masculinity: A discourse analysis of men's drinking talk. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 25, 168–174.
- Kellogg, K. (1999). *Binge drinking on college campuses*. Washington, DC: George Washington University, Graduate School of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED436110)
- Kilmer R. J., Larimer, M. E., Parks, G. A., Dimeff, L. A., & Marlatt, G. A. (1999). Liability or risk management? evaluation of a greek system alcohol policy. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors*, 4, 269-278.
- Kimmel M. (2008). *Guyland: The perilous world where boys become men*. New York, NY: Harper Collins.
- Kozma, A. & Stones, M. J. (1987). Social desirability in measures of subjective well-being: Age comparisons. *Social Indicators Research*, 20, 1-14.
- Landrine, H., Bardwell, S., & Dean, T. (1988). Gender expectations for alcohol use: A study of the significance of the masculine role. *Sex Roles*, 19, 703–712.
- Larimer, M., Irvine, D., Kilmer, J., & Marlatt, G. (1997). College drinking and the Greek system: Examining the role of perceived norms for high-risk behavior. *Journal of College Student Development*, 38(3), 587-598.
- Larimer, M. E., Anderson, B. K., Baer, J. S., & Marlatt, G. A. (2000). An individual in context: Predictors of alcohol use and drinking problems among Greek and residence hall students. *Journal of Substance Abuse*, 11(1), 53–68.
- Locke, B., & Mahalik, J. (2005). Examining masculinity norms, problem drinking, and athletic involvement as predictors of sexual aggression in college men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(3), 279-283.
- Long, L. D., & Snowden, A. (2011). The more you put into it, the more you get out of it: The educational gains of fraternity/sorority officers. *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors*, 6(2), p. 1-14.

- Maguire, C. P. (2010). Intentions to drink to intoxication among college students mandated to alcohol intervention: An application and extension of the theory of planned behavior (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3042909).
- Menning, C. L. (2009). Unsafe at any house? attendees' perceptions of microlevel environmental traits and personal safety at Fraternity and nonfraternity parties. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 24(10), 1714-1734.
- McCarthy, D.M., Miller, T.L., Smith, G.T. & Smith, J.A. (2001). Disinhibition and expectancy in risk for alcohol use: Comparing Black and White college samples. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 62(3), 313-321.
- National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism of the National Institutes of Health (NIAAA). (2004-2005). Alcohol and development in youth—A multidisciplinary overview, V.28,3,111-120. Retrieved from <http://pubs.niaaa.nih.gov/publications>
- O'Neill, J. M. (2008). Summarizing 25 years of research on men's gender role conflict using the Gender Role Conflict Scale: New research paradigms and clinical impressions. *Counseling Psychologist*, 26, 358-445.
- Pace, D., & McGrath, P. B. (2002). A comparison of drinking behaviors of students in Greek organizations and students active in a campus volunteer organization. *NASPA Journal*, 39(1), 217-232.
- Page, R. M., & O'Hegarty. (2006). Type of student residence as a factor in college students' alcohol consumption and social normative perceptions regarding alcohol use. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Substance Abuse*, 15(3), 15-31.
- Park, A., Sher, K., Wood, P., & Krull, J. (2009). Dual mechanisms underlying accentuation of risky drinking via fraternity/sorority affiliation: The role of personality, peer norms, and alcohol availability. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 118(2), 241-255.
- Pascarella, E. T., Edison, M. I., & Whitt, E. J. (1996). Cognitive effects of Greek affiliation during the first year of college. *NASPA Journal*, 33(3), 242-259.
- Peralta, R. L. (2007). College alcohol use and the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity among European American men. *Sex Roles*, 56, 741-756.
- Presley, C. A., Meilman, P. W., & Cashin, J. R. (1996) *Alcohol and Drugs on American College Campuses: Use, Consequences, and Perceptions of the Campus Environment*. Carbondale, Ill.: The Core Institute.
- Reich, R.R., Goldman, M.S., Noll, J.A. (2004). Using the false memory paradigm to test two key elements of alcohol expectancy theory. *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology*, 12(2), 102-110.
- Rogers, J. L. W. (2006). The construction of masculinity in homosocial environment: A case study (Doctoral dissertation, Iowa State University, 2006). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 67(05A), 1921.
- Schacht, S. P. (1996). Misogyny on and off the "pitch": The gendered world of male rugby players. *Gender and Society*, 10, 550-565.
- Shen-Miller, D. S., Isacco, A., Davies, J. A., St. Jean, M., & Phan, J. L. (2013). The men's center approach: ecological interventions for college men's health. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 91, 499-397.
- Sher, K. J., Bartholow, B. D., & Nanda, S. (2001). Short- and long- term effects of fraternity and sorority membership on heavy drinking: a social norms perspective. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors*, 15, 42-51.

- Trockel, M., Wall, A., Williams, S., & Reis, J. (2008). When the party for some becomes a problem for others: The potential role of perceived second-hand consequences of drinking behavior in determining collective drinking norms. *The Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied*, 142(1), 57-69.
- U.S. Department of Education (2002). *Safe and drug free schools program: Alcohol and other drug prevention on college campuses*. Washington, D.C: Model Programs.
- Wall, A. (2006). On-line alcohol health education curriculum evaluation: Harm reduction findings among fraternity and sorority members. *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity Advisors*, 2(1), 29-45.
- Wall, A., Reis, J., & Bureau, D. (2012). Fraternity and sorority new members' self-regulation of alcohol use. *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity Advisors*, 2(2), 108-116.
- Wechsler, H., Davenport, A., Dowdall, G., Moeykens, B. & Castillo, S. (1994). Health and behavioral consequences of binge drinking in college: A national survey of students at 140 campuses. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 272(21), 1672-1677.
- Wechsler, H., Lee, J. E., Kuo, M., & Lee, H. (2000). College binge drinking in the 1990's: A continuing problem. *Journal of American College Health*, 48, 199-210.
- Wechsler, H., Lee, J. E., Kuo, M., Seibring, M., Nelson, T. F., Lee, H. (2001). Trends in college binge drinking during a period of increased prevention efforts. Findings from 4 Harvard School of Public Health college alcohol study surveys: 1993-2001. *Journal of American College Health*, 50 (5) 203-217.
- Wechsler, H., Kuh, G. D., & Davenport, A. (1996). Fraternities, sororities and binge drinking: Results from a national study of American colleges. *NASPA Journal*, 33(4), 260-279.
- Weitzman, E. R., & Nelson, T. F. (2004). College student binge drinking and the "prevention paradox:" Implications for prevention and harm reduction. *Journal of Drug Education*, 34(3), 247-266.
- Welte, J. W. and Russell, M. (1993). Influence of socially desirable responding in a study of stress and substance abuse. *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research*, 17, 758-761.
- West, L. A. (2001). Negotiating masculinities in American drinking subcultures. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 9, 371-392.
- Workman, T. A. (2001). Finding the meaning of college drinking: An analysis of fraternity drinking stories. *Health Communications*, 13(4), 427-44

Author Biographies

Pietro Sasso, Ph.D., is an Assistant Professor of Student Affairs & College Counseling at Monmouth University. He has previously served as a fraternity/sorority advisor on several campuses and as national vice president for Tau Delta Phi Fraternity. The major focus on his research is on identity construction and college student development. Comments regarding this article can be sent to Dr. Sasso at PSasso@monmouth.edu.

Alan M. Schwitzer, Ph.D., is a licensed psychologist and professor of counseling in the Department of Counseling and Human Services, Darden College of Education at Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA.

THE HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE “COLLEGE MAN” IDENTITY AND WORLD WAR I ERA ARCHIVE OF A DENISON UNIVERSITY FRATERNITY MAN

LIZ ROHAN, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN–DEARBORN

This article foregrounds a portion of an archive featuring the artifacts of a historical college student, John M. Price, who attended Denison University in Granville, Ohio during and after World War I, who was also a member of Phi Gamma Delta fraternity like his brothers, father and uncles. Price’s interest in writing, as well as reading, was developed in tension with prescribed identities in World War I era collegiate America deemphasizing scholastics. Price’s documents not only provide a historical example of a young man responding to prescribed cultural identities, but also show him struggling to maintain this identity, a struggle that can be food for thought for contemporary college students whose personal values may conflict with the values prescribing their public behavior, and behavior that has historical roots in the era when Price attended college.

The details that Phi Gamma Delta member John Price jotted down in his diary about his activities during a few days as a college student on the Denison University campus in Granville, Ohio during his sophomore year the winter of 1919 show that he was quite a busy young man.

Tuesday, March 4, 1919: Studied Geog Inf. notes this a.m. with Jingles and took quiz. Think I got by. Called Class Meeting after chapel to elect Editor and Manager of Adytum, but they wanted a nominating committee. At supper, Shorney made Seaholes practice cuckooing and Simpson gave a speech on “Will the Chewing Gum on the Bedpost Keep its Flavor Overnight?” Ordered them to have two scheming dates at Beaver field and bring them to the back door at 8:30. Begad, they did! About 9:30, news came in that basketball team licked Wittenberg 29 to 23. All went out in bathrobes, built a bonfire, and snakedanced up around Sem. Great sport. I have a cheer for Mrs. Brumback, and Josh yells, “Shut up, Price!” I fear my reputation is gone now.

Wednesday, March 6, 1919: Had a relapse this morning, and sat around till 10:30, buck-

ing a class and my hour with Ted. Mehl finished his lecture on evolution—very fine indeed. Also led chapel. Meeting of student body to consider disposition of literary societies.

The diary entries from these few days in 1919 are just one peek at a larger archive that Price developed as a lifetime diarist, a portion of which features his four years at Denison University that he arranged to be particularly audience friendly. This archive includes: the transcription of his diary entries, letters he sent and received, artifacts such as tuition bills, notes from the college dean, William Tanner, about his class “bucks,” report cards, and also some of the commentary he made about the events chronicled in his diary when reflecting on them as he arranged this archive¹. Price’s interest in keeping a diary as a young man and later into his life predicted and paralleled his longtime career as an editor at the New York Herald Tribune.

This article is designed as a heuristic for reading part of Price’s archive by describing the historical and cultural context for his processes as a writer and editor of this archive; particularly the portion of the archive that chronicles Price’s last year at Denison during the fall of 1920, and the

¹Note: Link to diary and related documents: <http://ohio5.openrepository.com/ohio5/handle/11282/333701>

winter and spring of 1921. A version of the archival materials discussed in the article can be accessed electronically via the hyperlink in Note 1 at the beginning of this article. The data discussed also foreground the most conflict, as Price struggled to maintain what I call the “college man” identity and began drinking alcohol shortly after it became illegal to do so in Ohio, and the US, and after he ironically turned twenty-one. During his final semester he attempted to establish a legacy for himself as a writer and class leader by founding a literary magazine, the *Flamingo*, under some pressure from his family members after they assumed his class clown antics caused him to lose the opportunity to be editor of the school paper, the *Denisonian*. Despite his madcap activity, he also maintained his habit as a voracious reader, even though he got “smeared” on some tests because he had not studied for them.

This article is also organized to encourage thought about a particular theme, the historical construction of the previously mentioned college man identity as it is represented by Price’s choices and attitudes during his last year of college. This “college man” has contempt for adult or school-sponsored scholastics and spends more time with extra-curricular activities rather than homework. He relies upon natural smarts for scholastic success and denies or hides any preparation he might be making for his future. The construction of this college man identity is a particularly relevant theme for analysis when considering that contemporary college men reportedly still feel pressure to party as much as they can and also claim that outward preparation for the future is not considered masculine in their circles (Edwards & Jones, 2009) just as it wasn’t for John Price nearly 100 years ago, and as I have argued similarly elsewhere (Rohan, 2014). Along with a history lesson about artifacts, attitudes and customs typical to the era, John Price’s diary and related documents will ideally help the reader reflect upon and better think about what it means to be a “college man,” or a member of a college fraternity, in America, historically, ste-

reotypically, and even in their own contemporary experiences. This archive, then, can ideally be used as a teaching tool for contemporary college students so they might consider the conflicts and intersections between their individual aspirations and those constructed for them by the fraternity/sorority culture that they have inherited.

Historian Nicholas Syrett (2009) traces the modern college man who relies on “natural smarts” for his success to the nineteenth-century literary society culture, which glorified students’ success as orators in literacy societies rather than in the otherwise dull adult-directed curriculum that was neither innovative nor student-centered (p. 91). But by the 1920s, the football player had taken over as the college campus hero (Schmidt, 2007), and bookish young men lost their opportunity to shine outside of the classroom as they had previously when using their skills as readers and writers during literacy society contests. Hence, while the admired nineteenth-century college man did have an opportunity to show his smarts outside the classroom, the idealized twentieth-century college hero, the jock, or by extension the party boy, was indifferent to scholastics altogether. Price’s experience, as shared in the details of his archive, can also add a depth of understanding to an otherwise stereotyped identity when seeing that Price was caught in a conflict between pleasing peers, as well as his parents, as he donned the college man identity, exemplified most pointedly via his hazing of pledges, alcohol consumption and class bucking. Price resolved this conflict by satisfying both sides. The literary magazine that Price founded was popular with his peers and was also rubber stamped, with some curmudgeony, by campus adult leaders, particularly from the President of the University, Price’s nemesis, President Clark Chamberlain, whom by convention the students called “Prexy” or “Prex.”

Price’s layered relationship with a particular college, Denison University, and also a particular fraternity, Phi Gamma Delta, might make him exceptional, but his experience was also quintes-

sential. Price came of age as a college student when the modern fraternity and sorority system was growing exponentially, as the number of students was doubling and when attending college was no longer just the aspiration of the elite. Investment in higher education by a range of stakeholders also led the development of college sports programs and new stadiums (Thelin, 2004). Somewhat as a result, by the 1920s images of US college students circulating in articles, advertisements and cartoons portrayed the average college student as a hedonistic, fun loving, hard-drinking party boy pursuing not the life of the mind but the “gentleman’s C” (Fass, 1979; Syrett, 2009; Thelin, 2004).

Although not yet part of a Greek row of houses that would develop at Denison in the coming years, the Greek revival style of Price’s Phi Gamma Delta fraternity house might represent the classic quality of Price’s experience in a white fraternity, an experience that has now become stereotyped and also feasibly branded, packaged, and even normed, by and for young contemporary college students (Fass, 1979). That is, Price’s behavior predicts still popular cultural scripts of “boys-will-be-boys” masculinity made iconic by the 1978 National Lampoon movie, “Animal House,” about a rebellious group of frat boys, the Deltas, living it up and partying down at an east coast college in the early 1960s. One of the movie’s scriptwriters, Chris Miller, has even identified the 1920s as the genesis of the modern college experience when remembering his initial impressions of Dartmouth as he encountered the school for the first time as a freshman in the early 1960s: “It was all very impressive, conjuring up Fitzgeraldian visions of my father’s time here, with flappers, raccoon coats, and silver hip flasks” (2006, p. 53). Arguably, young men steeped in this culture that de-emphasizes academics for the sake of a good party are actually reenacting the rituals invented by John Price and his like-minded young colleagues, meanwhile lacking a historical context for what might be shaping their identity con-

struction as well their behavior. As museum scholars Mark P. Leone and Barbara Little argue (2004), “Afflicted with social amnesia, people forget that their own society has a historical past and therefore falsely conclude that their present reality is ‘natural and inevitable’” (p. 370). At the same time, the reality for students like Price was more complicated when considering Price’s love for reading and writing and also his family’s deep interest and investment in learning and scholarship. Thus, while Price’s experiences, and his method of self-representation through ordinary, every day texts, promote the stereotype of the historical fraternity man, they also challenge this stereotype as well, which can also provide food for thought among contemporary readers. Overall, Price’s texts show how individual lives can both reflect and challenge popular scripts, such as the college man identity, as history simultaneously evolves and repeats itself.

Granville, Ohio was not the only village to encourage Price’s interest in scholarship and writing and its history. Price’s Chicago neighborhood of Morgan Park was a veritable college town. Its bucolic streets nearly mirrored the composition of Granville in its incipient years. When Morgan Park was developed in the late 1800s, it had a Baptist theological seminary, a woman’s college and a private academy for high school students (Andreas, 1884). Granville likewise was developed as a college town, including Granville College which would become Denison, two ladies colleges, and also Doane Academy, a private residential high school affiliated with the university (Utter, 1956). Perhaps Price’s father Enoch’s experience growing up near Granville inspired him to found the Morgan Park High School, before the village became part of Chicago (and likely also because his daughter Lillis could not attend the all-boys Morgan Park Academy that had previously served the community’s need for a secondary school.) The few privileged youth who attended this brand new high school had mothers who belonged to the Morgan Park Woman’s Club with an art and literature department and

a Shakespeare program for young people (Town Talk, 1918). Price's rigorous high school curriculum included Latin when he translated Virgil, Ancient History, English Literature, when he read Byron and Pilgrim's Progress, and also Physics. As continued to be his habit, Price often shirked deadlines for school assignments when a high school student. But in Morgan Park, Price also developed his habit of reading for pleasure, aided by the well-stocked public library where Price visited the magazines looking for articles that interested him, "loaf[ing] away among the books...merely opening one here and there" (J. Price, 1916 diary, January 13). Sometimes, as was his habit at college, he "drew" books that caught his eye, even though as would become the case more and more over his burgeoning adulthood, he didn't finish or hand in homework in time.

Timeless Themes: Legacy

Price's affiliations with his elders who were former Denisonians was literally made concrete for him when he roomed in Talbot Hall his freshman year and discovered some carved graffiti of his name on a window sill, and wrote to his father about its genesis. His father replied:

I imagine you are on the 3rd floor in the southwest corner of Talbot ("New Brick"). My brother Eber and I moved into that room in 1882 and it was occupied continuously by Prices, usually two, until Orlo graduated in 1894. I roomed there six years. There was no frat houses in those days and all students roomed in houses, or in town. (E. J. Price. 1918).

That nearly all of Price's uncles attended Denison was a result of his grandfather's financial acumen. Price's grandfather, Thomas, an apple farmer in nearby Newark, Ohio, who also founded a literacy society, bought a "perpetual scholarship" which Denison, then Granville College, used as a fundraising endeavor in the 1850s. Thomas then used the scholarship to send five of his seven sons to Denison (I. Price, n. date).

Price not only witnessed memorials such as the inscription at Talbot Hall, he perpetuated the tradition of witnessing, remembering and recording life at Denison as an ongoing Price family initiative through his writing home and writing in his diary.

Ironically enough President Chamberlain, or "Prexy," was also a "Phi Gam" and had graduated from the college in 1894. Chamberlain and a handful of other Phi Gams turned faculty, fraters in facultate, were related to a network of involved alums who worked to preserve decorum among Denison Phi Gams, and in the fraternity house. One of Price's self-described "best friends" at Denison, Clarence Coons (or Coonie), who was Price's boss at one point, and also his Physics teacher, was a Phi Gam alum also (J. Price, 1917 diary September 13). These alums, including Price's father Enoch, of course, acted as more or less tolerant watchdogs of the younger Phi Gams antics and called upon their "brothers" to tone it down if the young men lost control or drew too much attention to themselves.

Drinking alcohol in the public spaces of the Phi Gam fraternity house happened during Price's stay in the house, but was frowned upon by some graduated alums including Price's brother Owen. Owen seemed to have come of age a bit before the Jazz Age commenced, and as evidenced by his perhaps prudish attitude about alcohol consumption when learning about a "booze party" in the front room of the fraternity house. As he wrote to Price about this party in a letter: "Don't stand for it, Johnny" (O. N. Price, 1920). Price's parents' surveillance of Price's college life experience through reading his report card also shows how grades have enlisted parents as disciplinary watchdogs of their children's college careers, and particularly before legislation developed to prohibit parents from seeing the grades of their college-aged children without consent (Allmendinger, 1975; Rosentweig, 2002).

Diaries and Social Media

Born in 1899, John Price was destined to live at a crossroad between two centuries. Perhaps as one result his writing processes also straddled the generations. As a male diarist Price was a throwback to the nineteenth-century college man like his father; as a slacker and editor of a literary magazine, he could be compared to his contemporaries F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway. Concerned with recording “status updates” about his comings and goings in his diary, and in letters to his family members, he could also be at home in our time, the early twentieth-first century, as new media expands opportunities for up-to-the minute self-expression and communication.

Readers might also therefore consider that the contemporary impetus to mediate experience, that is, record ever minute of it via technology, also has a history along with the college man identity. Price’s diary keeping and mediating of experience via text also had historical roots and was deeply steeped in a family tradition of record keeping and text production, considering that Price’s grandfather, Thomas, kept a diary, his father Enoch kept a diary and his uncles kept diaries. Price’s parents’ courtship was fostered via correspondence when the couple wrote to each other while in college. Price’s lack of introspection in his diary is characteristic of nineteenth-century diary keeping, before diary keeping became associated both with women and confession, and into the twentieth century (Cully, 1985). In fact, mass-produced diaries, popular among nineteenth-century businessmen, and used also by women to create records, encouraged “dailiness” (Sinor 2002, p. 6) by design, allowing only one page or less for a diarist’s daily records. Much like blogs in the twenty-first century, nineteenth-century diarists commonly kept “companion” texts to supplement their inevitably sparse diary records, which functioned more like contemporary appointment books (McCarthy, 2000). As Price wrote to his mother in November of 1917: “The only way to get all the

news is to refer to my diary. I’ve been keeping it pretty steadily since I came down, and it proves useful occasionally” (J. M. Price to L. A. Price, 1917). The details that Price shared in his diary entries might add up to a story, but these diary texts were conceivably written so Price could remember what happened to him when writing letters for his family, particularly his mother who was his primary correspondent. He also used his diaries as practical records when, for example, calculating his wins and losses as a poker player, and over the course of about a year.

Much like contemporary Facebook posts and end of the year photo collages, Price’s diaries also helped him to remember later when he re-read entries again. For instance, in 1950, when reflecting on his diary, and its keeping, Price commented on an event that took place on February 16, 1921: “There was a time, back in the 1920s, when I found that upon reading any day’s diary entry I could directly remember the day and its events—that’s when I should have typed out and expanded the diary” (J. Price, 1921 diary). Not an introspective diarist, nor perhaps an introspective person, he was nevertheless a self-conscious diarist. Aware of his texts as significant memorials, he also recognized memories as nebulous snapshots that did not necessarily reflect reality, even when a writer acts as an eyewitness to every day events. Reflecting on a diary entry for Oct. 27, 1917 in “1950” about a Denison football game against Ohio State, Price mused, for example, “Illustrating how memory fails, it has been my ‘recollection’ for years that I was put in at the last minute as a substitute for the last few second of this muddy game with Ohio.” Since the diary entry made it clear that he had not played in this game, he concluded that he “[m]ust have confused it with the Freshman-Sophomore game.” (J. Price, 1921 diary, 1950).

Price’s use of shorthand when describing secret fraternity rituals and pranks against college authorities in his diary also hints at another imagined audience for the diary, fellow fraternity brothers and school authorities. Syrett (2009)

associates secrecy, and secret societies, in tandem with other privileges associated with being a white, male college student, and a fraternity member. Other items in the collection reflect Price's willingness to self-disclose and for the greater purpose of memorial such as the previously mentioned report cards with poor grades, reprimanding letters from the college dean and "doctored" bills exaggerating his room and board costs that he sent to his father when he hoped for more cash for pocket money.

More Tools for Interpreting Price's Experiences: Spirituality and Religion, Activism on Campus, and Dating Customs

As with many other Post-World War I college youth, Price was not interested in religion, and attended church only occasionally, a still tense position at the then Baptist-affiliated Denison, and particularly during the annual "week of prayer" every spring (Chessman, 1957). Price's maternal grandfather had been a minister, and several of his uncles were clergymen, but Price was a self-proclaimed atheist. He even embraced evolution when some of his more religious young colleagues remained skeptics of science. In April of 1919 he even wrote in his diary, "Argued with Duke and Gene about Evolution. They haven't enough sense yet to believe they are descended from monkeys" (J. Price, 1919 diary, April 11).

Price likely saw it coming when in 1922, the year after he graduated, a well-liked Jewish Denison faculty member in Zoology, Sidney Kornhauser, was fired, presumably for his teaching methods and also because he was Jewish (Chessman, 1956), and as friction escalated between the religious and the scientific after the war. Price demonstrated an unselfconscious prejudice against Jewish people he met during his collegiate travels, but he wrote an editorial to the Denison alumni magazine condemning the decision to fire Kornhauser. Price claimed that if the college was to evolve, so to speak, its leadership would need to cut ties with the Baptist church (The future of Denison, 1923). Writers responding to his edi-

torial suggest that Denison alums were not ready for a secular alma mater. Price's advice, though, would predict the university's eventual disaffiliation with its Baptist beginnings in decades to come, and as it expanded the campus, part of the "Greater Denison" plan much talked about before and after World War I.

Bolshevism, a precursor to Communism in Russia, evolved as a term used by Denison students and leaders during Price's career to describe radical and threatening ideas that somehow made it to Granville, and in conflict with Denison students and leaders who were threatened by change, and also in conflict with a backlash against socialism after the war. Price himself was accused of being a "Bolshevik," and mostly for his pranks against Prexy. According to Price, during one of Prexy's typical pedantic speeches, Prexy in fact compared interclass rivalry among Denison students, known as "scrapping," to Bolshevism (J. Price, 1919 diary, May 6,).

But many of Price's professors were progressive from a contemporary standpoint, and encouraged critical thinking about new ideas as college curricula became more secular and as more vocationally-oriented coursework more became popular (Garay, 2007; Levine, 1988; Reuben, 1996). Journalism programs were proliferating in US colleges in the second decade of the century, for example, and a program was developed at Denison during Price's career at the college (Journalism next year, 1919, p. 2;) marked by the arrival of the sophisticated and likely homosexual Professor Dickerson who encouraged critical thinking. In German class Price translated Einstein's theories of relativity. And, one of Price's favorite books that he read for an English class, *The Story of an African Farm*, by the South African writer Olive Schreiner, promotes feminist ideas and its main character questions the existence of God.

On the other hand, Denison leaders and Morgan Park leaders, collectively Baptists, held at the time typical and conservative attitudes about social mores, such as their rules about the mingling

of members of the opposite sex. Customary at colleges across the nation, female college students at Denison had strict curfews when living in the “Sem,” which was Denison’s woman’s campus consisting of a few dorms and classrooms. Even by 1921 young men and women had to “scheme.” A “schemer” was someone who organized a date not authorized by elders and, therefore, Victorian codes of conduct requiring a chaperone, permission from Mrs. Brumback the woman’s dean, or at the very least some adult surveillance (Chessman, 1957), which is probably one reason Price and associates hoped at first to name their literary magazine *The Schemer*. A schemer who got caught risked getting “campused”.

When Price got to Denison, dancing was prohibited while school was in session. When he was in high school in Morgan Park dancing was also discouraged. This rule was likely a reaction to the “dance craze” of the 1910s and 1920s, and a new world in which young people could dictate their own amusements when dance halls, movie theaters, and a bit later the automobile, created space for young people to gather outside of their homes and their parents’ control (Bailey, 1988; Mintz & Kellogg, 1988, Model, 1989). Denison students worked around the ban on dancing by scheduling big parties when school was technically not in session, and before and after breaks. Meanwhile, and illustrative of the inevitable uneven transformation of values during the era, Price had relative freedom in hanging out with and escorting his high school friend, Margaret Heil, to and fro when visiting her at Ohio State and also in Chicago.

Also the custom during the era, young men hampered by the rules that indisposed their female cohorts went elsewhere to find dates and amusement—in town mostly where women were obviously not beholden to “Sem” rules. The interurban, occasionally a car, and at one point a bus, easily took Denison students to nearby Newark, “the city of sin,” seven miles down the road, where Denison rules no longer applied, and away from adult supervision. Furthermore,

there were also more men than women attending Denison University before the war, and before the campus expanded; for example, of the 600 students who attended the college in 1916, 400 were reportedly men and 200 were reportedly women (Denison will enlarge, 1916). After the war when Price accelerated his habits of “loafing” much of his time away smoking cigarettes, going to dances, playing poker with his fraternity brothers at the house, he often attended movies in Newark. Joined by his fraternity brothers, he sometimes prowled Newark’s streets for non-chaperoned women, and with the predictable mixed success. Overall, Price’s relationships with women, which sometimes included some “petting” that Price called “lovin’s,” were rather chaste and if sometimes “scheming” not very far out of bounds. Price somewhat passively went about the business of getting a date and being a date for various school parties and Greek affairs with little admitted passion for any young woman in particular. For whatever reason he also was attracted to women who were unavailable, such as the perpetually-engaged Judy Pursell or the out-of-town and out-of-sight Margaret. His most sexually charged experience happened to take place months before graduation with a much younger girl, who was also “a townee.” Price took up with this young woman when he was on an informal date with a classmate, Thelma, whom he had dated casually over his college career. As he described the encounter, “Loved Thelma a little, then dropped her, and played with the other girl. One of those ornery 16 year-olds---tells dirty stories and allows anything” (J. Price, 1921 diary, May 14). As Syrett notes (2009), it wasn’t unusual for fraternity men to seduce high school girls in this era when consensual sex among young people who were equals was taboo or at the very least not yet the norm (p. 221).

Getting Ready to Read the Diary & Related Documents

As Laurel Ulrich has written about reading a diary: “Opening a diary for the first time is like

walking into a room full of strangers. The reader is advised to enjoy the company without trying to remember every name” (p. 35). Readers of John Price’s diary will likely be more satisfied if following Ulrich’s advice. Readers are also advised to consult an inflation calculator to better understand the relative cost of items and services in John Price’s world, considering, for example, that four dollars in 1921 would be worth fifty-two 2015 dollars. The online introduction to the diary that foregrounds the archive might be of interest, as might for that matter the entire archive which begins with Price’s freshman year in 1917. Yet to get to the heart of Price’s conflict as a “college man,” readers might skip to page 145 of the document, which begins with the first days of Price’s senior year, the fall of 1920. The previous semester Price got some tough news when, as mentioned earlier, he learned that he was not picked to be the editor of the school newspaper, the *Denisonian*. This news also upset his family members, especially his brother Owen who had held the job as editor of this newspaper during his college career at Denison. Owen thought Price had not been picked because he had “fostered the rep that [he was a] ‘heller”” (O. N. Price, 1920). Also mentioned earlier, this loss would indirectly lead Price to found a literary magazine, the *Flamingo*. His editorship of the *Flamingo* allowed him a space on campus where he could be both studious and cool, as his chronic habit of bucking classes caught up with him, and he risked not graduating.

Price’s mostly unselfconscious behavior as a “college man” during this last year of college, which included lots of drinking, hazing of pledges and scheming, might equally horrify, amuse and educate members about a historical period in American culture that is still glorified or just reflected upon nostalgically. When pondering the genesis and development of the college man identity in the early twentieth century, readers might also consider the following contradictions that Price’s behavior might embody during the final days of his college career. He rejected

Victorian mores when it came to religion and, somewhat, relations between the sexes. But he was also a walking and talking museum, his life an ode to the past. Even while performing the scripted identity assigned to him by the greater culture of the time, in this case that of the rebellious fraternity boy unaffected by adult disapproval, Price’s collegiate records, and most importantly his every day writing catalogued for posterity, shows a young man’s profound allegiance to his forefathers and the legacy these forefathers almost literally wrote for him. And even while he took pride in rejecting studiousness and organized religion, his very presence on the Denison’s campus, and the genres he used to document this experience, align him with previous generations of Prices who contributed directly to his success through their interest in education generally and Price’s education specifically. Probably most importantly, or to put it simply, he bucked classes a lot, but he read and wrote a lot, too.

References

- Allmendinger, D. F. (1975). *Paupers and scholars: The transformation of student life in nineteenth-century New England*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Andreas, A. T. (1884). *History of Cook County*. Chicago, IL: A. T. Andreas.
- Bailey, B. (1988). *From porch to back seat: Courtship in twentieth century America*. Baltimore, MD: The Price Hopkins University Press.
- Bruinius, H. (2006). *Better for all the world: The secret history of forced sterilization and America's quest for racial purity*. New York, NY: Alfred Knopf.
- Chessman, W. G. (1957) *Denison: The story of an Ohio college*. Granville, OH: Denison University.
- College diaries, letters, etc. of John M. Price, Class of 1921 (1917-1921)*, Denison University Archives, Granville, OH.
- Culley, M. (1985). Introduction. In M. Culley (Ed.), *One Day at a Time: The Diary Literature of Women Writers from 1764 to the Present* (pp. 9-26). New York, NY: The Feminist Press.
- Denison Will Enlarge Its Facilities Almost Two-Fold. (1916, September 9). *The Granville Times*, p. 1.
- Edwards, K. E., & Jones, S. R. (2009). Putting my man face on: A grounded theory of college men's gender identity development. *Journal of College Student Development*, 50 (2), 210-228.
- Fass, P. (1979). *The damned and the beautiful: American youth in the 1920s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Garay, R. (2000). *The Manship School: A history of journalism education at LSU*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Journalism Next Year. (1919, May 30). *Denisonian*, p. 2.
- Leone, M. P., & Little, B. (2004). Artifacts as expressions of society and culture: Subversive genealogy and the value of history. In B. M. Carbonell (Ed.), *Museum studies: An anthology of contexts* (pp. 362-374). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Levine, D. O. (1988). *The American college and the culture of aspiration, 1915-1920*. Ithaca, NY: The Cornell University Press.
- McCarthy, M. (2000). A pocketful of days: Pocket diaries and daily record keeping among nineteenth-century New England women. *The New England Quarterly*, 73(2), 274-296.
- Miller, C. (2007). *The real animal house: the awesomely depraved saga of the fraternity that inspired the movie*. New York, NY: Back Bay Books.
- Modell, P. (1989). *Into one's own: From youth to adulthood in the United States 1920-1975*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Price, E. J. (Feb. 16, 1918). [Letter to J.M. Price]. The college diaries, letters, etc. of John M. Price, Class of 1921, Denison University Archives, Granville, OH.
- Price, I. M. *Price, Thomas Davis. Reading and the Library Society. Welsh Hills (Licking Co.) Price*. (Box 2, Folder 1). The Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, OH.
- Price, J.M. 1917 diary. *College diaries, letters, etc. of John M. Price, Class of 1921 (1917-1921)* Denison University Archives, Granville, OH.
- Price, J.M. 1919 diary. *College diaries, letters, etc. of John M. Price, Class of 1921 (1917-1921)* Denison University Archives, Granville, OH.
- Price J.M. 1921 diary. *College diaries, letters, etc. of John M. Price, Class of 1921 (1917-1921)* Denison University Archives, Granville, OH.
- Price, J. M. (November 15, 1917). [Letter to L.A. Price]. The college diaries, letters, etc. of John M. Price, Class of 1921, Denison University Archives, Granville, OH.
- Price, J. M. 1916 diary. *The Price Family Papers*. Ridge Historical Society, Chicago, IL.

- Price, J. M. (1923, December). *The future of Denison*. Denison Alumni Bulletin, 2-5.
- Price, O. M. (May 5, 1920). [Letter to J.M. Price]. The college diaries, letters, etc. of John M. Price, Class of 1921, Denison University Archives, Granville, OH.
- Reuben, J. A. (1996). *The making of the modern university: Intellectual transformation and the marginalization of modernity*. Chicago, IL: the University of Chicago Press.
- Rohan, L. (2014, Spring). Getting by: A “lost generation” member’s local history of the college extracurriculum. *Composition Forum*, 29. Retrieved from <http://compositionforum.com/issue/29/getting-by.php>
- Rosenzweig, E. W. (2002, Winter). Please don’t tell: The question of confidentiality in student disciplinary records under FERPA and the crime awareness and campus security act. *Emory Law Journal*, 447-479.
- Schmidt, R (2007). *Shaping college football: the transformation of an American Sport, 1919-1930*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Sinor, J. (2000). *The extraordinary work of ordinary writing: Annie Ray’s diary*. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa.
- Syrett, N. L. (2009). *The company he keeps: A history of white college fraternities*. Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press.
- Town Talk. (1918, November 8). Ridge Historical Society, Chicago, IL.
- Theelin, J. (2004). *A history of American higher education*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ulrich, L. T. (1990). *The life of Martha Ballard, based on her diary, 1785-1812*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Utter, W. T. (1956). *Granville: The story of an Ohio village*. Granville, OH: Granville Historical Society, Denison University.

Author Biography

Liz Rohan is an Associate Professor of Composition and Rhetoric at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. Her research that reflects her ongoing interests in pedagogy, feminist research methods and America’s progressive era has appeared in journals such as *Rhetoric Review*, *Composition Studies*, *Pedagogy*, *JAEPL*, *Reflections*, *Composition Forum*, *Peitho*, and also in several book chapters.

JUST THE FACTS, BRO: DEVELOPING A SUCCESSFUL ALCOHOL EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR FRATERNITY MEMBERS

K. JOY HAMM, CHATTAHOOCHEE VALLEY COMMUNITY COLLEGE

The purpose of this study was to assess the impact of Alcohol Skills Training Program (ASTP) on fraternity drinking, ascertain elements of the program that may lead to behavioral change and understand the role chapter culture plays in the success of the program. Although the researcher did not find significant evidence to support ASTP as an effective alcohol education program for reducing high-risk drinking, certain elements of ASTP do seem to be viewed as useful by members of fraternities. The findings from this study enabled the researcher to make several recommendations regarding alcohol education within the fraternal community.

Prevention specialists and higher education professionals have been studying college students and alcohol for more than 30 years and have learned that members of the fraternity and sorority community are at an even greater risk for negative consequences resulting from their high-risk drinking than their non-affiliated peers (Cashin, Presley, & Meilman, 1998). Wechsler, Dowdall, Maenner, Gladhill-Hoyt, and Lee (1998) stated that, while fraternity and sorority members may only represent a portion of the entire college population nation-wide, their higher levels of use play a major role when discussing the impact of alcohol misuse and abuse on college campuses. For this reason, it is important to thoroughly explore alcohol use within the fraternity and sorority system and seek more effective ways to reduce high-risk drinking within this unique student group.

While much research concerning the reduction of high-risk drinking within the general college population has been conducted, there has been little focus on how to reduce heavy drinking and associated negative outcomes among fraternity and sorority members. In fact, many undergraduate and alumni members of fraternities and sororities “claim that too little systematic research on a national scale has been done, that too much of the criticism related to alcohol use by fraternity and sorority members

has been based on anecdotes” (Wechsler, Kuh, & Davenport, 1996, p. 263). The lack of empirical research related to drinking within the fraternity and sorority community makes developing prevention programming even more difficult (Turrisi, Mallett, & Larimer, 2006). In order to change the high-risk drinking behaviors of fraternity and sorority members and reduce the associated negative consequences, campus-based professionals as well as inter/national organization staff members must develop targeted programming that specifically address the needs of these organizations (Larimer, Anderson, Baer, & Marlatt, 2000).

Literature Review

While high-risk drinking can lead to many different problems experienced by college students (Perkins, 2002), certain student groups - athletes, first year students living in residence halls, and fraternity and sorority members - are at higher risk for engaging in dangerous drinking behaviors as well as for increased negative consequences associated with their alcohol use (Brenner & Swanik, 2007; National Center on Addiction & Substance Abuse, 2007; Zamboanga et al., 2009). As alcohol is frequently available to students at the parties hosted by fraternities and sororities, chapter houses are often viewed

as havens for heavy drinking and these high-risk behaviors are frequently viewed as acceptable by members (Caron, Mosey, & Hovey, 2004). Often, college administrators, faculty, and students believe that fraternities contribute to, and possibly even encourage, risky alcohol use (Borsari & Carey, 1999).

Anecdotal information indicating abusive drinking behaviors within the fraternity and sorority community has long been shared (Cashin et al., 1998), and research on the subject has supported the fact that members of these organizations actually do drink more frequently and heavily than non-affiliated students (Scott-Sheldon, Carey, & Carey, 2008). Sorority women on average consume 6 drinks per week compared to a rate of only 3 three drinks per week for other female students while fraternity members have been found to drink 20 drinks per week compared to 8 drinks per week for non-members (Cashin et al.). In addition, The National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (CASA) (2007) reported 64% of fraternity and sorority members engaging in binge drinking while only 37% of non-members do so.

Due to their consumption rates, fraternity and sorority members experience more negative consequences associated with their drinking than their non-affiliated peers (McCabe et al., 2005). They are more likely to miss class, earn poor grades, engage in unprotected sex and commit violence when compared to the general college student population (Caron et al., 2004). Turrisi and associates (2006) reported 79% of fraternity men and 72% of sorority women experienced a hangover as a result of drinking. In Wechsler, Kuh and Davenport's (2009) study, 44% of fraternity men and 37% of sorority women reported having missed a class due to drinking. In addition, Scott-Sheldon, Carey, and Carey (2008) found that members of fraternities and sororities are more likely to engage in risky sexual behavior, such as not using a condom, when under the influence of alcohol than non-affiliated students.

The recurring research themes surrounding

fraternity and sorority membership and high-risk drinking have led to studies aimed at determining why members may drink more frequently and at a higher rate than their non-affiliated peers. The self-selection recruitment process for joining an organization may partly explain these behaviors (Park, Sher, Wood, & Krull, 2009). According to Caudill et al. (2006), the perceived approval of heavy drinking among members may attract new members who drink heavier. Students who come to college already heavy drinkers may search for social groups where they feel these behaviors can continue (DeSimone, 2007).

The new member period may also contribute to alcohol consumption among members. A part of the new member process involves leaning about organizational norms and values as well as finding a place within the chapter (Borsari, Murphy, & Barnett, 2007) and this bonding is often accomplished through the use of alcohol (Kuh, 1993). As new members begin to learn what will be accepted in terms of alcohol use within the organization, some may feel pressure to drink in order to fit in (Borsari & Carey, 1999). Organizations can actually take on the role of the "enabler" in relationship to members and their drinking behaviors (Lo & Globetti, 1995). These groups may help to shield members from scrutiny when they are engaging in high-risk behaviors (Caron et al., 2004) as members often care for each other when negative consequences from drinking result (Cashin et al., 1998).

Many members view alcohol simply as a vehicle for social activity or friendship (Cashin et al., 1998) As peer groups contribute to actual drinking behaviors (Carter & Kahnweiler, 2000), the amount of time that members spend together means that they will have a greater opportunity to influence each other (Caudill et al., 2006). Within close-knit groups, gaining approval can be highly desirable; therefore members may conform to behaviors they believe to be acceptable among their chapter peers (Larimer, Turner, Mallett, & Geisner, 2004). Finally, chapter leaders may influence how much other members

drink as leaders often set the norm for what will be accepted within the chapter regarding alcohol use (Higher Education Center, 2008).

While it is important to consider the role that chapter culture plays in the drinking habits of fraternity and sorority members, it is also important to note that individuals bring personal characteristics and family backgrounds with them when they join the chapter. These individual characteristics influence drinking behaviors (Baer, 2002) and could possibly impact the success for chapter-level alcohol education programs. A family history of alcoholism (Havey & Dobb, 1993) and parents' drinking behaviors (Brennan, Walfish, & Aubuchon, 1986) can influence the amount of alcohol a college student consumes. In addition, students who report engaging in high-risk drinking behaviors in high school are more likely to engage in heavy episodic drinking in college (Weitzman, Toben, & Wechsler, 2003). While attacking alcohol issues at the chapter level is certainly important, some students may require individual interventions in order to change their own drinking behaviors (Larimer & Cronce, 2002), which could in turn change the drinking culture within the chapter.

After reviewing the research available on the topic of alcohol and fraternity and sorority membership, it is impossible not to see that the "frequency of binge drinking by fraternity men and sorority women is cause for great concern and immediate action at every institution that hosts such groups" (Wechsler et al., 1996, p. 276). Although alcohol education is taking place on most college campuses, research has shown that when used with fraternity and sorority members, conventional alcohol prevention efforts such as "just say no" educational campaigns have proven to be ineffective at changing members' drinking behaviors (Hunnicut, Davis, & Fletcher, 1991). In addition, numerous studies that have focused on solely providing information about alcohol and its effects on the body have shown no effect on reducing high-risk drinking or its associated negative consequences among college students

(Collins, Carey, & Sliwinski, 2002; LeChance, 2004). These approaches often do not take into consideration the individual alcohol-related risks associated with this population or the chapter context in which drinking occurs (Larimer et al., 2000). Therefore, different strategies must be employed to address the needs of this group of students (DeSimone, 2007) and these strategies should focus on the environmental factors that contribute to high-risk drinking within social fraternities and sororities (Park et al., 2009).

Alcohol education efforts targeting fraternity and sorority members should challenge their perceived positive expectancies about alcohol use, clarify their norms regarding peers' drinking and teach them moderate drinking guidelines (Larimer et al., 2000). According to Sher, Bartholow, and Nanda (2001), the beliefs that many members have about alcohol consumption in terms of amount and frequency within their individual chapters influence their own rates of consumption. Sharing normative data that is chapter specific with members can help to clarify beliefs about drinking behaviors (Berkowitz, 2001). Chapter leaders' individual behavior often helps to establish drinking norms within an organization. As such, targeting leaders and asking them to examine the effect their own behavior has on their group behavior has been shown to be an effective intervention strategy (Borsari & Carey, 1999). By emphasizing the impact of group dynamics on individual behavior, leaders can begin to see the role their own drinking behaviors play in group norms and in support of the environmental risk factors associated with alcohol use within their organizations (Capone, Wood, Borsari, & Laird, 2007).

Helping members to determine appropriate standards for alcohol use while affirming healthy drinking behaviors can lead to a reduction in some of the more risky alcohol use among fraternity and sorority members (Hunnicut et al., 1991). When members understand how to self-regulate their use by monitoring the number of drinks they consume, reductions in alcohol con-

sumption are often seen (Delva et al., 2004). These strategies, when incorporated into alcohol education with members, can improve the effectiveness of programs (Wall, Reis, & Bureau, 2006).

The Alcohol Skills Training Program, a group-administered program that attempts to change high-risk drinking by teaching moderate drinking strategies and encouraging participants to evaluate negative experiences associated with their own use as well as normative drinking behaviors within their chapter, effectively addresses many of the unique cultural factors that may influence alcohol use within the fraternity and sorority community (Fromme, Marlatt, Baer & Kivlahan, 1994; Larimer et al., 2001). In a 2002 report, The Task Force of the National Advisory Council on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) stated that ASTP was one of the most effective ways to challenge students' current drinking patterns. ASTP has been shown to reduce the amount of drinking as well as negative consequences resulting from drinking even two-years after the intervention (Task Force); however, there has been limited research regarding its impact on special interest groups such as fraternities and sororities. In addition, there have been no studies focused on determining what programmatic aspects may lead to its effectiveness or what role chapter culture may play in its efficacy.

Methodology

Research Design

A sequential mixed methods approach, utilizing surveys, questionnaires and interviews, was used to gather data for this study. Quantitative data was collected through a quasi-experimental, two-group design that incorporated both a pre-test and post-test. Interviews were used to collect qualitative data from selected candidates who participated in the ASTP chapter program.

Sample

A convenience sample was used to determine

which chapters would participate in the study. After the Chief Executive Officer for the men's national fraternity provided commitment allowing access to chapters and individual members to participate in the study, three chapters were selected to receive the ASTP intervention – the experimental group – and three additional chapters were selected as the control group. All chapters were located on public university campuses in the Southeast and the chapter demographics of those selected for each group were as similar to one another as possible. Within the experimental group, there was a chapter that matched each chapter within the control group in terms of chapter size, campus size and chapter culture as viewed by the fraternity's national headquarters staff. Two hundred and fifty-seven male members of the fraternity completed the survey and questionnaire for purposes of quantitative data collection – including 120 members in the experimental group and 137 members in the control group. The interview sample was selected purposefully from chapter members in the experimental group, with those showing various degrees of behavioral change related to their responses on the pre-test and post-test being invited to participate in the interviews. Four chapter members were interviewed for purposes of collecting qualitative data.

The Intervention: Alcohol Skills Training Program

The Alcohol Skills Training Program educates “students about alcohol-related behavior while increasing the student's interest in critically examining their drinking patterns and eventually implementing the skills they learn” (Miller, Kilmer, Kim, Weingardt, & Marlatt, 2001, p. 184). The program, which acknowledges that many college students drink, differs from traditional forms of alcohol education by attempting to educate participants as to how to reduce their alcohol-related risks (Miller et al.). Although the program is designed to be delivered in two sessions, in this study the program was delivered

in a one-time, two-hour setting. While delivering all “ten components in a sequential fashion is recommended, the components are designed to allow for customization (e.g., unusual scheduling demands)” (Miller et al., p. 187). Therefore, the delivery method of the intervention should not have affected the outcome of the study.

Instrumentation

The Rutgers Alcohol Problem Index (RAPI), the Daily Drinking Questionnaire (DDQ) and the Protective Behavioral Strategies Survey (PBSS) were used to gather pre-test and post-test data for the quantitative portion of the study. The RAPI asks users to rate the frequency with which negative consequences associated with drinking have occurred using a five-point Likert scale. The DDQ is commonly used to examine drinking behaviors in college students (Baer, Kivlahan, Blume, McKnight, & Marlatt, 2001) and has been used in previous ASTP studies (Kivlahan, Marlatt, Fromme, Coppel, & Williams, 1990). The PBSS was used to evaluate whether or not participants incorporated any or all of the self-protective skills taught during ASTP into their daily lives. These instruments, as well as peak Blood Alcohol Level (BAL) - which was calculated using demographic information provided by participants - combined with responses to the Daily Drinking Questionnaire, were used to determine whether or not ASTP had any impact on fraternity members’ drinking behaviors and/or in reducing the negative consequences associated with their drinking.

These instruments, however, did not provide information as to how chapter culture might influence the effectiveness of the program or what elements of the program might have caused members to change their own alcohol use. Therefore, questions from the CORE survey, which asks students to provide information about their campus climate related to alcohol use, were adapted to ask participants to evaluate chapter culture. The Satisfaction Survey previously utilized by University of Washington in evaluating

their alcohol education efforts was also adapted to aid in examining the effectiveness of the programmatic aspects of ASTP.

Finally, interview questions were used for follow-up and clarification purposes. The interviews, structured as a specific set of predetermined questions, were conducted to explore in greater detail the information related to participant responses on the quantitative instruments related to things such as facilitator skill and personality, useful elements of the program and chapter culture.

Data Collection

Collection of data began after obtaining permission from the Institutional Review Board at Georgia Southern University. Chapters within the experimental group participated in ASTP with the pre-test, consisting of questions from the RAPI, the DDQ and the PBSS, being administered by the program facilitator immediately prior to the presentation. Control group chapters received the pre-test electronically using e-mail addresses provided by the national fraternity. Chapter members from both the experimental and the control group were e-mailed a URL link with access to the post-test and the additional questionnaire approximately four weeks after program completion. The questionnaire administered at this time included the questions relating to chapter culture from the CORE survey for all chapters with the addition of program satisfaction questions for those chapters in the experimental group. This questionnaire also asked for demographic information that was used to help calculate BAL to increase the validity of the results from other quantitative measures.

After compiling all quantitative data, phone interviews were contacted with chapter members from the experimental group. Interview candidates had indicated a willingness to participate in this part of the process by providing contact information when they submitted their post-test. Only those members who provided this information were considered for interviews. From that

pool of potential candidates, only those that exhibited some level of change between pre- and post-test were contacted. Change in terms of reduced BAL, reduced daily drinking habits and reduced report of negative consequences were considered when selecting interviewees. Although all of these candidates were contacted, not all responded to requests to schedule an interview time. Interviews were audio recorded.

Limitations

The use of a convenience sample limits the generalizability of the study. In addition, the sample size was small in comparison to population size. However, the study was limited to those chapters scheduled to receive the ASTP intervention during the timeframe of the research. In addition, the researcher limited the chapters even further to only those located on public institutions in the Southeast. This decision was made to account for the fact that region of the country as well as institution type can influence drinking rates of college students (Presley, Meilman, & Leichter, 2002).

As the study relied on self-report data, participants may have over- or under-reported their usage. Previous research has shown, however, that "self-report measures have demonstrated reasonable levels of reliability and validity" (DelBoca & Darkes, 2003, p. 9) related to alcohol use. Furthermore, the survey and questionnaire descriptions relied on the interpretation of the participants, meaning some of the results could be biased (Cashin et al., 1998). The CORE survey items were modified from their original format to ask questions specific to the culture within each fraternity chapter, meaning that the validity and reliability of the questions could have been compromised. However, an expert panel did review the modifications prior to their use in this study. Finally, the interview questions could be viewed to lack validity as they were developed by the researcher.

It should also be noted the members of one chapter from the experimental group presented

some behavioral issues during the ASTP presentation. In addition, while 80% of members are required to be present during the presentation, many fewer members of this chapter attended, and those in attendance were disruptive and made inappropriate comments. This could have impacted the overall results of the research study.

Results and Data Analysis

The results of this study were used to determine whether or not ASTP reduces high-risk drinking and associated negative consequences with fraternity members, to explore which aspects of ASTP make the program successful for use with fraternity members and to evaluate the association between chapter culture and program success. Both quantitative and qualitative data analysis was utilized, with interview participants identified as Fraternity Member 1, Fraternity Member 2, etc. to protect their confidentiality.

In order to determine whether or not ASTP reduces high-risk drinking with fraternity members, average number of drinks per week as well as peak blood alcohol level for all chapters included in the study were computed. Among members of the experimental group, a reduction in drinks per week and in peak BAL would indicate that participation in this particular alcohol education program did reduce high-risk drinking behaviors among members. An ANCOVA was conducted with results indicating there was no significant difference between the experimental and control groups for average number of drinks per week, $F(1, 48) = .39, p = .54$; or for peak BAL, $F(1, 31) = .001, p = .98$.

The RAPI was utilized to determine whether or not ASTP reduces negative consequences associated with high-risk drinking in fraternity members. Scores on this instrument range from 0 to 69 with higher scores indicating a greater number of negative consequences experienced by the drinker. Therefore, if the mean RAPI score for the chapters in the experimental group were reduced, it would be an indication that

ASTP had an impact on reducing negative consequences among members. An ANCOVA was conducted with results of the analysis indicating no significant difference between the experimental and control groups for RAPI scores, $F(1, 45) = .39, p = .34$.

One of the unique features of ASTP is its use of a moderate drinking skills development component. Therefore, later use of these skills by members who participate in the program would indicate this element leads to program success. The PBSS, which is divided into three scales – stopping/limiting drinking, manner of drinking and serious harm reduction – was used to determine implementation of these strategies by members. Within each scale, an increase in score within the experimental group would indicate

strategy use. In order to determine if changes in scale scores could be attributed to ASTP, an ANCOVA was conducted. Analysis did not indicate any significant difference between the experimental and control groups for stopping/limiting drinking, $F(1, 52) = .12, p = .73$; manner of drinking, $F(1, 52) = .12, p = .73$; or harm reduction, $F(1, 51) = 2.35, p = .13$.

In order to explore whether or not chapter culture surrounding alcohol played a role in program success, a Pearson r was calculated to determine if a significant relationship existed between responses to the CORE and scales within the PBSS. These scores as well as significance values are reported in table format.

The results of the Pearson r indicated positive correlations between believing that the chapter is

Table 1
Correlation of CORE and PBSS Data

	<u>Stop/Limiting</u>		<u>Manner Of Drinking</u>		<u>Harm Reduction</u>	
	r	p	r	p	r	p
I believe my chapter is concerned about the prevention of alcohol abuse.	.111	.422	.295	.029	.194	.155
I am actively involved in efforts to prevent alcohol abuse in my chapter.	.193	.158	.340	.011	.291	.031
I abide by the chapter policy and regulations that concern alcohol.	-.095	.492	.094	.495	.204	.135
The social atmosphere in this chapter promotes alcohol use.	.193	.158	.110	.425	.154	.261
Compared to other fraternities with which I am familiar, this chapter's use of alcohol is less than other fraternities, about the same as other fraternities, or greater than other fraternities.	-.138	.323	-.046	.741	.071	.613

concerned about the prevention of alcohol abuse and manner of drinking ($r = .295, n = 55, p = .029$), between members being actively involved in efforts to prevent alcohol abuse in their chapter and manner of drinking ($r = .340, n = 55, p = .011$) and between members being actively involved in efforts to prevent alcohol abuse in their chapter and serious negative consequences ($r =$

$.291, n = 55, p = .031$).

Qualitative data were collected in order to more fully explain what aspects of ASTP might lead to the program's success. Responses from open-ended questions related to program usefulness, which were contained in the post-program questionnaire, were coded to find themes. Two major categories emerged and within these cat-

egories several themes became obvious. A table detailing these themes and their occurrence rates is provided (Table 2).

Finally, interviews were conducted to explore what impact programmatic elements and/or facilitator style might have had on the success of

the program. These interviews were transcribed and coded. During this process a new category emerged. A table detailing these themes and their occurrence rates is provided (Table 3).

Some of the responses to interview questions that illustrated these themes are provided.

Table 2
Categories/Themes Emerging from Satisfaction Survey

Programmatic Elements	Facilitator Style
Alcohol's effect on body and mind = 9	Knowledge of college alcohol use = 3
Information related to BAL = 7	General demeanor/personality = 2
Program provided real life information = 2	
Information related to drug interaction = 2	

Table 3
Categories/Themes Emerging from Interviews

Programmatic Elements	Fraternity Member			
	1	2	3	4
Alcohol's effect on body and mind		X	X	X
Program teaches responsible drinking	X	X	X	
<u>Facilitator Style</u>				
Knowledge of college alcohol use	X	X	X	
General knowledge about alcohol	X			X
Individual Member Behaviors	X	X	X	X

Alcohol's effect on the body and mind. Fraternity Member 2 found the information given during the presentation did cause him to change his drinking behaviors and felt that the discussion regarding alcohol's effects on the body and mind accounted for this change. He said, "um, at one point, we discussed the amount of alcohol and its effect on the body and how much alcohol is in one drink and how much damage it does to you. And, I guess the information that was provided was a factor in [changing my drinking behaviors]."

Fraternity Member 3 also found this information to be a useful part of the program. He stated, "[the facilitator] was talking about how, like,

various settings can affect your mood, like, a lot when you are, like, drinking. So, I really liked that part because I didn't really know it beforehand."

Program teaches responsible drinking. Rather than using an abstinence approach, ASTP teaches responsible drinking habits. This seemed to resonate well with those interviewed. Fraternity Member 1 said he would recommend the program to a friend because, "I just feel that it is beneficial that everyone understands the risks and understands, like, if they do decide to drink, when to stop, and, like, what can, like, the risks and everything."

Fraternity Member 2 responded that this ele-

ment of the program not only influenced him to recommend it to a friend but it also caused him to change his drinking behaviors. He stated, "I think it is good. Um, it teaches responsibility and is very informative. So, I would recommend it." He continued, "I have cut back. And, I just don't see it as a good, responsible thing to do any more. I don't need to just party all the time. I need to promote a good image and show that I am responsible."

Fraternity Member 3 stated he would encourage a friend to attend this program "just to make sure they don't abuse alcohol. So, that they don't, they don't hurt themselves. So, that if they do decide to drink, then they would have, they would be safe with it at least."

Facilitator knowledge about college alcohol use. During interviews, members indicated that they valued a facilitator who was knowledgeable about college student drinking and understanding of fraternity membership. Fraternity Member 1 stated, "he seemed like he knew how to, like, act around college kids. Um, you know what I mean. And, uh, he just, to me it felt like he understood what we were like at our age. And, I really liked that about him because I felt like I could relate to him even though he was older and he was a person of, like, um, and he had a lot more experience than we had. But, I felt like he was down to earth and he could understand where we were coming from." He believed this positively influenced chapter response to the program. "It was easier, as a whole for us, I believe, and I can't talk for everyone, but I felt like it was easier for us to be truthful and honest with him. When he would ask us questions, we didn't feel like we had to hold anything back, you know, without fear of judgment."

Fraternity Member 2 said the facilitator seemed warm and understanding because, "he was able to, he was in a fraternity when he was our age. So, he knows how it goes. He understands . . . he said he has been there. It was never whoa. It was never, you know, negative."

Fraternity Member 3 said the facilitator was

"understanding. Um, he listened to us when we, when we had to ask something or know something. He basically took our input also. So, instead of just telling us what he was told to tell us, he responded."

Facilitator general knowledge about alcohol. Participants also appreciated a facilitator knowledgeable about alcohol use in general. Fraternity Member 2 stated, "he was knowledgeable, not only of what was provided, but he gave us other examples, and, um, details that were not on the sheets but were from the same sources. So, I found him to be very credible and very knowledgeable."

Fraternity Member 4 said, "he just gave a really coherent presentation. It was easy to follow. I figured he knew what he was talking about."

Individual member behavior and its impact on chapter culture. Interview participants frequently noted that individual member behavior impacts the chapter culture surrounding alcohol as well as adherence to chapter alcohol policies. Fraternity Member 1 stated, "I guess because our chapter is full of different types of people from different backgrounds that either understand, like, what, about the dangers of alcohol and those that, like, don't fully understand or really care, I guess. But, I am not saying as a whole we don't. I am just saying that this chapter is full of many different kinds of people from so many different types of backgrounds. He later said, "it's kind of like you'll have one person who does drink and another who doesn't, who doesn't even like being around alcohol. That kind of stuff."

Fraternity Member 1 said he was motivated to follow chapter policies and regulations because "I have seen people struggle with alcohol. Um, I have had family members struggle with alcohol abuse and everything. And, I don't want to go down that path, you know, like, I have seen some other people do."

Fraternity Member 2 also discussed how individual member characteristics can play a role in chapter culture. He said, "well, there are a lot of guys that are under the age of 21, and I guess a

handful of guys that are over the age of 21. And, where the guys that are over the age of 21 understand the consequences of and, um, I guess the problems with underage drinkers at the house and may want to keep it to a minimum, all the guys that just got out of high school want to experience it.” He explained, “high schoolers, well, recent graduates of high school, walk around drinking and they see the social life of fraternity as an opportunity to drink again.”

Fraternity Member 2 chooses to follow the chapter’s alcohol policy because “I have strong beliefs and, um, I guess strong morals that help me follow rules.” Fraternity Member 3 stated, “I know that [the policies] are there for a reason basically. They are there for safety. So, um, I just do it.” Fraternity Member 4 said, “I am just usually like, like drinking and driving is, like, a huge thing. And, that is just, like, something I wouldn’t normally do. So, I don’t know. I was just raised that way.”

Discussion

The quantitative data analysis in this study did not support the use of ASTP to reduce high-risk drinking behaviors or negative consequences for fraternity members. This contradicted previous studies which demonstrated that ASTP was effective in reducing both the frequency and amount of drinking as well associated negative consequences (Fromme et al., 1994; Larimer et al., 2001; Task Force, 2002). However, the current study did provide some insight into how chapter culture can influence individual members’ implementation of the self-protective strategies taught during the program. This seems to support previous research which has shown that elements of chapter culture can contribute to high-risk drinking among fraternity and sorority members (Borsari et al., 2007; Carter & Kahnweiler, 2000; Higher Ed Center, 2008; Park et al., 2009). In addition, the qualitative data analysis provided feedback which can be used by campus-based professionals and national staff members to improve the quality of alcohol education

programs for fraternity members.

Participants did note that some of the major components of ASTP - Building Rapport, Alcohol and the Body and Blood Alcohol Level - as being useful parts of the program. In addition, participants in the current study identified teaching responsible drinking as a valuable. As one of the unique features of ASTP is its incorporation of moderate drinking guidelines and teaching these strategies has been previously shown to reduce both rate of drinking and experiences of negative consequences (Martens, Pedersen, LaBrie, Ferrier, & Cimini, 2007), one would hope to see increased implementation of these strategies after participation in the program. However, despite participant feelings that this was useful information to share, this study showed no significant differences between the experimental and the control group related to use of these strategies.

Although previous literature related to prevention for use with college students has indicated that lack of knowledge does not account for why college students engage in risky drinking behaviors (Larimer & Cronce, 2002), participants in the current study found the program elements related to alcohol’s effect on the body, blood alcohol level and drug interaction to be the most useful aspects of the study. As several members of the study credited this information as the reason for changing their behavior, this research seems to support the continued inclusion of this information as a part of alcohol education programs. However, it should be noted, as Collins et al. (2002) stated, information sharing should be not used alone as an intervention tool; rather, it should be incorporated into a larger prevention and education programming effort. Finally, facilitator style, including possessing warmth and empathy, was viewed as very important by participants. According to members interviewed in the study, those providing the alcohol education must be able to communicate an understanding of alcohol use on a college campuses in general and in fraternities specifically.

Implications

Inter/national organization staff members as well as campus-based professionals should consider alcohol education programs focusing on responsible drinking habits and including information related to alcohol's effect on the body and mind, blood alcohol level and drug interactions. The providers of alcohol education programs should be empathic and able to relate to college students as well as possess good knowledge about alcohol use in general while being understanding of the unique challenges that fraternities and sororities may face.

Although the use of group programming may be efficient and cost conscious, individual backgrounds seem to play a strong part in members' response to alcohol education efforts. This is due to the fact that personal history and previous drinking habits can have an influence on drinking among college students (Baer, 2002). Therefore, some members may benefit more from individual interventions. This seems to reflect previous research which has indicated that individual interventions have been shown to reduce high risk drinking (Larimer & Cronce, 2002).

As there seems to be a positive relationship between implementation of self-protective behaviors and members who believe the chapter is concerned about the prevention of alcohol abuse as well as those that are already actively involved in prevention efforts within the chapter, program development should focus on how to incorporate those members into prevention efforts. This finding supports previous research which has shown that chapter norms related to alcohol use influence members' individual decisions about alcohol use (Borsari & Carey, 1999).

Recommendations for Further Research

The current study involved only one national fraternity, with all chapters in the sample being located in the Southeast at state-supported universities. In addition, most of the men involved in the study were Caucasian. Broadening the study to include a greater diversity of par-

ticipants would serve to increase the validity and potentially reliability of the results. Previous research has indicated that students in the Northeast tend to drink more than students located in other parts of the country (Wechsler, Lee, Kuo, & Lee 2000), that men tend to drink more and more frequently than their female counterparts and that white students drink in higher amounts than students from other racial and ethnic backgrounds (Kapner, 2003). Therefore, replicating this study with chapters representing other demographic groups, especially sororities and members of culturally-based groups as well as those located at different types of higher education institutions in different areas of the country, would add valuable insight into effective prevention efforts that could span the entire fraternity and sorority community.

Also, as there seems to be a contradiction between this study and previous research (Larimer & Cronce, 2002) regarding the effectiveness of incorporating general knowledge about alcohol use and its health risks into prevention efforts, more research in this area may be useful. In addition, this study contradicts previous studies which have shown ASTP to be an effective tool in reducing college student drinking (Fromme et al., 1994; Kivlahan et al., 1990; Larimer et al., 2001; Miller et al, 2001). Further study to determine if these results can be replicated is needed. In addition, research should try to determine why ASTP might not be effective, especially with fraternity and sorority members, as this information could add to body of knowledge related to prevention efforts targeted at members of fraternal organizations.

Finally, as this study indicated that there may be a relationship between members' belief that their chapter is generally concerned about prevention efforts as well as those that are actively involved in these efforts and the implementation of self-protective behaviors, further research regarding chapter culture and its overall impact on reducing high-risk drinking is needed.

References

- Baer, J. S. (2002). Student Factors: Understanding Individual Variation in College Drinking. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Supplement, 14*, 40-53.
- Baer, J. S., Kivlahan, D. R., Blume, A. W., McKnight, P., & Marlatt, G. A. (2001). Brief intervention for heavy-drinking college students: 4-year follow-up and natural history. *American Journal of Public Health, 91*, 1310 – 1316.
- Berkowitz, A. (2001). Feature article: Social norms interventions with small groups. *Social Norms Quarterly, 1*, 7-8.
- Borsari, B. E., & Carey, K. B. (1999). Understanding fraternity drinking: Five recurring themes in the literature. *Journal of American College Health, 99*(48), 30-37. Retrieved December 13, 2007, from <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/delivery?vid>
- Borsari, B.E., Murphy, J. G., & Barnett, N. P. (2007). Predictors of alcohol use during the first year of college: Implications for prevention. [Electronic version]. *Addictive Behavior, 32*(10), 2062-2086.
- Brennan, A.F., Walfish, S., & Aubuchon, P. (1986). Alcohol use and abuse in college students. Social/environmental correlates, methodological issues, and implications for intervention. *The International Journal of Addictions, 21*, 475-493.
- Brenner, J., & Swanik, K. (2007). High-risk drinking characteristics in collegiate athletes. *Journal of American College Health, 56*(3), 267-272.
- Capone, C., Wood, M. D., Borsari, B., & Laird, R. D. (2007). Fraternity and sorority involvement, social influences, and alcohol use among college students. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors, 21*(3), 316-327.
- Caron, S. L., Mosey, E.G., & Hovey, C. A. (2004). Alcohol use among fraternity and sorority members: Looking at change over time [Electronic version]. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education, 47*(3), 51-66.
- Carter, C.A., & Kahnweiler, W.M. (2000). The efficacy of the social norms approach to substance abuse applies to fraternity men. *Journal of American College Health, 49*(2), 66-71. Retrieved December 13, 2007, from <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/>
- Caudill, B. D., Crosse, S. C., Campbell, B. C., Howard, J., Luckey, B., & Blane, H. T. (2006). High-risk drinking among college fraternity members: A national perspective. *Journal of American College Health, 55*(3), 141-155.
- Cashin, J.R., Presley, C. A., & Meilman, P.W. (1998). Alcohol use in the Greek system: Follow the leader. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 59*, 63-70.
- Collins, S.E., Carey, K.B., & Sliwinski M.J. (2002) Mailed personalized normative feedback as a brief intervention for at-risk college drinkers. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 63*, 559–567
- DelBoca, F. K., & Darkes, J. (2003). The validity of self-reports of alcohol consumption: State of science and challenges for research. *Addiction, 98*, Supplement, 2, 1- 12.
- Delva, J., Smith, M. P., Howell, R. L., Harrison, D. F., Wilke, D., & Jackson, L. (2004). A study of the relationship between protective behaviors and drinking consequences among undergraduate college students. *Journal of American College Health, 53*(1), 19-26.
- DeSimone, J. (2007). Fraternity membership and binge drinking. *Journal of Health Economics, 26*, 950-967.
- Fromme, K., Marlatt, G. A., Bear, J. S., & Kivlahan, D. R. (1994). The Alcohol Skills Training Program: A group intervention for young adult drinkers. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment, 11*(2), 143-154.

- Havey, J.M., & Dodd, D.K. (1993). Variables associated with alcohol abuse among self-identified collegiate COAs and their peers. *Addictive Behaviors, 18*, 567-575.
- The Higher Education Center for Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse and Violence Prevention. (2008). *Fraternity and sorority members and alcohol and other drug use*. Newton, MA: U.S. Department of Education.
- Hunnicut, D. M., Davis, J. L., & Fletcher, J. (1991). Preventing alcohol abuse in the Greek system on a commuter campus: Prevention contracts. *NASPA Journal, 28*(2), 179-184.
- Kapner, D. A. (2003). Alcohol and other drugs on campus: The scope of the problem. Newton, MA: Education Development Center, Higher Education Center for Alcohol and Other Drug Prevention.
- Kivlahan, D. R., Marlatt, G. A., Fromme, K., Coppel, D. B., & Williams, E. (1990). Secondary prevention with college drinkers: Evaluation of an alcohol skills training program. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 58*(6), 805-810.
- Kuh, G. D. (1993). Liquid bonding: A cultural analysis of the role of alcohol in fraternity pledgship. *Journal of College Student Development, 34*, 327-334.
- Larimer, M. E., Anderson, B. K., Baer, J. S., & Marlatt, G. A. (2000). An individual in context: predictors of alcohol use and drinking problems among Greek and residence hall students. *Journal of Substance Abuse, 11*(1), 53-68.
- Larimer, M. E., & Cronce, J. M. (2002). Identification, prevention, and treatment: A review of individual-focused strategies to reduce problematic alcohol consumption by college students. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 14*, 148-163.
- Larimer, M. E., Turner, A. P., Anderson, B. K., Fader, J. S., Kilmer, J. R., Palmer, R. S., & Cronce, J. M. (2001). Evaluating a brief alcohol intervention with fraternities. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 370* – 380.
- Larimer, M.E., Turner, A. P., Mallett, K. A., & Geisner, I. M. (2004). Predicting drinking behavior and alcohol-related problems among fraternity and sorority members: Examining the role of descriptive and injunctive norms. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors, 18*(3), 203-212.
- LeChance, H. (2004). *Group motivational interventions for underage college student drinkers in mandated university-based programming*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado, Boulder.
- Lo, C.C., & Globetti, G. (1995). The facilitating and enhancing role Greek associations play in college drinking. *The International Journal of the Addictions, 30*(10), 1311-1322.
- Martens, M. P., Pedersen, E. R., LaBrie, J. W., Ferrier, A. G., & Cimini, M. D. (2007). Measuring alcohol-related protective behavioral strategies among college students: Further examination of the Protective Behavioral Strategies Scale. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors, 21*(3), 307-315.
- McCabe, S. E., Schulenberg, J. E., Johnston, L. D., O'Malley, P. M., Bachman, J. G., & Kloska, D. D. (2005). Selection and socialization effects of fraternities and sororities on U.S. college student substance use: A multi-cohort national longitudinal study. *Addiction (100)*, 35-539.
- Miller, E. T., Kilmer, J. R., Kim, E. L., Weingardt, K. R., & Marlatt, G. A. (2001). Alcohol Skills Training for College Students. In P. M. Moniti, S. M. Colby, & T. A. O'Leary (Eds.), *Adolescents, Alcohol, and Substance Abuse: Reaching Teens through Brief Interventions* (pp. 183-215). New York: Guilford Press.
- The National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse. (2007). *Wasting the best and the brightest: Substance abuse at America's colleges and universities*. New York: Columbia University.
- Park, A., Sher, K. J., Wood, P. K., & Krull, J. L. (2009). Dual mechanisms underlying accentuation of risky drinking via fraternity/sorority affiliation: The role of personality, peer norms, and alcohol availability. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 118*(2), 241-255.

- Perkins, H. W. (2002). Surveying the damage: A review of research on consequences of alcohol misuse in college populations. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Supplement, 14*, 91-100.
- Presley, C.A., Meilman, P.W., & Leichter, J.S. (2002). College factors that influence drinking. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Supplement, 14*, 82 – 90.
- Scott-Sheldon, L. A., Carey, K. B., & Carey, M. P. (2008). Health behavior and college students: Does Greek affiliation matter. [Electronic version]. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 31*(1), 61-70.
- Sher, K. J., Bartholow, B.D., & Nanda, S. (2001). Short- and long-term effects of fraternity and sorority membership on heavy drinking: A social norms perspective. *Psychology of Addictive Behavior, 15*(1), 42-51.
- Task Force of the National Advisory Council on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. (2002). *A call to action: Changing the culture of drinking at U.S. Colleges*. Washington, D.C.: National Institutes of Health.
- Turrisi, R., Mallett, K.A., & Larimer, M.E. (2006). Heavy drinking in college students: Who is at risk and what is being done about it? [Electronic version]. *Journal of General Psychology, 144*(4), 401-420.
- Wall, A., Reis, J., & Bureau, D. (2006). Fraternity and sorority new members' self-regulation of alcohol use. *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity Advisors, 2*(2), 108 – 116.
- Wechsler, H., Dowdall, G. W., Maenner, G., Gledhill-Hoyt, J., & Lee, H. (1998). Changes in binge drinking and related problems among American college student between 1993 and 1997: Results from the Harvard School of Public Health College Alcohol Survey. *Journal of American College Health, 47*, 57-68.
- Wechsler, H., Kuh, G., & Davenport, A. E. (2009). Fraternities, sororities, and binge drinking: Results from a national study of American colleges. *NASPA Journal, 46*(3), 395-416.
- Wechsler, H., Kuh, G., & Davenport, A. E. (1996). Fraternities, sororities, and binge drinking: Results from a national study of American colleges. *NASPA Journal, 33*(4), 260-279.
- Wechsler, H., Lee J. E., Kuo, M., & Lee, H. (2000). College binge drinking in the 1990s – a continuing problem: Results of the Harvard School of Public Health 1999 College Alcohol Study. *Journal of American College Health, 45*, 199-210.
- Weitzman, L. R., Toben, F. N., & Wechsler, H. (2003). Taking up binge drinking in college: The influences of person, social group, and environment. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 32*, 26-35.
- Zamboanga, B.L., Olthuis, J.V., Horton, N.J., McCollum, E. C., Lee, J.J., & Shaw, R. (2009). Where's the house party? Hazardous drinking behaviors and related risk factors. *Journal of Psychology, 143*(3), 228-244.

Author Biography

K. Joy Hamm, Ed.D., is the Dean of Student Services at Chattahoochee Valley Community College. Previously, she served for twelve years as a campus-based fraternity and sorority life professional at Wingate University, Davidson College and Georgia Southern University. She earned her doctoral degree in education administration from Georgia Southern University. She is a member of Zeta Tau Alpha fraternity.