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Alcohol misuse by members of collegiate fraternal organizations has been cited as a significant issue (Wall, 2008). Current research indicates that specifically fraternities consume the most alcohol of any traditional undergraduate student cohort by frequency and volume. However, the current research literature does not discuss how alcohol is used by fraternity members. This study seeks to understand how alcohol is misused through understanding the personal narratives of fraternity members utilizing qualitative inquiry triangulated through interviews and observation. Consistent with previous research, it was found that alcohol use as a compensatory performed masculinity supports a hegemonic social structure reinforced by liquid bonding, competition, acculturation, sex, hegemonic masculinity. Suggestions are provided regarding how to reframe the fraternity experience.

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The function of brotherhood as an element of the fraternal experience has been largely ignored in the literature of higher education. This study seeks to understand how fraternity members define and conceptualize brotherhood and to develop an instrument aimed at quantitatively measuring notions of brotherhood. This mixed-methods study is divided into two parts: (1) Part 1 employs a grounded-theory, qualitative approach to understanding how fraternity members define and conceptualize brotherhood, and (2) Part 2 employs three separate quantitative studies aimed at developing and validating a measure of the concept of brotherhood in fraternities. The findings of the study indicate that fraternity membership elicits four distinct schema of brotherhood – solidarity, shared social experiences, belonging, and accountability. The Fraternal Brotherhood Questionnaire (FBQ) is developed to measure these four schemas. Initial exploratory factor analysis (EFA) reveals a four factor solution explaining 64 percent of the variance. A subsequent EFA of a modified version of the FBQ reveals a four factor solution explaining 67 percent of variance in the overall model. Confirmatory factor analysis reveals a parsimonious four factor model of fraternal brotherhood.

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TIM REUTER AND STEVE BACKER

The literature exploring organizational change theory, while rich in conceptual frameworks, is limited on longitudinal studies of fraternity and sorority organizations, and/or the higher education environments in which they exist, undergoing long-term change initiatives. Based on a review of the literature on organizational change theory, this article has outlined a specific model of change related to the relational culture of fraternities and sororities. As this article explicates the operationalization of change theory through a model specific to the fraternity/sorority context, aspects of the literature related to this unique population and industry are as follows: defining change in an organizational context, inertia, role of environment, performance aspects and criteria, readiness, barriers and resistance to change, organizational learning and unlearning, consequences of change, and models for planning and implementing change.

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

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SUBMISSIONS:

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

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

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

ALCOHOL, BROTHERHOOD, & LEADERSHIP, OH MY! NEGOTIATING THE INTRICACIES OF FRATERNITY AND SORORITY RESEARCH

GEORGIANNA L. MARTIN, ORACLE EDITOR

In this issue of Oracle, readers will find five articles that illustrate the complexity of outcomes and experiences associated with fraternity/sorority membership. Each year fraternities and sororities garner negative media attention for a host of inappropriate behaviors such as Black-face incidents at parties, student deaths connected to high risk alcohol consumption, reports of sexual harassment or assault, and others. These incidents have led journalists, educators, and other concerned stakeholders to question the continued presence of Greek-lettered organizations on college and university campuses. In contrast, many educators, namely those who work directly with fraternity and sorority members and leaders, can attest to the inspired stories of members who persist in college because of the sense of belonging their organizations offer, individuals who gain valuable leadership skills and experiences, or students who talk about the personal growth they've experienced through membership in a fraternity or sorority. Further, scholars have found positive relationships between membership and outcomes such as leadership development (e.g., Biddix, Matney, Norman, & Martin, 2014; Martin, Hevel, & Pascarella, 2012). Taken together, it becomes clear to those who work with fraternities and sororities to see that eliminating fraternity/sorority life from college campuses, an action suggested by many (e.g., Flanagan, 2014), is a simple response to a complex and nuanced issue, but not likely a viable solution. Each article in this issue tells a piece of the fraternity/sorority life story.

We begin this issue with Matthew Johnson, Erica Johnson, and John Dugan's article titled *Developing Socially Responsible Leadership and Social Perspective-Taking in Fraternities and Sororities: Findings from a National Study*. Their research extends our understanding of fraternities/sororities and socially responsible leadership by focusing on differences among various groupings and councils of fraternity/sorority members. This research further illustrates the difficulties Biddix et al. (2014) identified related to disaggregating data and exploring differences across governing councils in fraternity/sorority research. In *White Boy Wasted: Compensatory Masculinities in Fraternity Alcohol Use*, Pietro Sasso explored the personal narratives of fraternity members and their use of alcohol. His research offers a disturbing, although perhaps not surprising, view of the ways in which alcohol is used by fraternity members to reinforce hegemonic masculine structures and ideals. Next, Gentry McCreary and Joshua Schutts present groundbreaking research on brotherhood in their article *Toward a Broader Understanding of Fraternity-Developing and Validating a Measure of Fraternal Brotherhood*. This important research seeks to make the often ethereal and abstract concept of brotherhood a measurable and definable construct. Taking an organizational approach, Tim Reuter and Steve Backer in their article *Operationalizing Organizational Change Theory: Implications for Practice in the Fraternity/Sorority Movement*, present a model for change grounded in the unique culture of fraternities and sororities. Finally, Michael Armstrong and Rick Grieve's article *Big Five Personality Traits of Collegiate Social Fraternities and Sororities* explores personality traits and political orientations of fraternity/sorority members compared to unaffiliated students. This study extends our understanding of the fraternity/sorority experience by focusing on personality theory, a less explored aspect of this unique campus subculture.

Taken together, the articles presented in this issue challenge educators who work with fraternity/sorority members to consider the ways in which these organizations may simultaneously benefit and

harm members and the campus communities in which they reside. The scholarship presented here calls educators to look beyond minimizing negative behaviors when they occur to consider the overarching benefits that comprehensive and persistent organizational and cultural change can have on the positive experiences and outcomes for fraternity/sorority members and their extant communities.

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DEVELOPING SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE-TAKING IN FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES: FINDINGS FROM A NATIONAL STUDY

MATTHEW R. JOHNSON, ERICA L. JOHNSON, AND JOHN P. DUGAN

Using data from the 2009 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership, this study examines socially responsible leadership and social perspective-taking capacities disaggregated by council membership. Results show small but significant differences in developing these capacities. Implications for fraternity and sorority life professionals are discussed.

Background

Fraternities and sororities boast leadership and community development as hallmarks of their organizations, and several studies substantiate these claims (Astin, 1993; DiChiara, 2009; Kimbrough, 2003; Torbenson & Parks, 2009). Fraternity and sorority members participate in comprehensive leadership development, beginning with new member education programs and continuing with member development programs throughout their undergraduate experience. Leadership development in fraternities and sororities has evolved from a focus on position and hierarchy, which reflects a transactional or industrial approach, to a broader, shared, and inclusive approach reflective of transformational or post-industrial leadership (Burns, 1978; Rost, 1993). This evolution is evidenced by a larger shift in higher education leadership programs (Roberts, 2007) and a more focused shift in inter/national member education programs and campus-based initiatives that focus on leadership as a shared process as opposed to a position.

Accompanying this shift in leadership development foci is an increase in diversity among college students. As the diversification of students attending an institution of higher education continues to rise (Ryu, 2010), the importance of understanding others' perspectives becomes paramount (Dey & Associates, 2010). Understanding others' perspectives is especially rich for inquiry in fraternities and sororities because of the supposition that these organizations can be homogenous, which some studies have corroborated (Derryberry & Thoma, 2000; Pascarella &

Terenzini, 2005) and the emphasis on building community among organizations. The history of fraternities and sororities is especially important in understanding the climate for cultivating students' capacities for considering others' perspectives. Because of past exclusionary membership practices, many organizations, such as National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC) groups, formed in opposition to dominant exclusionary organizations. This historical context, and the contemporary manifestations of these historical tensions, continues to create unique challenges for fraternity and sorority professionals today (Torbenson & Parks, 2009). These important distinctions suggest the need for students and student affairs professionals alike to better understand the differences between fraternities and sororities to create a more inclusive and stronger community.

Today, inter-council differences can account for significant tensions when students fail to understand and act upon others' perspectives. Students who identified as being part of multicultural organizations (used here as an umbrella term for fraternities and sororities outside of IFC and NPC) often express feelings of frustration in feeling excluded from community events such as Greek Week or speakers. Creating a more inclusive community requires increased capacities for understanding others' perspectives and leadership to work toward more inclusive chapters and fraternity and sorority communities. To date, researchers have not examined leadership development by fraternity and sorority type and their corresponding capacities for social perspective-taking. The current study seeks to bridge this gap in the literature.

Literature Review

Leadership development in fraternities and sororities has received considerable attention in research. In his landmark longitudinal study of more than 4,000 students, Astin (1993) found that fraternity and sorority membership accounted for large gains in leadership development. He also found that peer interactions were most important for leadership development, which he argued was likely the reason why fraternities and sororities were so impactful for leadership development. Caution is offered, however, in interpreting this finding as Astin measured leadership using variables associated with perceived popularity, ambition, and positional role attainment, all of which are more consistent with industrial approaches to leadership than the transformational models advanced in contemporary leadership theory. Looking more specifically at types of fraternity and sorority organizations, Kimbrough and Hutcheson (1998) found that historically Black fraternities and sororities were positively linked to leadership development. Finally, Pascarella and Terenzini's (2005) meta-analysis of college impact studies found that fraternity and sorority membership is generally associated with increased leadership development. Again, however, caution is encouraged in interpreting these findings as many of the reported studies employed similar approaches as Astin (1993) or used the same data set to measure leadership. This draws into question whether there are different influences on leadership as measured from an industrial versus contemporary perspective.

Conversely, several studies argue that fraternity and sorority members' gains in college outcomes are more attributable to precollege characteristics than their fraternity or sorority membership. Although dated, Wilder and McKeegan's (1999) meta-analysis of the effects of fraternity and sorority membership on social values deduced pre-college characteristics and experiences were more influential than fraternity or sorority affiliation. Because fraternities

and sororities tend to be comprised of more affluent students (Soria, 2013; Stuber, 2011), gains in leadership, for instance, may have more to do with background characteristics than organizational membership. Research examining gains derived from fraternity and sorority membership and what role background characteristics play remain limited and inconclusive.

Despite existing research on leadership development of fraternity and sorority members, few studies examine differences by membership or council. In a study of 300 fraternity and sorority members at one institution using the Student Leadership Practices Inventory (Kouzes & Posner, 2006), DiChiara (2009) found no differences in leadership practices by membership in four governing councils, but some differences emerged when only Interfraternity Council (IFC) and Panhellenic Council groups were compared. Panhellenic Council groups were higher in fostering cooperative relationships with others, while IFC membership was more prone to foster competitive relationships. Another study identified significant differences in cognitive domains among fraternity and sorority members based on gender (Pascarella, Flowers, & Whitt, 2001), an important finding given the influences of cognition on leadership development (Komiwes, Owen, Longerbeam, Mainella, & Osteen, 2005). Dugan (2008) also found that sorority members rated significantly higher than fraternity members on seven of the eight values on the Socially Responsible Leadership Scale (SRLS). He argued that future research on leadership development in fraternity and sorority life should examine important differences by types of organization.

Social Perspective-Taking

In discussions about the purposes of higher education, educators frequently note the importance of preparing students to be thoughtful, engaged, and well-informed citizens capable of understanding and incorporating diverse viewpoints (Colby, Beaumont, Ehrlich, & Corngold, 2007; Day & Associates, 2010; King & Baxter

Magolda, 2005), which is sometimes called social perspective-taking. Social perspective-taking is the ability to take another person's point of view (Franzoi, Davis, & Young, 1985; Underwood & Moore, 1982) and/or accurately infer the thoughts and feelings of others (Gehlbach, 2004). King and Baxter Magolda (2005) posit that social perspective-taking undergirds most learning outcomes in higher education, thus highlighting the importance of this capacity.

A survey from the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) of more than 33,000 students and campus professionals (Dey & Associates, 2010) explored perceptions of perspective-taking on college campuses. Dey and Associates found that just over half of students (58%) and three-fourths of campus professionals (77%) strongly agreed that helping students recognize the importance of social perspective-taking should be a major focus of their campuses. As a follow-up to that question, only 33% of students and campus professionals strongly agreed that their institutions make perspective-taking a major focus. This study also showed that only 53% of students believed they developed an increased ability to learn from diverse perspectives while in college. This study also reported that only around 7% of campus professionals believed that students came to college respecting diverse viewpoints. Finally, the study found that just under 30% of campus professionals believed that students were respectful when discussing controversial issues or perspectives. These results highlight the importance of social perspective-taking and the lack of students' perceived capacities to consider others' perspectives.

Critics of fraternities and sororities often point to their homogenous makeup, which can hinder the development of social perspective-taking. Derryberry and Thoma (2000) found that fraternity members tend to be more isolated than unaffiliated students and thus surround themselves with those unlikely to challenge their worldviews. Another study found that as leadership responsibilities increase for students within a fraternity or sorority, opportunities to interact with

students with diverse interests decrease (Porter, 2012). These results are particularly troubling because lack of exposure to diverse views can account for a lack of understanding and inaccurate views. In their review of college impact studies, Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) stated, "With the exception of Asada, Swank, and Goldey (2003), the weight of evidence indicates that fraternity or sorority membership shapes student views on racial-ethnic diversity, and the effect is probably negative" (p. 310). While the research mostly focuses on racial and ethnic understanding, the culture for understanding others' perspectives in fraternal organizations is nonetheless contentious. However, some researchers contend that these results likely differ in organizations such as NPHC (Harper, Byars, & Jelke, 2005).

Research on the effects of fraternity and sorority membership on social perspective-taking is scarce. An AAC&U study, which examined over 23,000 students at 23 different institutions, found that fraternity or sorority members demonstrated slightly higher capacities for two of the three measures of social perspective-taking than non-members. This research did not account for other factors or disaggregate by type of fraternity or sorority. The author argued, "...the effect of participation in Greek-letter organizations was generally not deleterious, suggesting that engagement even in relatively homogeneous groups can be beneficial" (Reason, 2011, p. 10).

Understanding others' perspectives is critical to socially responsible leadership, as working with others inherently involves working with those who are different from oneself (Komives, Wagner, & Associates, 2009). Prior research using data from the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL) shows the critical role of social perspective-taking in developing students' leadership capacities, particularly those values in the group and societal domains (Dugan, Bohle, Woelker, & Cooney, 2014). Given its vital role in predicting leadership development and foundational nature for learning outcomes, understanding social perspective-taking in fraternities and sororities is pertinent. While many studies have

examined fraternity and sorority membership and leadership development, few researchers have analyzed differences by membership type, despite important considerations surrounding the historical and contemporary differences in organization types (Kimbrough, 2003; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001). Further, social perspective-taking in fraternal organizations remains understudied, despite its importance in mission statements, learning outcomes, and campus professionals' viewpoints as well as its centrality in the leadership development process.

Methodology

Research Questions

The research questions guiding the current study were:

- Do members of traditionally White fraternities and sororities (i.e., IFC and National Panhellenic Council) differ from members who identified as being part of multi-cultural fraternities and sororities (e.g., NPHC) on the eight values and the omnibus measure of socially responsible leadership?
- Do members of traditionally White fraternities and sororities differ from members who identified as being part of multi-cultural fraternities and sororities (e.g., NPHC) on social perspective-taking?

Sample

Data from the 2009 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL) were used in this study. The MSL sample comprised 101 institutions representing 31 states and the District of Columbia. Sample sizes at each institution were determined using a desired confidence level of 95%. A total of 337,482 students were invited to participate in the study, of which 115,632 responded (34% response rate). Of this sample, only 45,999 participants answered the question about belonging to either a multi-cultural fraternity or sorority (e.g., NPHC) or a traditionally White fraternity or sorority (e.g., IFC, Panhellenic). For the current study, we further reduced this sample

because 44% of the sample who identified as being part of a multi-cultural organization was White. While White students can certainly be part of multi-cultural fraternal organizations as the question stem on the MSL stated, we believe confusion around these identification categories accounted for the disproportionate number of White students in this sample. Follow up to this phenomenon revealed that many members of traditionally White fraternities and sororities with a largely Jewish membership identified their organizations as multi-cultural, the same category as NPHC or Latino/a fraternities and sororities. We also learned that many students in IFC/Panhellenic groups believed their organizations were diverse, so they indicated membership in a multi-cultural organization. To account for this, we only used students of color in the multi-cultural fraternities and sororities organization sample. After further reduction for students who did not identify a gender, our total sample used for the first research question was 18,198 students (11,140 Panhellenic Council; 5,285 IFC; 1,053 multi-cultural-affiliated men; 720 multi-cultural-affiliated women). The sample comprised of students who identified as being part of multi-cultural fraternities and sororities were 1.2% American Indian/Alaskan Native, 31.3% Asian American/Pacific Islander, 23.8% Black/African American, 17.3% Latino/Hispanic, 2.7% Middle Eastern, and 18.7% Multiracial. The sample of students identifying membership in a multi-cultural organization was 40.6% female. Further, 17.8% were freshmen, 20.3% sophomores, 27.8% juniors, and 32.8% seniors. For the IFC/Panhellenic Council sample, 57.2% were female, and 18.7% were freshmen, 23.9% sophomores, 26.7% juniors, and 30.1% seniors. This was also comprised of 74% White students and 15.3% students of color (10.7% did not list a race).

The sample for the social perspective-taking analysis (second research question) was based on 7,619 students since this scale was a sub-study in the larger MSL. Sub-studies were only administered to a randomly selected 50% of cases

at each institution to reduce the overall length of the instrument. Of this sample, 4,385 were members of a Panhellenic Council organization, 2,381 were IFC, 506 identified as men in multi-cultural fraternities, and 347 identified as women in multi-cultural sororities. Racial and class year breakdown were similar to those in the larger sample, with a slightly higher female representation than the larger sample for the first research question (58.4%).

Method

A series of one-way ANOVAs were performed as opposed to a MANOVA because of the presence of an omnibus dependent variable (i.e., omnibus SRLS) and the high likelihood of a strong correlation among the dependent variables, which may result in multicollinearity (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). To account for increased Type I error across the number of dependent

variables and large sample size, a more conservative p-value of .001 was used for all analyses. Further, effect sizes were calculated using partial eta squared (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), which indicates the magnitude of significant differences. Cronbach alphas for the eight scales in the SRLS were calculated for the larger fraternity and sorority sample, which yielded acceptable rates from 0.75 to 0.95. The reliability calculation for the measure of social perspective-taking was .81 in the sample for the first research question and .79 in the sample for the second research question. Table 1 provides definitional parameters for all measures included in the study, while Table 2 lists reliability levels for each scale. Additionally, all composite measures employed in this research underwent rigorous psychometric testing to confirm their validity (Dugan, Komives, & Associates, 2009).

Table 1
Dependent Variable Definitional Parameters

Variable	Definition
Consciousness of self	General self-awareness with particular attention toward the beliefs, values, attitudes, and emotions that motivate one to take action.
Congruence	Thinking, feeling, and behaving with consistency, genuineness, authenticity, and honesty towards others; actions are consistent with most deeply-held beliefs and convictions.
Commitment	The psychic energy that motivates the individual to serve and that drives the collective effort; implies passion, investment, and follow-through directed toward both the group activity as well as its intended outcomes.
Collaboration	The ability to work with others effectively in a common effort; constitutes the cornerstone value of the group leadership effort because it empowers self and others through trust and shared responsibility.
Common purpose	To work with shared aims and values; facilitates the group’s ability to engage in collective analysis of issues at hand and the task to be undertaken.
Controversy with civility	Recognition of two fundamental realities of any group effort: that differences in viewpoint are inevitable, and that such differences must be aired openly, but with civility.
Citizenship	Occurs when one becomes responsibly connected to the community/ society by working for positive change interdependently with others.
Social Perspective-Taking	The ability to take another person’s point of view and/or accurately infer the thoughts and feelings of others.

Adapted from Franzoi et al. (1985), Gehlbach (2004), HERI (1996), Komives et al. (2009), and Underwood & Moore (1982).

Table 2*Cronbach Alpha Values of Scales*

	SRLS Sample (n=18,198)	SPT Sample (n=7,619)
Composite Measures/Scales	Cronbach Alpha	Cronbach Alpha
Consciousness of Self	.82	.83
Congruence	.85	.85
Commitment	.84	.84
Collaboration	.82	.81
Common Purpose	.84	.82
Controversy with Civility	.75	.75
Citizenship	.92	.93
Change	.79	.81
Omnibus SRLS	.95	.95
Social Perspective-Taking	.81	.79

Limitations

The results of this study should be viewed in light of three important limitations. The first relates to classification terminology. Because of the question stem on the MSL, we were not able to identify specific type of fraternity or sorority membership for students who indicated membership in multi-cultural fraternities and sororities such as NPHC organizations. The 2009 MSL asked students to identify as members of either a “social fraternity or sorority (ex. Panhellenic or Interfraternity council group such as Sigma Phi Epsilon or Kappa Kappa Gamma)” or a “multi-cultural fraternity or sorority (ex. NPHC group such as Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc., or Latino Greek Council group such as Lambda Theta Alpha).” We struggled in this analysis to find or create an overarching term to classify the diverse fraternities and sororities that exist outside of IFC and Panhellenic organizations. Given these issues, we relied on the wording used in the original MSL survey and carefully noted this limitation here. We used the term “multi-cultural” with a hyphen to indicate the diverse fraternity and sorority organizations, comprised primarily of students of color, which students join as part of

their college experience. Just as fraternity and sorority members are not a monolithic group, neither are their organizational structures (Gregory, 2003). Future research should seek to disaggregate specific fraternity and sorority membership for a more nuanced examination. Second, the MSL is a quasi-experimental design that relies on student self-report data. Although common in college impact research, further research might implement a longitudinal design and find more robust ways to measure student outcomes. Lastly, the research design did not address the effect of pre-college characteristics, other college experiences, or institutional effects on the dependent variables. Future research should address these unique effects to better discern their impact.

Results

A series of one-way ANOVAs found significant differences ($p < .001$) on seven of the eight socially responsible leadership values and the omnibus measure. The only domain with no significant differences was controversy with civility. Women who belonged to Panhellenic Council organizations scored significantly higher than

their peers on five of the eight socially responsible leadership values and the omnibus measure. The other two measures with significant differences ($p < .001$) were the citizenship and change values. Women who identified as belonging to multi-cultural organizations were highest on citizenship and men in multi-cultural organizations were highest on change. IFC men did not score the highest on any of the eight domains. Women in multi-cultural organizations were higher than men in similar organizations on six of the nine domains. Panhellenic Council women were higher than IFC men in eight of the nine domains.

The significant differences found in the ANOVAs should be interpreted in light of their corresponding effect sizes, which were mostly small or trivial (Cohen, 1998), and ranged from less than .01 to .02 (partial eta squared). Small effect size differences were found for congruence, commitment, and citizenship. Significant group differences are often found in large sample sizes such as those in this study, so effect size interpretations should be considered alongside these differences. Table 3 provides means, standard deviations, significance test results, and effect size calculations for all analyses.

Table 3
Socially Responsible Leadership Capacities by Membership

	Multi-(W) n=720		Multi-(M) n=1,053		IFC n=5285		Panhellenic Council n=11,140		F	p	Effect Size
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Consciousness of self	3.90	.610	3.89	.591	3.99	.530	4.00	.470	22.89	*	trivial (<.01)
Congruence	4.11	.695	4.01	.601	4.11	.412	4.21	.448	103.73	*	small (.01)
Commitment	4.27	.712	4.12	.599	4.24	.542	4.36	.432	128.72	*	small (.02)
Collaboration	4.08	.665	4.07	.572	4.04	.515	4.11	.413	27.38	*	trivial (<.01)
Common purpose	4.06	.666	4.02	.564	4.02	.506	4.08	.405	23.01	*	trivial (<.01)
Controversy with civility	3.76	.518	3.77	.456	3.80	.460	3.79	.391	2.99		-
Citizenship	4.00	.703	3.92	.628	3.81	.604	3.97	.497	107.23	*	small (.02)
Change	3.80	.570	3.84	.533	3.82	.503	3.78	.468	11.18	*	trivial (<.01)
Omnibus SRLS	3.96	.579	3.92	.501	3.95	.438	4.01	.354	38.15	*	trivial (<.01)

Note. These domains were measured on a 5-point agree/disagree Likert scale

These findings are remarkably similar to the 2007 MSL data set (Dugan & Komives, 2007), which found that women reported higher scores than men in seven of the eight socially respon-

sible leadership domains (except change). Of particular note was the lack of differences in controversy with civility, which also contained the lowest scores across the eight values and the

omnibus measure. These low scores are similar to prior MSL research (Dugan & Komives, 2007). However, caution with this interpretation is encouraged as these are simple descriptive differences as the effect size tests did not yield meaningful variations in scores on this scale.

In examining the highest mean scores, commitment and congruence were the top two domains. The lowest capacities were controversy with civility and change. Students in fraternities and sororities demonstrated stronger capacities for values in the individual domain than the group and societal domains, suggesting that individual leadership capacities are either 1) easier to develop than those capacities required for working with others, or 2) precede the development of group-level capacities. This is consistent with literature suggesting that leader development typically precedes leadership development as students build the requisite individual knowledge and skills necessary for effective and meaningful engagement in-group processes (Day, Harrison, & Halpin, 2009; Komives et al., 2005). These results also suggest that students may be reluctant or uncomfortable with change and may demonstrate incivility in the change process.

These results indicate differences in socially responsible leadership capacities based on membership type. These differences, however, are quite small. In other words, membership type seems to only account for small differences in the development of leadership capacities. Despite assumed differences in the mission and structures of these different organizations, our find-

ings suggest there seems to be little difference in terms of their effect on leadership development outcomes. It is fairly surprising that more meaningful differences were not found between types of fraternities and sororities given significantly different missions often yield different experiences for students. However, perhaps the structure of the experiences has more in common than expected. Different organization types provide students with similar opportunities for high-impact leadership development practices like community service, organizational involvement, and opportunities to build leadership efficacy. Different types of organizations may also reflect homogenous environments, but findings from MSL research has found that a primary predictor of leadership gains is not just interactions across difference, but interactions about difference as well (Dugan, Kodama, Correia, & Associates, 2013).

Results of a one-way ANOVA on the social perspective-taking scale indicated significant differences ($F=140.73, p < .001$) across fraternal membership. Panhellenic Council women ($M=3.79$) rated significantly higher than IFC men ($M=3.44$); the same was true for students who identified as being part of multi-cultural organizations, which showed women ($M=3.82$) had higher capacities for social perspective-taking than men ($M=3.69$). These differences were found to have a moderate effect size (.05). Table 4 provides statistical results from the second research question.

Table 4
Social Perspective-Taking by Membership

	Multi- (W) n=347		Multi- (M) n=506		IFC n=2,381		Panhellenic Council n=4,385		F	p	Effect Size
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Social Perspective-Taking (Omnibus)	3.82	.674	3.69	.621	3.44	.866	3.79	.568	140.73	*	moderate (.05)

Note. This is a 5-point Likert scale, with 1=Does Not Describe Me Very Well and 5=Describes Me Very Well

Discussion and Implications

This study illuminated important differences in fraternity and sorority members' capacities for socially responsible leadership and social perspective-taking. Most importantly, this study compared these capacities by membership in different organizational types and disaggregated membership in multi-cultural organizations (e.g., NPHC, Latino/a organizations) by gender.

This study yielded trivial and small effect size differences in the eight domains of the SRLS across councils. It stands to reason that fraternity and sorority students would benefit similarly from the host of leadership development programs and services offered through these organizations' inter/national offices, alumni chapters, advisors, and fraternity and sorority life offices. Campus-based fraternity and sorority life advisors provide community-wide programs, often bringing diverse perspectives to the entire community via speakers, retreats, Greek Week events, and philanthropic events. These experiences often encourage cross-council collaboration. These functions provide members of different councils exposure to the same ideas, which could explain the mostly similar results across the eight domains. These results differ slightly from DiChiara's (2009) analysis, which found no significant differences for leadership practices across four councils. Although the effect size differences were quite small, the development of leadership capacities appears to differ by council membership, but only slightly.

Those domains with small effect size differences include congruence, commitment, and citizenship. Within these three domains, women in Panhellenic organizations demonstrated higher capacities than the other three council memberships on congruence and commitment, but women who identified as belonging to multi-cultural organizations had higher capacities for citizenship. Higher capacities for congruence and commitment within Panhellenic Council organizations may be a result of increased conver-

sations and programming around values within these organizations. These higher capacities may also be a result of women having higher capacities prior to joining sororities. That citizenship was higher in women's multi-cultural organizations is likely a result of the increased emphasis these organizations place on service, which is measured in the citizenship domain. These results are in line with other research examining more democratic, shared conceptions of leadership, which shows a mostly consistent pattern that women and people of color tend to demonstrate higher capacities than their peers (Asel et al., 2009; Dugan, 2008; Dugan & Komives, 2007).

In examining mean scores across the SRLS domains, commitment and congruence were the highest self-reported scores. Commitment refers to an intrinsic passion and investment of energy toward action (Komives et al., 2009). Students in fraternities and sororities invest a significant amount of time in their organizations, often living amongst members, which indicates one possible reason this domain was so high. Similarly, congruence was the second highest, indicating that students have identified clear values, beliefs, and attitudes and live them relatively consistently in their lives. Whether these internally-derived attributes align with the stated purposes of their organizations is quite another matter beyond the scope of these data, but the extent to which fraternity and sorority members self-report acting congruently with their personal values appears strong. This is likely the result of wide-spanning programming at the local and inter/national levels designed to help fraternity and sorority members act in accordance to their organizational values. Student affairs professionals struggle in challenging fraternity and sorority members to live their lives in accordance with their respective organization's values, however. With such high levels of self-reported congruence to their own values, students may demonstrate significant resistance to aligning their personal values to those of their organiza-

tion or fraternity and sorority community. Educators should consider first exploring students' personal values before examining congruencies with organizational or community values to help combat this resistance.

Conversely, the two lowest domains were controversy with civility and change. These descriptive data show that fraternity and sorority students have room for growth as it relates to understanding and integrating diverse viewpoints and demonstrate less comfort with transition and ambiguity in the change process. These lower capacities sometimes manifest with impassioned disagreements about new policy changes, lack of cross-council collaborations, and clinging to past practices in new member education. Educators who incur these problems should note that students' capacities for integrating diverse viewpoints and openness to change are lower than other leadership capacities. Leveraging higher capacities such as commitment and collaboration might be a useful strategy. If students understand their increased capacity for working with others (collaboration), but struggle with integrating diverse viewpoints when working together (controversy with civility), they may understand challenges in their community more clearly. Fraternity and sorority life professionals may also seek to implement activities that increase students' capacities for working with diverse others or increase partnerships with diversity and multicultural educators on campus.

The differences in the social perspective-taking measure across councils add to a growing research base on social perspective-taking. Prior research has shown that women and students of color demonstrate higher capacities for social perspective-taking (Dey & Associates, 2010), which these data support. Panhellenic Council women were higher than IFC men on social perspective-taking. As previously mentioned, this trend parallels other research that shows women demonstrate higher capacities for social perspective-taking than men (Dey & Associates, 2010) and that IFC tends to foster more com-

petitive relationships (DiChiara, 2009). Panhellenic Council membership for women, as a result of their shared recruitment process, might positively affect social perspective-taking. Since Panhellenic Council women are forced to think about how recruitment practices affect small or struggling chapters, there may be an increased likelihood for developing increased social perspective-taking. This process provides a framework for women to consider the community as a whole, through standard rules of recruitment dictated by the National Panhellenic Conference. IFC recruitment, conversely, tends to be more decentralized with little opportunity or requirement to consider others' perspectives. Women who identified as being part of multi-cultural organizations were higher than men in similar organizations, which is in line with research showing women tend to demonstrate greater perspective-taking than men (Dey & Associates, 2010). Also, given that IFC men were the lowest among the four groups, their ability to see others' perspectives may be most challenging. This finding highlights the importance of working with this population to understand others and incorporate their perspectives for the betterment of their personal leadership development and the entire fraternity and sorority community.

Increasing social perspective-taking in fraternities and sororities remains an important endeavor, especially across councils. Facilitating discussions about different social identities and organizational histories, for instance, will likely bolster students' capacities for considering others' perspectives. Fraternity and sorority life advisors should intentionally facilitate these discussions and they could occur at council meetings or retreats. Guest speakers from diverse backgrounds and councils may help bolster students' social perspective-taking. The AAC&U report referenced earlier (Dey & Associates, 2010) noted the importance of diverse co-curricular programming coupled with intentionally structured learning activities for bolstering social perspective-taking. While events and programs within

the fraternity and sorority community hold much potential for learning and growth about others, their ability to bolster social perspective-taking appears tied to increasing exposure to diverse viewpoints and educators' ability to help students make meaning of these experiences.

Conclusion

This study sought to examine differences in students' capacities for socially responsible leadership and social perspective-taking based on council membership. The results showed many similarities across councils with a few important differences. When exploring the eight domains of the SRLS, the study resulted in significant differences with small effect sizes for three domains, highlighting the many similarities across the different council members in their capacities for socially responsible leadership. The domains of congruence, commitment, and citizenship yielded significant differences with small effect sizes, thus highlighting some noteworthy between council differences that may inform practice. Significant differences in social perspective-taking across the councils were found with IFC men reporting the lowest capacities.

The results of this study highlight the importance of community-wide programming to ensure that all councils benefit from resources and

are able to continue to develop within the eight domains of socially responsible leadership since significant differences in these domains were quite small. This study also highlights the work to be done to improve social perspective-taking among fraternity men and sorority women via programming and advising efforts. Administrators will find it particularly helpful to consider programming that reaches IFC men and men in multi-cultural organizations. Increased social perspective-taking skills within a fraternity and sorority community may lead to better relations among councils, chapters, and a stronger, more inclusive community.

Understanding how fraternity and sorority members develop capacities for socially responsible leadership and social perspective-taking are important endeavors given the mission of fraternities (Kimbrough, 2003; Torbenson & Parks, 2009) and an ever-increasing diversification of college students and the larger United States population (Ryu, 2010). Increasing fraternity and sorority members' capacities in these two areas remains critical. This study hopes to influence practice in these endeavors by providing baseline data for their development examined by council. The results might inform discussions about how to best build students' capacities for socially responsible leadership and social perspective-taking.

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WHITE BOY WASTED: COMPENSATORY MASCULINITIES IN FRATERNITY ALCOHOL USE

PIETRO SASSO

Alcohol misuse by members of collegiate fraternal organizations has been cited as a significant issue (Wall, 2008). Current research indicates that specifically fraternities consume the most alcohol of any traditional undergraduate student cohort by frequency and volume. However, the current research literature does not discuss how alcohol is used by fraternity members. This study seeks to understand how alcohol is misused through understanding the personal narratives of fraternity members utilizing qualitative inquiry triangulated through interviews and observation. Consistent with previous research, it was found that alcohol use as a compensatory performed masculinity supports a hegemonic social structure reinforced by liquid bonding, competition, acculturation, sex, hegemonic masculinity. Suggestions are provided regarding how to reframe the fraternity experience.

Within the traditional student population of those 18-24, alcohol is the most popular drug and its consumption features widespread misuse. Aggregate data from several major studies paint a vivid picture of collegiate alcohol misuse (Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 2007; Presley, Meilman, & Cashin, 1996; Wechsler, Lee, Kuo, Seibring, Nelson & Lee., 2001). Alcohol use by fraternity members is cited as an exemplified bastion for undergraduate misuse and abuse. Therefore, this issue continues to serve as a significant area of concern for college administrators of which men, particularly male fraternity members, have been cited as a primary population necessitating intervention. This study will provide an extensive literature review to serve as pretext to a qualitative ethnographic study which indicates that fraternity men engage in compensatory masculinities which is a response to hegemonic male ideology. Implications for practice are also suggested for fraternity/sorority advisors.

Alcohol Use in Fraternities

Research has suggested that alcohol use, more specifically binge drinking, is a major issue within fraternities (Farlie, et al., 2010; Long & Snowden, 2011). Larger studies also indicate

that alcohol use within fraternities is a significant issue (Caudill et al., 2006; Wechsler, Lee, Kuo, & Lee, 2000). Single institution studies also reveal a campus-based concern (Lo & Globetti, 1995; Caron, Moskey, & Hovey, 2004).

Policies

Qualitative research suggests that fraternities serve as an access point to obtain alcohol or are often simply associated with its distribution, essentially suggesting through undertone that fraternity chapters serve as nothing more than speakeasies (Fabian, Toomey, Lenk, & Erickson, 2008). Research suggests that most institutional responses in the form of policies have been ineffective as mandating dry housing (Crosse, Ginexi, & Caudill, 2006), banning common source containers such as kegs (Kilmer, Larimer, Parks, Dimeff, & Marlatt, 1999) have all been ineffective or inconsistent. Kilmer et al. (1999) also observed that if there are policies in place to restrict alcohol use, fraternity members will increase their levels of binge drinking. Additionally, educational programs have limited effectiveness in addressing fraternity alcohol misuse (Wall, 2006). Therefore, most measures and attempts to control alcohol misuse such as binge drinking have not resulted in the decrease of alcohol consumption levels sought by institutions (Wall,

Reis, & Bureau, 2012). This failure is indicative of the numerous social aspects of fraternity life that can create an environment conducive to excessive alcohol use (Glindermann & Geller, 2003; Miley & Frank, 2006; Paschall & Saltz, 2007).

Population Comparisons

When compared to other groups, fraternities have been found to consume more than their unaffiliated peers (Alva, 1998; Barry, 2007; Sher, Bartholow, & Nanda, 2001; Wechsler et al., 1996). Pace and McGrath (2002) reported that fraternity and sorority members drank more than other students who were active in volunteer organizations. These highly involved students are often referred to as student leaders within student affairs divisions and have been found to increase their alcohol consumption as a result of their involvement (Theall, DeJong, Scribner, Mason, Schneider, & Simonsen, 2009). Martin et al. (2009) suggested these social experiences connected with alcohol consumption are associated with a high cost for the general traditional student population which has been found to increasingly invest considerable financial resources.

It has also been suggested that fraternity and sorority members drink just as much or more than student-athletes (Meilman, Leichliter, & Presley, 1999) which supports the notion that student-athletes have significant concerns related to alcohol misuse (Wechsler, Davenport, Dowdall, & Grossman, 1997).

Members living in fraternity house also consume more than those off-campus or within residence halls (Larimer, Anderson, Baer, & Marlatt, 2000; Page & O'Hegarty, 2006). Fraternity members also are the largest consumers of all students on "game-day" events before a major college athletics events (Glassman, Dodd, Sheu, Rienzo, & Wagenaar, 2010).

Fraternity and sorority members reported more alcohol use than their unaffiliated counterparts, and fraternity men reported more use and more negative secondary effects of alcohol than

sorority members (Eberhardt, Rice, & Smith, 2003). This supports the notion that sororities also demonstrate misuse of alcohol, albeit not to same degree as fraternity members (Huchting, Lac, & LaBrie, 2008).

Culture

Fraternity chapters have been defined as subcultures by Danielson, Taylor, and Hartford (2001) and within many chapters, alcohol is central to the fraternity experience (Workman, 2001). This cultural association between alcohol and the fraternity experience is so strong, that being a fraternity member is predictive of increased alcohol consumption (Sher, Bartholow, & Nanda, 2001). Fraternities have even been coined as addictive organizations by Arnold (1995). Moreover, further research indicates that members self-select into fraternities because of precollege drinking characteristics (DeSimone, 2009; Juth, Smyth, Thompson, & Nodes, 2010; O'Connor, Cooper, & Thiel, 1996; Park, Sher, Wood, & Krull, 2009). This focus on alcohol exists because its use is attributed to social status as the heaviest-drinking chapters are perceived as holding greater prestige (Larimer, Irvine, Kilmer, & Marlatt, 1997). Within fraternity chapters, alcohol is utilized to help sustain bonds of brotherhood (Wechsler, Kuh, & Davenport, 1996). Alcohol is used in the recruitment and socialization of new members into the chapter culture, which assists in the perpetuation of problems from one generation of members to the next; thus, joining a fraternity or sorority has become a predictor for increasing alcohol consumption as alcohol use is culturally ingrained (Arnold & Kuh, 1992). This culturally ingrained use of alcohol within fraternities has led to distorted in-group norms specifically related to alcohol. Much of this cultural phenomenon is mirrored largely by issues related to masculinity and gender.

Masculinity in Fraternities

The collegiate environment has been connect-

ed to increased alcohol consumption as aforementioned within this literature review section; however, it is also connected to images of gender and alcohol use. Further research supports the notion that fraternities are a reflection of a larger issue of alcohol connected to masculinity and gender with alcohol use. College campuses have been depicted as an environment in which men and women “do gender” in which alcohol use or abstention from alcohol has been used for gender construction purposes (Montemurro & McClure 2005; West, 2001; West & Zimmerman, 1987). This gender context of alcohol remains understudied (Miller, et al. 2003). Capraro (2000) has hypothesized that this is socially constructed based on a hegemonic masculine culture within fraternal organizations.

Hegemonic Masculinity

The notion of hegemonic masculinity plays a central role in the socialization of young men in college. Kimmel and Davis (2011) define hegemony as, “the process of influence where we learn to earnestly embrace a system of beliefs and practices that essentially harm us, while working to uphold the interests of others who have power over us” (p. 9). Hegemonic masculinity is the most socially endorsed form of male behavior (Peralta, 2007). Men in specific competitive subcultures project and hold a favorable, culturally-based, idealized version of themselves or others and subscribe to a dominant construction of masculinity (Connell, 1995). These and additional findings posit men, especially fraternity members, as engaging in compensatory behaviors according to a schematic framework of masculinity. Kimmel and Davis also suggest that the reinforcement of traditional masculine norms may damage or hurt those who uphold those notions.

Cultural Norms

Cultural norms within the practice of hegemonic masculinity include assertiveness, subordination of women, aggressiveness, and self-reli-

ance (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Among men in contemporary Western societies, these cultural norms, have been characterized as young, heterosexually active, economically successful, athletically inclined, and self-assured (Connell, 1987). These norms facilitate a demand characteristic that encourages conformity and institutionalizes these in-group norms with rites of passage (Kimmel, 2008).

McDonald (1994) found that marginalized men use alcohol to exert superiority over others who are prohibited from the same alcohol consumption, a practice of hegemonic masculinity. These findings are supported by Peralta (2007) and Wechsler et al. (2000) who suggested that men belonging to male-dominated or male-centered social institutions have an increased likelihood of engaging in heavy episodic drinking and that alcohol is utilized to socialize others. Arnold and Kuh (1992) described the use of alcohol to subjugate males within the addictive organization framework in which pledges’ alcohol consumption is restricted. Additional support of this phenomenon is the sociological findings of Rogers (2006).

Rogers (2006) found that fraternity members create the image of hegemonic masculinity by identifying “Mr. Right” through recruitment, created attitudes and beliefs, and maintaining the image of manhood through hazing and alcohol. Additionally, hegemony is maintained through competition between members and fraternities. Women engage in a dialectical relationship with fraternities and are utilized as tools to aid in the competition between fraternities (Locke & Mahalik, 2005). Negative reprisal occurs if the image is not maintained as this is perceived as a challenge to the masculine identity. Heterosexual rituals and paternalistic chivalry are also utilized to exacerbate the formation and reinforcement of the masculine identity of subordinate members (Rogers, 2006).

These cultural norms are demonstrated specifically when men conform and engage in socially desirable behaviors according to the stan-

dards of hegemonic masculinity. This is evident in certain contexts involving alcohol as a form of gender expression (West, 2001). When these cultural norms are challenged men respond by engaging in compensatory behaviors where they respond to the dissonance as a sex-role threat by exaggerating their masculinity.

Compensatory Masculinity

Compensatory masculinity, also known as performance masculinity, is a form of gender expression in which men respond in overcompensation to challenges to the hegemonic culture (Edwards & Jones, 2009). For example, men from a “blue-collar” socioeconomic background, consume beer as an act of compensatory masculinity to appear more authentic around others of the same socioeconomic class (Hemmingsson et al., 1998; Janes & Ames, 1989; Kaminer & Dixon, 1995).

In a series of two studies Harris (2008; 2010) sought to understand how young men in college made meaning of masculinities and the influence of the college environment. In a diverse sample of 68 participants from a large, private university on the West Coast it was found that men engaged in compensatory behaviors in response to environmental challenges or contextual influences. The participants continued to reinforce individual conceptualization and meanings of masculinity in the form of one’s family, interactions with peers on-campus, and participation in masculine-affirming organizations or activities (2008; 2010). Another method by which males reinforce masculinity to compensate is through alcohol and shared narratives.

Commonly, males share stories and engage in compensatory masculinity about alcohol when, “binge drinking, playing video games, watching and discussing sports, and sharing the details of sexual relationships” (Harris & Edwards, 2010, p. 48). These male alcohol consumption narratives or “drinking stories,” suggests that these personal narratives are a component of male identity formation and engagement in com-

pensatory masculinity (Giles, 1999; Gough & Edwards, 1998; Moore, 1990). These stories indicate that alcohol is an accepted component of male identity formation as Landrine et al. (1988) have suggested that, “drunkenness may be an aspect of the concept of masculinity” (p. 705). Further depiction of excessive drinking in advertisements exclusively as men’s activity provides face validity to this research (Ratliff & Burkhart, 1984). Quantitative studies additionally link alcohol misuse to masculinity (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Capraro, 2000; Cohen & Lederman, 1998; Schacht, 1996).

While the research literature is able to indicate how often and how much fraternity members consume, as well as tertiary health implications, frequency, and context, most of the research literature does not address how alcohol is used. What is missing from the literature is the meaning or purpose of how alcohol is used by fraternity members. Utilizing narratives drawn from fraternity member interviews and observation, this research investigated how fraternity members engage in compensatory alcohol use to validate their masculine identity. All of this is valuable data in the creation of programs and targeting interventions for fraternity chapters. This study sought to identify this phenomenon.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

How alcohol is used and its meaning to a fraternity member is important in investigating the chapter culture. This culture has been found to vary by chapter where members self-select into heavy drinking culture where alcohol remains central to fraternity socialization in an environment that facilitates use and abuse (Trockel, Wall, Williams, & Reis, 2008). Further research indicates that chapter consumption expectations are strongly predictive of consumption behavior, signifying strong social orientation of members (Trockel et al., 2008). Therefore, those chapters that have the greatest levels of heavy epi-

sodic drinking are most deserving of targeted intervention which, as aforementioned, has been found to be successful. Both of these appear to be cultural variables associated with the culture of alcohol use within fraternity chapters.

The purpose of this study was to investigate alcohol use and its relevance among traditional male undergraduate students belonging to fraternities. This study was guided by two primary research questions:

1. How is culture constructed by fraternity members and affected by their alcohol consumption?
2. What are the shared experiences of the researcher and the participants through self-disclosure to enhance the understanding of the experiences and meaning associated with alcohol use by fraternity members?

Methods

The study was conducted utilizing a social constructivist paradigm to examine the experiences co-constructed by fraternity members centered on alcohol-based experiences and their meaning. One of the tenets of social constructivism is that there are multiple realities present and no one true reality of alcohol use by fraternity members exists (Patton, 2002). It is assumed the social experiences created by fraternity members involving alcohol will differ the meaning and purpose of alcohol use exists solely based on the reality constructed by the individuals. The researcher as an observer was also viewed as a participant in this study and employed the use of the ethnographic research tradition.

The ethnographic research tradition for this qualitative study was selected to obtain a personal narrative of the researcher related to the beliefs and practices of others to gain a deeper understanding of a group's culture (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, the researcher's own cultural experiences are reflected upon those being observed to critically understand the culture and provide insight into the study as a shared experience between the researcher and the participants

(Patton, 2002).

This study was designed to further investigate the meaning of the experiences facilitated by the use of alcohol among fraternity members. The researcher interviewed and observed fraternity members engaging in alcohol consumption to gain further understanding into these cultural experiences and practices.

Participants

The participants in this study were traditional undergraduate students who held membership in a fraternity chapter on a college campus. Membership was defined as those affiliates who held at least probationary status (e.g., pledge, new member) or those members who are duly initiated and active within an active, recognized chapter in good standing with the university and the International Headquarters. This study employed a homogeneous purposeful sample in order to obtain a representative sample reflective of the fraternity student cohort. With approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), fraternity members were recruited for participation through the use of an intentional sample which was constructed through a chain-referral sampling procedure. A complete frame of social fraternities available for participation in the study was established through contacting "gatekeepers." These gatekeepers provided access directly to the fraternity members. 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 10 fraternity chapters was established and solicited for participation. Through chain-referral methodology, the sample consisted of 16 fraternity members ages 19-22 drawn from 4 chapters at 4 postsecondary institutions. The members were all traditional undergraduate Caucasian males from middle class backgrounds (See Table 1).

Researcher

In authentic ethnographic research, it is imperative that the researcher fully disclose any biases or perspectives. During the time of the study, the researcher was a 30 year old multiethnic male pursuing a doctoral degree in education with a concentration in higher education. The researcher had over six years of experience as a full time staff member of a national collegiate fraternity and as a college administrator overseeing fraternity and sorority advising. Additionally, the researcher has enforced alcohol policies at two colleges as a student conduct officer and an alcohol educator. These experiences have led the researcher to believe that fraternity members construct their own personal narratives and form their own individual experiences regarding alcohol use. These individual experiences form a co-constructed narrative that facilitates a chapter-specific culture that is unique with its own traditions, values, and rites of passage.

The researcher utilized a research team of least two members to assist in the development of interview guides, coding interviews, and observations. The team members provided triangulation and minimized researcher bias, which increased the trustworthiness of the results. The two members of the research team were student affairs practitioners with master's degrees in higher education and members of national fraternities.

Data Collection

This study focused on the lived experiences of fraternity members and their meaning-making regarding alcohol use. Further, this study employed a homogeneous purposeful sample to obtain an intentional sample reflective of the fraternity student cohort. The data collection methods utilized were semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations. A specific number of interviews were not established, rather an emergent approach was facilitated and interviews continued until a point of saturation was reached.

The semi-structured interviews featured in-depth interviews with individual fraternity members as well as members within groups. Both the individual semi-structured and group interviews were conducted utilizing an interview guide, which also served as a protocol (Interview Protocol Questions are available from the author upon request). The interview guide was developed with members of the research team who were subject-matter experts. An informed consent agreement, confidentiality agreement which included the right to a debriefing and the right to confidentiality, and a demographic sheet to determine age, semester of initial affiliation, leadership position, and academic status were all concurrently distributed to participants.

The ethnographic observations were completed utilizing a timeline feedback approach (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Chapters who agree to participate were observed utilizing a standardized observation sheet which was developed by the research team. The observation highlighted specific behaviors, relationships, environmental factors, social interactions, and language to observe. All these observations were recorded through the use of field notes. The field notes were in the form of a voice recorder or documented in written format. From the field notes, a timeline was reconstructed to facilitate the creation of a temporal sequence. As with the semi-structured interviews, the number of observations was not predetermined. Observations continued until a point of saturation was reached.

Data Analysis

The interviews and observations were analyzed for themes. Each of the participants was asked the same number of questions listed in the protocol. After the first round of interviews, they were transcribed. The participants were given a copy of their transcript to verify that its meaning and text were correct. The members of the research team then created an initial codebook. The research team reached consensus regarding

the codebook and modified the questions for the second interview. Once the succeeding interviews had been transcribed, the participants again engaged in member-checking. After the second round of interviews the codebook was updated. Once saturation was reached, the preceding interviews were recoded according to the final codebook. The results were produced from this final codebook.

Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness was ensured through an external auditor, triangulation of data sources, peer review, clarification of researcher bias, and member-checking. The first strategy for validation was to use an external auditor to oversee the research. This person was not currently active within the fraternity/sorority community, but had a priori experience and knowledge. This external auditor was a university professor within a student affairs graduate program. The second strategy was to utilize triangulation of data sources. The study compared the results from the personal narratives of the fraternity members to ensure they closely resembled the ethnographic observations.

The third strategy was the use of peer review from subject matter experts who engaged in a process that assists by reviewing and questioning the main themes and questions in an attempt to eliminate bias. The fourth strategy was to clarify research bias. Readers of the final research report were informed of the research team and the research, their affiliations, and their perspectives on the phenomenon being investigated. The final strategy was to use member-checking. Participants were provided their transcript of the interview, which were sent to them for review. The participants were able to further clarify any statements and check for errors. Even with the use of the quality measures to minimize researcher bias, there were still limitations that potentially impacted trustworthiness and validity. These are threats and therefore it is necessary to be forthright and disclose them.

Limitations

One of the primary limitations of this study was the demand characteristics presented by the researcher. The researcher has extensive a priori knowledge and experience with the college fraternity cohort. This a priori experience and knowledge may have influenced participants to provide socially desirable responses during the semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations.

The reliance on self-report data, given the esoteric nature of fraternities, may negatively impacted the full disclosure of information. This secretive nature has created a lack of disclosure by fraternity members (Sweet, 1999). This concealment could have impacted the individual and group interviews, where fraternity members may not have been completely forthright about their experiences with alcohol.

To identify social desirability and possible lack of disclosure, the researcher kept a reflexive journal to note any inconsistencies between what was said and the effect on the participant. These inconsistencies were noted in the reflexive journal and then were disclosed in the research findings. While the relevance of this study has already been mentioned, it should be added that it is essential to allow the fraternity members' voices to be heard.

To recruit fraternity members, the researcher had to recruit through current professional contacts who were campus-based professionals in fraternity/sorority advising. These professionals acted as gatekeepers and may have been hesitant to allow the researcher access to their students who were fraternity members for fear of the negative portrait of their institution that might be reflected if participants' experiences were consistent with the mainstream media's portrayal of fraternity members.

Another limitation is the amount of variation in regards to the personal narratives of fraternity members. The purpose and meaning of alcohol use varies between chapters, as each one is en-

veloped by its own respective culture (Arnold & Kuh, 1992). This can create a proliferation of themes that can cause an extreme amount of research tangents. Therefore, the use of saturation and triangulation as components within the methodology are essential in addressing this study limitation. As mentioned previously, alcohol experiences and their meaning or purpose among fraternity members and others became readily apparent as there were an abundance of possible research themes. Despite these limitations, it is the anticipation of the researcher that the data collected can be used to provide insight into the alcohol use issues that have become viewed as problematic by gaining insight into its meaning and purpose (Wall, 2006).

Results

This study was conducted to gain insight into the meaning and purpose of alcohol use amongst fraternity members who are traditional male undergraduate students through obtaining their personal narratives. The study utilized an intentional homogeneous sample to obtain a cohort of fraternity members who engaged in an individual semi-structured interview and a group interview. This data was compared to an ethnographic observation for the purposes of triangulation.

Interviews were transcribed and coded and then recoded shortly thereafter. The keywords and phrases were collapsed into five themes. These semi-structured interviews as well as the ethnographic observation yielded a surprising amount of data. Five salient, main themes emerged in this study and the personal experiences. Their meaning and purpose are further supported and validated by an ethnographic observation.

Theme 1: Liquid Bonding

One of the most apparent themes was the use of alcohol for social connectedness. All participants discussed the bonds and connection that alcohol helped to facilitate between them

as a brotherhood. However, what that brotherhood meant to them was individualized, based on context. The first participant made it fairly clear the use of alcohol was to, "...use alcohol to help everyone have a good fuckin time in college" (Interview 1, Lines 330-331). The participant further clarified this notion by stating:

"College fucking sucks ass man, but if you don't wanna flip burgers or end up in jail, slingin' rock on the corner, or pushin' weight as a duffle bag boy, then you gotta go to college to get an education. That education is what you get outside of it. Fuck physics or all that shitttt. It is about knowin' the right people" (Interview 1, Lines 331-334).

The participant implied that alcohol helps one meet the right individuals. One participant expanded on this social connection established by alcohol using the metaphor of summer camp. When asked to clarify further the social connection established by alcohol, this participant stated:

I made friends and have good memories but the whole brotherhood thing didn't necessarily stand the test of time in any real manner. It might as well have been a football team. There is a real level of camaraderie just like in any group environment. It's like your friends from summer camp. Only its summer camp for nine months of the year. And a lot of them are your friends cuz they're at your summer camp, but if you weren't at the same summer camp, you really wouldn't chill. (Interview 2, Lines 179-184).

It was readily clear that alcohol was utilized to establish and support relationships between fraternity members. This liquid bonding was central and synonymous to the fraternal experience. Many of these relationships appeared superficial and surface, in which the entirety of the relationship was based on the underpinning of alcohol as indicated by the narratives shared by the participants.

Theme 2: Competition

One theme that emerged from the interview

data was the notion of competition. The participants consistently made reference to how their fraternity was better than others. This was contextualized while referencing alcohol and parties. One participant stated: "It was kind of a mediocre chapter. Now we are fuckin' beast! We are King Kong up in this bitch! Like I said before, we have the best parties, the sickest fuckin' bitches ever" (PA 1, Line 352-353).

Several of the participants also discussed drinking games. The drinking games are competitive, in that there is an incentive structure associated with these drinking games. Traditionally, the penalty is to consume large quantities of alcohol in which one participant stated, "...I won ten in a row. A bunch of the games came down to last cup, so I ended up having to drink a whole bunch" (Interview 1, Lines 151-152).

Additionally, there was a level of pride associated with winning a competition. One participant stated, "...I was playing beer pong and I was runnin' the table. No one could touch me. They could not come near me. I was on fire droppin' them in like fuckin' bombs" (Interview 1, Lines 153-154).

The consumption of alcohol is transformed into a competitive drinking game. Additionally, this competition appears to be broader between fraternity chapters to determine which one can have the "best" party with the most alcohol. The underlying notion is that the more competitive you are, the more prestige for a fraternity to gain. This indicates that social standing or prestige is linked to alcohol use.

Theme 3: Acculturation

One of the other more salient themes was the use of alcohol to socialize members as part of a larger acculturation process. This acculturation process seems to be led by the upperclassmen members. All the participants were upperclassmen and many of them were very involved chapter leaders as most of them made reference to involvement in the new member process.

Further, the upperclassmen use alcohol as a

meditational tool to acculturate new members also known as "pledges" into the chapter culture. This is a socialization process in which pledges are probationary members and must earn their status as an initiated member. Alcohol is interconnected and is used as a meditational tool to connect members together and reinforce the social norms of the chapter culture. One participant stated:

As a pledge all the other guys would try to impress the brothers to show them how fast they could drink and I would just fuckin' drink because I like it...As a pledge, I was never forced to drink. But damn man, it is encouraged. (Interview 1, Lines 257-258).

Another, participant discussed his personal experience regarding acculturation:

I am not proud to say I was hazed during my pledge period. I still remember the brothers who hazed me, and I still hold it against them. To be perfectly honest, part of me wishes I would have quit because of the hazing. I would have missed out on great experiences because of it, but at least I would have stood up for myself. Regardless, I made it a point to do everything I could to change the culture I was brought into, and not do that to the guys who followed me. I was forced to drink quite a lot of beer and liquor. It was very dangerous. One of the guys I pledged with got alcohol poisoning. (Interview 2, Lines 18-27).

The use of alcohol with pledges as a part of an acculturation process indicates a potential relationship to hazing. Instances of hazing as described in the aforementioned examples reinforce the use of alcohol for future generations as pledges become acculturated into the chapter culture.

Theme 4: Sex

The use of alcohol to meet the opposite sex was another major theme within the interview data. Additionally, several of the participants made the association between alcohol and sexual relations. This association is a broader sense is connected by the fraternity chapter. One partici-

part states; “I didn’t drink that much as a pledge or a brother. Yeah, I get drunk sometimes but I did it to meet women. Guys join fraternities is to meet girls. Some rushes [prospective members] think that by wearing Greek letters you instantly become a chick-magnet. Let them think this way.” (Interview 2, Lines 14-22). Another participant provided a personal experience about a sexual encounter he had at a fraternity party;

The party, all night, there were no grenades. There were none in sight. All the chicks were fucking smoking. One of them was DTF. I took her to one of the rooms upstairs, of course she wanted to because she was DTF. So, we go upstairs to the boom boom room. We have this room where everyone gets fucked. It even has this old metal pole that used to be brick, but we had some engineering majors switch it out for a metal pole. Women love that shit. I wish I had one in my room. So, we are up there, right, and we are sucking face with each other then I reach for her tits and I noticed they feel strange. So, I eventually backed off. However, my other head was talking to me so I was full steam ahead like some old Pirate ship. (Interview 1, Lines 164-171).

These descriptions about alcohol and sex suggest that they are prevalent in some fraternities. Further, the participants pointed out that prospective members join because the expectation is that they will have access to women who want to be where the parties are located. These parties, according to the participants, provide a lot of alcohol and, according to the members, many prospective members are attracted to the fraternity chapter because of the lure of alcohol and sex.

Theme 5: Hegemonic Masculinity

The use of misogynistic and homophobic language underscores a hypermasculine environment within the fraternity chapter culture. The use of homophobic words like “faggot” and “bitch” as well as references to feminine body

parts, particularly genitalia, reveal a culture that is conducive to an overcompensation toward monosexuality and masculine identity. Therefore, showing emotion or any behaviors or language deemed as weak or unmasculine is viewed as negative within many fraternity chapter cultures. One example of this is a personal experience shared by a participant in which an individual displayed weakness:

Oh we do power hour which is where you take a drink every 60 seconds to a song mix. We roll widda Lil Wayne AKA Mr. Make it Rain on Dem Hoes mix. One of my pledge brothers made it and it’s sick. I usually drink beer, some Beast. There is always some faggot that fucking pukes. For formal this year we a bunch of us did in the dorms. One of the girls that was going to formal with one of my pledge brothers projectile vomited all over two brothers, then she spat up all over her damn self too. [Looks annoyed]. This bitch almost puked all over, it was real nasty dude. (Interview 1, Lines 82-88).

The hyper-masculine environment promotes and advances an alpha-male mentality. This reality promotes the development of overcompensation amongst fraternity members in their attempts to sustain a competitive edge over their competitors or adversaries. Through the use of language and the personal experiences shared by the participants, these findings revealed an exaggerated masculine environment centered on alcohol is revealed.

Ethnographic Data

The ethnographic observation yielded results that support and validate the five themes. The ethnographic observation was an attempt to “go native” in which the researcher blended amongst the traditional undergraduate population that attended a large-scale social event which was a fraternity party with a large representation of alcohol. It was the goal of the researcher to examine if the five themes found in the interview data were also consistent with the lived experience

through researcher observation. The party began at 9:00 p.m. and formally ended at 2:00 a.m., but there was an after-party event that did not end until after 4:00 a.m. Throughout the party, approximately 10 kegs and 30 to 40 bottles of liquor were consumed in the public areas of the off-campus fraternity house where the party was held. This total does not include any private stock that was provided by the fraternity members themselves during the after-party.

The use of alcohol for liquid bonding was apparent through the sharing of personal narratives of drinking stories and through the use of fraternity drinking songs with misogynistic undertones. Masculinity was very apparent as the men within the chapter referenced “mandals” which are “man sandals.” When asked to explain, the men discuss the differences between men and women’s sandals, in that traditionally sandals are feminine but a special designation made them palatable for men. Additionally, the theme of sex was validated as there was a proliferation of men and women engaging in sexual advances and behaviors throughout the party, especially during the after-party. Social connectedness was also extremely prevalent during the party as individuals bonded through alcohol, especially as they engaged in drinking rituals associated with the hip hop music blasting throughout the fraternity house.

Competition was experienced firsthand by the researcher as he was urged to engage in competitive drinking games such as “beer pong” and “flip cup.” These are competitive drinking games and throughout the party, there were a number of fraternity members and other students who expressed strong emotion when they lost. Finally, acculturation and hegemony were evident for the pledges. Throughout the night, the pledges were cleaning up and serving members, as well as guests, with fresh alcoholic drinks. Guests were provided a new drink by a pledge, even without a personal verbal or behavioral prompt.

The lived experience as depicted by the fraternity members who were participants in the

semi-structured interviews directly reflected the themes from the interview data in the ethnographic observation. Therefore, the ethnographic observation supports and possibly validates, with additional data, the themes reflected in the interviews. Liquid bonding, competition, acculturation, sex, and hegemonic masculinity are all factors that influence alcohol consumption among fraternity members.

Implications

The results of this study indicate that fraternity alcohol use is more multifarious than the contemporary research literature reviewed within this article suggests. The salient themes of liquid bonding, competition, acculturation, sex, and hegemonic masculinity are issues which indicate that alcohol is used for reasons other than simply for mass consumption of alcohol and these themes support previous research.

The findings from the present study suggest that the issues are related to masculine gender expression through alcohol and are not simply about binge drinking as the research suggests. Using alcohol as a means to express and reinforce masculine identity by the fraternity members is the overarching, central theme from this qualitative study. The themes from this study are consistent with previous research (Anderson, 2007; Harris, 2010; Kimmel, 2008; Rhoads, 2010) which found that masculinity and alcohol use were often used to express issues of being respected by others, self-confidence, assuming responsibility, maintaining physical image, and sexual behaviors.

If the issues are cultural, then further intervention is necessary. These themes also parallel findings related to hegemonic masculinity where men use alcohol to perpetuate and facilitate further socialization of men into the masculine ideal. Men reported pressure to conform to expectations established by chapter leadership through competition and hazing practices, mostly involving alcohol.

The findings from this study further suggest that men engage in compensatory masculinity whereas, in public, men may engage in superficial behaviors in order to appear as if they are meeting the expectations of masculinity. In such demonstrations, they are performing “masculinity” (Kimmel, 2004). As a result, the men indicated that they felt as though they acted as different versions of themselves based upon the contexts in which they operated, especially when socializing with alcohol within the chapter. However, these same fraternity men will exhibit more authentic behaviors when alone with others, such as girlfriends or adult mentors (Kimmel, 2008). Fraternity/sorority advisors may see this dichotomy when interacting with their fraternity member students at on-campus events rather than in the confines of their offices. Greater support is necessary to help men feel comfortable expressing masculinity through more constructive, healthy behaviors.

The themes from this study can be utilized to help facilitate the creation of targeted interventions which the research literature suggests has a low economy of scale, but a high efficacy level for effectiveness. This study indicates the meaning and purpose of alcohol use for fraternity members, creating valuable data that can be integrated into intervention programs. Such focused efforts, coupled with a culture-changing approach, could possibly facilitate sustainable change to reduce the tertiary and possible long-term health consequences of alcohol misuse. Additionally, targeted interventions should address these themes in the context of gender, specifically related to masculinity.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the men in this study largely describe and demonstrate struggles with their masculinity. Their narratives reveal strong notions of alcohol misuse which increased when the tensions experienced in male gender

roles differed in relation to the expectations of others around them. The men in this study as fraternity members engaged in liquid bonding, competition, acculturation, sex, and hegemonic masculinity as compensatory behaviors in response to sex-role threat by hegemonic masculinity. This compensatory behavior with alcohol is grounded in the performativity of gender as men are actively endeavoring to perform masculinity to varying levels of success.

These fraternity members’ experiences suggested that they are underperforming and unprepared men. These specific behaviors included competitive heterosexual sex, alcohol misuse and potential abuse, being unprepared for academic coursework, and noncompliance with policies outlined by their International Headquarters and host institution. Based on the findings of this study, it is suggested that fraternity/sorority professionals should be conscious of the developmental levels of fraternity members. Professionals may want to explore the idea that members’ development may be stunted through the behaviors perpetuated by their organizations through alcohol use.

John Robson (1966), author of *The College Fraternity and its Modern Role*, stated, “Man is a noble creature, only a little lower than the angels. A chapter made up of his tribe is the kind that has given the American college fraternity a glorious history and promises it a glorious future” (p. 112). Robson is correct in his assertion that fraternities, and even sororities, have a storied and contributing narrative in shaping higher education. The future of fraternities is one that is undeniable, as collegiate fraternal organizations are enduring and pervasive organizations that have yet to falter despite wide-spread criticism, and this study provides additional face validity to these criticisms. However, whether the existence of fraternities is relevant depends on their capacity to change. If not, we will continue to allow our boys to remain “white boy wasted” and to perpetuate the negative stereotype that endures.

Table 1*Participant Demographic Information*

CHAPTER	GENDER	AGE	ETHNICITY	AFFILIATION	INITIATION	LEADERSHIP	INSTITUTION
1	MALE	21	CAUCASIAN	2 YEARS		YES	STEM
1	MALE	22	LATINO	3 YEARS		YES	STEM
1	MALE	19	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	NEW MEMBER	NONE		STEM
1	MALE	18	CAUCASIAN	NEW MEMBER	NONE		STEM
2	MALE	19	JEWISH	NEW MEMBER	NONE		LIBERAL ARTS
2	MALE	20	CAUCASIAN	1 YEAR		YES	LIBERAL ARTS
2	MALE	20	CAUCASIAN	NEW MEMBER	NONE		LIBERAL ARTS
2	MALE	22	CAUCASIAN	3 YEARS		YES	LIBERAL ARTS
3	MALE	23	CAUCASIAN	4 YEARS		YES	COMPREHENSIVE
3	MALE	20	CAUCASIAN	2 YEARS		YES	COMPREHENSIVE
3	MALE	19	CAUCASIAN	NEW MEMBER	NONE		COMPREHENSIVE
3	MALE	18	CAUCASIAN	NEW MEMBER	NONE		COMPREHENSIVE
4	MALE	21	CAUCASIAN	3 YEARS		YES	LAND-GRANT
4	MALE	22	LATINO	2 YEARS		YES	LAND-GRANT
4	MALE	19	CAUCASIAN	NEW MEMBER	NONE		LAND-GRANT
4	MALE	19	CAUCASIAN	NEW MEMBER	NONE		LAND-GRANT

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TOWARD A BROADER UNDERSTANDING OF FRATERNITY – DEVELOPING AND VALIDATING A MEASURE OF FRATERNAL BROTHERHOOD

GENTRY MCCREARY AND JOSHUA SCHUTTS

The function of brotherhood as an element of the fraternal experience has been largely ignored in the literature of higher education. This study seeks to understand how fraternity members define and conceptualize brotherhood and to develop an instrument aimed at quantitatively measuring notions of brotherhood. This mixed-methods study is divided into two parts: (1) Part 1 employs a grounded-theory, qualitative approach to understanding how fraternity members define and conceptualize brotherhood, and (2) Part 2 employs three separate quantitative studies aimed at developing and validating a measure of the concept of brotherhood in fraternities. The findings of the study indicate that fraternity membership elicits four distinct schema of brotherhood – solidarity, shared social experiences, belonging, and accountability. The Fraternal Brotherhood Questionnaire (FBQ) is developed to measure these four schemas. Initial exploratory factor analysis (EFA) reveals a four factor solution explaining 64 percent of the variance. A subsequent EFA of a modified version of the FBQ reveals a four factor solution explaining 67 percent of variance in the overall model. Confirmatory factor analysis reveals a parsimonious four factor model of fraternal brotherhood.

The literature of higher education is teeming with studies demonstrating the positive impact of student involvement and engagement on a wide variety of outcomes, including academic success (Carini, Kuh, & Klein, 2006), persistence (Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie & Gonyea, 2008), satisfaction (Zhao & Kuh, 2004), identity development (Endo & Harper, 1982; Astin, 1993) and cognitive development (Tinto, 1997). While the outcomes of involvement have been studied, the nature of that involvement and engagement, particularly the group dynamics of student organizations, has received little attention. Astin's Inputs-Environment-Outcomes model (1993) suggests that more attention should be devoted to the nature of the groups and activities with which students are involved in order to better understand the environments that these groups create and the outputs to which those environments ultimately lead.

A prevalent and long-standing fixture of student involvement on many U.S. college campuses has been the college fraternity. While the outcomes associated with fraternity membership

have been studied from a variety of perspectives (Allan & Madden, 2008; Bureau, Ryan, Ahren, Shoup, & Torres, 2011; Martin, Hevel, Asel, & Pascarella, 2011; McCabe & Bowers, 1996; Pascarella et al., 1996; Wechsler & Nelson, 2008), there is little scholarship devoted to the environmental group dynamics that influence the fraternity experience and the outcomes associated with fraternity membership.

In its earliest manifestations, the function of fraternity within the family unit was the relationship of siblings unified against authority, in a system designed to reward the standardization of members and to punish individual variations (Benne, 1969). These sibling relationships, a group of like-minded boys unified against the rule of authoritarian parents, are the historic and cultural foundations of the modern-day college fraternity. The word "fraternity" is derived from the Latin *frater*, literally translating to our "brother." It is reasonable, then, to think of the terms "fraternity" and "brotherhood" as interchangeable and synonymous. To understand one is to understand the other.

While the outcomes of the college fraternity have been examined from multiple angles, that most basic tenant of fraternity, the concept of brotherhood, has been virtually ignored in the literature. Given that the idea of brotherhood is the cultural and symbolic bedrock of the fraternity system (Benne, 1969), we find its absence from the literature of fraternities to be a troubling oversight. This study sought a better understanding of the concept of brotherhood within the American college fraternity, how it is understood and conceptualized by fraternity members, and how those individual and group conceptualizations impact the outcomes of the fraternal experience.

A study of brotherhood is a worthy undertaking. Research suggests that the environmental, contextual and social influences of any group are important to consider when attempting to understand the behavior of that group and the individuals within it (Trevino & Youngblood, 1990; Zimbardo, 2007). One need not spend a long time searching to see the pages of the popular press littered with examples of both the good deeds and misdeeds of the college fraternity. Why do some fraternity chapters engage in anti-social behavior while others are model organizations? To understand the way that fraternity members define and conceptualize brotherhood is to understand the way they define the experience itself, and would provide valuable framework for understanding the behaviors and cognitions of fraternity members as a peer group.

Methods

In order to develop an understanding of fraternal brotherhood, this study employed sequential exploratory strategy. This strategy is especially useful when testing elements of an emergent theory resulting from qualitative data (Morgan, 1998), generalizing a qualitative finding to different samples (Morgan, 1998) and when attempting to construct a new instrument (Creswell, 2009). Following the recommendations of

Creswell and Plano-Clark (2007), the research employed a three-phase approach. First, the researchers gathered and analyzed qualitative data. Next, the researchers used that data to build an instrument. Finally, that instrument was administered to a larger sample of students and the reliability and validity of that instrument were tested. Part 1 of our methods section details the grounded-theory approach employed in devising a theory of fraternal brotherhood. Part 2 of this section details the quantitative approaches employed in the development, testing and validation of an instrument designed to measure the four hypothesized schema.

Part 1

This study employed a grounded-theory approach in developing an initial understanding of how fraternity members define and conceptualize brotherhood. It is worth disclosing that the researchers are both alumni of college fraternities, and have spent a significant portion of their professional careers in the fraternity/sorority advising profession. These experiences have brought them into close contact with fraternity members and have provided them with countless hours of observation into the daily activities of fraternity members. From these observations, we developed an initial sense that fraternity members had various and assorted ways of defining brotherhood, and that those definitions permeated and influenced the culture of undergraduate fraternity chapters.

The qualitative portion of this study was accomplished through semi-structured focus group interviews. Participants, selected via convenience sampling, were solicited via email at a large, public research institution in the Southeastern United States. The focus group participants ranged in age from 18-22 and were all initiated members of men's fraternities. Each of the 14 participants were Caucasian and were members of historically white fraternities. The focus group involved partially-structured questioning – the students were asked to respond to

the questions “What is brotherhood” and “How do you distinguish friendship from brotherhood.” Follow up questions were asked to help understand and break responses down to their most fundamental nature. The researcher collected detailed notes which were subsequently coded in the manner suggested by Tesch (1990). The data were summarized and reduced, identifying patterns, frequencies and differences within the responses. Once coded, the data were categorized and the emerging themes were analyzed.

The qualitative data gathered indicated four unique themes related to how students defined brotherhood. We describe the qualitative data according to the primary themes that emerged in the analysis, including brotherhood based on solidarity, brotherhood based on shared social experiences, brotherhood based on belonging, and brotherhood based on accountability

Solidarity – “I’ve got your back, you’ve got mine...” Several fraternity members understood brotherhood to be a connection based on a commitment to mutual assistance. This theme appeared in multiple anecdotes, varying in altruism. Some responses could be described as highly altruistic. For example, one participant explained “brothers are there for one another. If a brother loses a parent or loved one, we would all be there to support him through the hard times.” Other responses could be described as less altruistic and more resembling of a gang mentality. One student observed “I am my brother’s keeper. That means if we’re out and he gets into trouble, it’s my job to have his back, no matter what.” Statements regarding fraternal solidarity as the basis of brotherhood were often preceded with statements such as “it is important that we have a unified brotherhood,” indicating that the building of solidarity may be an intentional outcome of membership in some organizations.

The empirical study of solidarity in groups is extensive, dating back to the early works of Durkheim (1951). Durkheim described social solidarity as the universal concomitant of group

action (1951). Durkheim discussed at length the connections between human emotion, ritualistic symbols and group solidarity, noting the emotion generated through the congregation of like-minded individuals. Emirbrayer (1995), discussing the usefulness of Durkheim’s ideas on solidarity through collective emotion noted that:

Collective emotions generated in such moments crystallize into patterns of emotional commitment and symbolic identification. These symbols are items on which the group focuses during rituals – such symbols come to represent membership in the group. Durkheim called them sacred objects. Emotions are the glue of solidarity and are what holds groups, and to a larger extent, society, together (p. 120).

Benne (1969) explored the idea of fraternity generally and traced the idea of fraternity back to its roots within the family unit. Comparing adult voluntary associations to the idea of siblings unified against the authoritarian parent, he noted that “any group with the primary goal of defense against authority develops rigid codes of loyalty and standards of uniform behavior” (p. 237). Students participating in the focus group frequently discussed the need of a “unified front” and the emphasis of their pledge education program in creating group unity. From a historical context, many fraternities trace their roots to an era of social change and their creation to a mutual desire to resist the norms of dominant culture (Smith, 1964). Solidarity, then, has historically been an important attribute in an organization taking a defensive position against outward authority.

Smith (1964) explored the notion of fraternal solidarity, suggesting that groups develop solidarity as an adaptive response to the need for implementing goals and that the commitment of the members to the group is contingent upon their commitment to the value of the goals of the group. Within such groups, he suggested, there is a gradual development towards the generation of a motive for the sustenance of group cohesion, independent of any external opposi-

tion. That is, in the life of a fraternity, solidarity eventually becomes an end rather than a means to an end, replacing whatever goal or value may have been the original impetus for the group's creation. This phenomenon was evident in our focus group research. Fraternity members saw the solidarity of their chapter, particularly the bonding and unification of their pledge class, as a primary goal of the fraternity experience, completely independent of any offensive or defensive position against external authority or the promotion of any ideal or value. When pushed to explain the reason for his fraternity's focus on unity, one exasperated focus group member explained "unity IS the point – there's not some underlying reason. That's what the fraternity is about."

Shared Social Experiences – "I do almost everything with my brothers..."

The notion of the fraternity as primarily a social outlet, and brotherhood as a collection of individuals who enjoy one another's company, was another theme that emerged from the focus group. When asked what the best part of brotherhood was, responses included "the friendships, the relationships. Just hanging around the house and being stupid with people you love." Another participant quipped "I know it sounds cliché, but it's the times you'll never remember with the people you'll never forget."

Another student shared this story when asked to recount the best example of brotherhood that he had seen:

I'll never forget our spring party week my freshman year. We had to work like crazy for a week to build our fort and boardwalk for the parties. We worked together and got it done. Then the parties started – I don't remember much, but it was a blast. We had worked so hard all year during pledgship [sic] and just trying to become part of the group. The spring party was a big release for us. We partied 24-7 for a week. It's the times like that when you really understand what being in a fraternity is all about. It's really hard to explain to someone if you've never

experienced it for yourself.

As most collegiate fraternal orders have adopted the moniker "social fraternity" to describe themselves, this emphasis on the social aspects of brotherhood seems a self-fulfilling prophecy. Indeed, the social aspect of the modern-day college fraternity is a well-documented phenomenon. As noted earlier, fraternity membership has been strongly linked to alcohol and drug abuse. Wechsler and Nelson (2008) found that 86% of men who live in fraternity houses are binge drinkers. A study by Columbia University found that nearly 64% of fraternity and sorority members are current binge drinkers, compared to only 37% of their non-affiliated counterparts (CASA, 2005). The CASA study found that fraternity and sorority members are more likely to be current marijuana users and are more than twice as likely to be current cocaine users. These findings are consistent with a number of studies that have suggested that fraternity and sorority members are significantly more likely to abuse alcohol or other drugs than their non-affiliated counterparts (Wechsler, Kuh, & Davenport, 1996; Cashin, Presley, & Meilman, 1998).

The emphasis on the social aspects of brotherhood did not limit itself to the party scene, however. Comments were also inclusive of the idea that brotherhood is about a sense of friendship that goes above and beyond friendship outside the context of fraternity. As one student noted,

It's a connection that goes beyond friendship. Once I joined a fraternity, I really lost interest in doing things with people outside my fraternity. It's like, before, in high school, you didn't have a whole lot of choice of who your friends were. You went to school, you saw the same people... your options were pretty limited. When I joined a fraternity, I was able to choose to join a group of people that I felt connected to. These are the people I want to spend all of my time with. It's not like hanging out with people in your dorm freshman year – anybody can do that. A fraternity is more than that.

In this sense, a brotherhood based on shared

social experiences may be representative of the amount of time spent with other group members. It also reflects the mentality that being in a fraternity is a deliberate choice to associate with a particular group of people. Derryberry and Thoma (2000) investigated the friendship density of peer groups and the impact of those friendships on moral development. They suggested that the low-density friendship networks of fraternity members were a likely cause of lower levels of moral judgment. Fraternity members are likely to identify closely with those in their group, limit their interactions with “outsiders,” and have an “us versus them” attitude (Derryberry & Thoma, 2000). This was reflected in the qualitative data. Students who identified brotherhood as a shared social experience more readily identified with group members and indicated less interaction with those outside of their organizations.

Belonging – “My brothers appreciate me for who I am...” Focus group participants spoke frequently and passionately about their feeling of the fraternity being their “home away from home” and the place where they “feel like part of a family.” Brotherhood as a sense of belonging that transcended friendship or social interactions was a common theme among several of the students studied. The fraternity was described as a place where students felt connected, and this psychological feeling of connection aroused strong emotion. One of the students explained,

My brothers appreciate me for who I am and what I bring to the group. From day one, it was a place where I just felt at home. I feel sorry for guys in fraternities who feel like they have to pretend to be something that they’re not. I’ve never felt that way. I feel like I can be myself, because I know that my brothers value the same things I value.

In exploring the roots of group belonging, we can again turn to the work of Durkheim (1951). Noting the importance of belonging within one’s peer group, he noted that failure to achieve an adequate sense of belonging can lead

to stress, declines in mental and physical health and, ultimately, suicide. The need to belong is a fundamental human motivation and often has a very powerful influence on behavior (Durkheim, 1951; Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Understanding sense of belonging is important in understanding the fraternity experience. Feelings of belonging have implication for a wide variety of behaviors and cognitions for individuals that are part of groups, including the preferential treatment of in-group vs. out-group members, increased altruism and increased cooperation within a group (Turner, 1987).

Although there is scant literature regarding belonging as part of college fraternities, much has been written about the connection between a psychological sense of belonging and persistence and attainment within higher education. Within the context of higher education, Hurtado and Carter (2007) defined belonging as the psychological sense of identification and affiliation with the campus community. Sense of belonging is described as conceptually distinct from behavioral indicators such as participation or integration into the academic and social environment of a university (Hausmann, Ye, Schofield, & Woods, 2009) in that it is the psychological manifestation of that participation and integration. Hausmann and her colleagues (2009) found psychological belonging had strong direct effects on institutional commitment and indirect effects on intention to persist and actual persistence.

Accountability – “My brothers make me a better person...” The final unique theme that emerged was that of a brotherhood based on accountability to group standards and expectations. Fraternity members discussed this schema within the context of the values, standards and expectations of the group. Brotherhood, to them, goes beyond friendship or belonging and represents a mutual commitment to make one another better through systems of accountability. As one participant noted,

Brotherhood is about our obligations to one another. When you become a member of our fra-

ternity, you commit yourself to our ideals. If you don't live up to those ideals, it is our responsibility to one another to hold you to them.

In discussing this idea, students frequently used words like "duty," "obligation," and "responsibility" to discuss their feelings toward their brothers. Brotherhood, for them, was a duty to instill group values in members through mechanisms of individual accountability. An example of this idea is found in this comment:

Our chapter has a standards board. Members who have issues or do things against our bylaws are called in front of the standards board. Our goal is not to punish, but to help everyone live up to the expectations of our brotherhood.

The accountability discussed by members is not a hierarchical accountability of power and control, with directives coming from individuals in places of authority. Rather, it resembles that system of accountability described by Gelfand, Lim and Raver (2004) as a "Collectivistic, loose, and egalitarian culture" (p. 154). This culture of accountability includes individuals being accountable to their groups, and their accountability to the organization is mediated through these smaller subgroups. Comparatively, connections of accountability are expected to be weaker than in hierarchical groups due to the fact that there are fewer standards that are less clear. Many of the standards are largely implicit and informally communicated through group norms and symbols within the organization. Finally, there exists mutual accountability between individuals and leaders of the group, with group leaders being held to the same standards as rank and file members, leading to less rigidity and more negotiation of standards and expectations (Gelfand et al., 2004).

The study of accountability within groups dates back to the ancient Greek philosophers. Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle discussed accountability within the context of social control, punishment, and justice (Schlenker, Britt, Pennington, Murphy & Doherty, 1994). It has been said that much of the energy of groups, both formal and

informal, is consumed by devices of control in efforts to reduce variations in group behavior and produce stable patterns of activity (Katz & Kahn, 1966). Gelfand et al. (2004) established a definition of accountability – "the perceptions of being answerable for actions or decisions, in accordance with interpersonal, social and structural contingencies, all of which are embedded in particular sociocultural contexts"(p.137) – that seems to perfectly capture the notions of the brotherhood based on accountability discussed by the fraternity members in our focus group.

In summary, our hypothesized schema can be summarized as brotherhood based on solidarity, shared social experiences, belonging, and accountability. In the section that follows, we describe our efforts in creating and validating a quantitative measure of these four schema.

Part 2

If the four hypothesized dimensions of brotherhood reflect distinct schema, it should be possible to develop independent measures of these schema. Nunnally (1978) notes, "factor analysis is intimately involved with questions of validity...[and] is at the heart of the measurement of psychological constructs" (p. 112-113). We begin with the exploration of theory, and utilize exploratory factor analysis to generate theory (Henson & Roberts, 2006). Because the present research seeks to coalesce theory into new application, EFA becomes appropriate in situations where strong a priori theory or modeling is absent (Daniel, 1989). We find that procedure employed in Studies 1 and 2a. Study 2b was built upon the premise of testing the initial empirical model resulting from Study 1 (and refined in 2a) by performing a confirmatory (2b) factor analysis which presupposes a given model framework exists.

Study 1: Development of Hypothesized Brotherhood Measure

Subjects and data collection procedures.

Data were collected in the fall of 2012 from students above the age of 18 from four-year colleges and universities. The study involved convenience sampling, as colleagues of the researchers volunteered to distribute the instrument to their students. Approximately 9,000 electronic questionnaires were distributed via email to students; of these 301 (3.3%) were completed. Students responded anonymously, but were given the option to submit their email address on a secondary website in order to win a gift-card prize. 25 participants (8.3%) were freshman, 75 sophomore (24.9%), 96 junior (31.9%), 87 senior (28.9%), and 18 alumni (6.0%) classification. 213 participants (70.8%) were from public institutions and 136 (29.2%) were from private institutions. 259 participants (86.0%) were white and 79 (14.0%) were non-white or of mixed descent. Regionally, 107 participants (36.5%) were from colleges or universities in the Northeastern United States, compared to 190 participants (63.1%) from the Southeastern United States. The remaining participants were from elsewhere in the United States.

Online questionnaires were distributed by the researcher to campus fraternity advisors that agreed to participate in the research study. In all, 19 different campuses, representing all geographical regions of the United States, distributed the survey to their fraternity population. Accompanying each questionnaire was an informed consent letter explaining the purpose of the study. Duplication of internet protocol (IP) addresses was prevented as a measure to combat concerns over the same student participating multiple times. Participation in the study was entirely voluntary.

Measures. A pool of 40 items was generated for purposes of scale construction. The researchers, given information gleaned from the emergent qualitative focus group process and consistent with theory, wrote all items. Each item was worded to correspond with one of the conceptualizations of brotherhood described heretofore, and included statements taken di-

rectly from the focus group transcriptions. The order of the items on the questionnaire was random. Responses to all 40 items were made on five-point scales ('strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'). No items were negatively worded and reverse-scored.

Results. A principal axis factor analysis (PAF) was conducted on the 40 items with oblique rotation (promax, $\kappa = 4$). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure (KMO = .91) verified the sampling adequacy, which is well above the acceptable limit of .50. Bartlett's test of sphericity, $\chi^2 (190) = 3,076, p < .001$, indicated that correlations between items were sufficiently large for PAF. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. Three factors had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 56.2% of the variance. The scree plot showed inflections that would justify retaining four factors (thereby explaining 63.4 % of the variance). Partially, solidarity accounted for 7.2% (EV = .935) of the total variance, shared social experiences for 37.2% (EV = 7.03), belonging for 8.7% (EV = 1.27), and accountability for 10.3% (EV = 1.70). A parallel analysis and minimum average partial test also resulted in four factor solutions. Henson and Roberts (2006) offer, "Because the factor retention directly affects the EFA results obtained, researchers are advised to use multiple criteria and reasoned reflection" (p. 399). Given the sample size, the convergence on the scree plot, parallel analysis and minimum average partial, four factors were retained in the final analysis.

Table 1a displays the item descriptions, means and standard deviations. Table 1b shows the factor loadings, p (i.e. pattern matrix), item-factor correlations, r_s (i.e. structure matrix), and communalities (h^2) after rotation. Items that did not load to any factor were excluded. Items that cross-loaded to multiple factors were also excluded. The remaining 20 items that cluster on the same components suggest that factor 1 represents solidarity, factor 2 the shared social experience, factor 3 belonging, and factor 4 ac-

countability. Brotherhood based on solidarity ($\alpha = .71$), shared social experiences ($\alpha = .93$), belonging ($\alpha = .83$), and accountability ($\alpha = .84$) all had high reliabilities. It is important to note that an oblique rotation strategy (e.g. promax) was used for two reasons: First, our hypothesis was that the schema of brotherhood are generally correlated; and, second, oblique structures usually fit sample data better because they estimate more parameters (Henson and Roberts, 2006). We find support for this logic when exploring Table 2, the correlation matrix, means, and standard deviations at the factor level.

The four resulting schema are independent

yet significantly inter-related. No factor exceeds correlations that would suggest potential issues of multi-collinearity. This provides evidence for the discriminant validity of the resulting four schema. Taken together, the results of the present study suggest that each of the brotherhood dimensions identified as 'schemas of brotherhood' can be reliably measured empirically. The significant positive relationship between each of the subscales supports a connection between the literature conceptualization and the ability to quantitatively measure those attitudes and beliefs.

Table 1

Item descriptions, means and standard deviations of hypothesized brotherhood scale

Item description	Mean	SD
1. I would never 'sell out' a brother who did something wrong.	3.62	1.10
2. It is my responsibility to always keep a brother's secret.	4.26	.882
3. My fraternity recruits by showing men that we are brothers for life, no matter what.	4.10	.913
4. Once a brother, always a brother.	4.29	.972
5. The top priority of my fraternity's pledge program is to build a unified, bonded pledge class.	4.33	.911
6. I tend to mostly hang out with my fraternity brothers.	4.14	.867
7. I tend to mostly do things with my fraternity brothers.	4.08	.935
8. My fraternity brothers and I do almost everything together	3.97	.999
9. My fraternity brothers are the people I prefer to spend most of my time with.	4.19	.845
10. The first people I ask to do things with me are my fraternity brothers.	4.22	.871
11. I take comfort in knowing that my fraternity brothers appreciate me for who I am.	4.41	.723
12. I take comfort in knowing that my fraternity brothers allow me to be myself.	4.46	.709
13. My brothers accept me despite my flaws.	4.40	.726
14. My fraternity is a tight-knit group of men.	4.18	.822
15. I expect my fraternity to confront me if I violate our shared expectations.	4.32	.730
16. It bothers me when my fraternity brothers fail to uphold our high standards.	4.33	.758
17. It bothers me when I fail to uphold our high standards.	4.27	.789
18. Brotherhood is best demonstrated when members are held to the chapter's standards	4.11	.899
19. It is important that all brothers demonstrate their commitment to the chapter's standards.	4.46	.618
20. I believe all members should be instructed on the fraternity's expectations.	4.62	.567

Table 1b*Rotated factor pattern and structure matrices among the items of hypothesized brotherhood scale.*

Item	h^2	Factor 1: <i>Solidarity</i>		Factor 2: <i>Shared Social Experiences</i>		Factor 3: <i>Belonging</i>		Factor 4: <i>Accountability</i>	
		p	r_s	p	r_s	p	r_s	p	r_s
Item 1	.406	<u>69</u>	<u>62</u>						
Item 2	.535	<u>75</u>	<u>73</u>		37				34
Item 3	.415	<u>49</u>	<u>62</u>		41		45		34
Item 4	.258	<u>44</u>	<u>49</u>				32		
Item 5	.258	<u>38</u>	<u>46</u>				40		
Item 6	.775		42	<u>92</u>	<u>88</u>		36		40
Item 7	.767		46	<u>86</u>	<u>88</u>		42		45
Item 8	.690		41	<u>83</u>	<u>83</u>		42		40
Item 9	.739		45	<u>79</u>	<u>85</u>		52		46
Item 10	.707		52	<u>77</u>	<u>83</u>		44		42
Item 11	.686		33		38	<u>85</u>	<u>82</u>		46
Item 12	.670		34		38	<u>86</u>	<u>82</u>		39
Item 13	.618		41		41	<u>75</u>	<u>79</u>		45
Item 14	.369		39		36	<u>53</u>	<u>59</u>		
Item 15	.520		38		35		55	<u>56</u>	<u>69</u>
Item 16	.400				38			<u>64</u>	<u>60</u>
Item 17	.609		33		43		47	<u>73</u>	<u>78</u>
Item 18	.469						35	<u>72</u>	<u>68</u>
Item 19	.580		35		39		36	<u>77</u>	<u>76</u>
Item 20	.466						39	<u>68</u>	<u>68</u>

Note: Factor loading underlined and italicized by factor; Decimals omitted; loadings < 32 suppressed; Communality coefficient is denoted by h^2 ; Pattern matrix coefficient is denoted by p ; Structure matrix coefficient is denoted by r_s

Table 2*Factor means, standard deviations, inter-correlations, and internal consistency reliability Estimates*

Schema	Mean	SD	F1	F2	F3	F4
F1. Solidarity	4.12	.653	(.71)			
F2. SSE	4.10	.798	.517	(.93)		
F3. Belonging	4.36	.609	.481	.478	(.83)	
F4. Accountability	4.35	.548	.428	.482	.540	(.84)

Note: All correlations significant at $p < 0.001$; Cronbach alpha coefficient reported on the diagonal. Overall $\alpha = .90$

Study 1: Development of Hypothesized Brotherhood Measure

Subjects and data collection procedures.

Study 2: Exploratory and Confirmatory Factor Analyses of Brotherhood

The purpose of Study 2 was to test the results from Study 1 on a more diverse and nationalized purposive sample of fraternity members. Study 2 was split into two sub-studies. Given the identified 20 items, conservative measurement theory suggests that a ratio of respondents to items be at or above 10:1 (i.e. 200 participants) for each study.

Method. Subjects and data collection procedures. Following the same procedure used in Study 1, data were collected in the spring of 2013 from fraternity members who were at least 18 years of age and enrolled at American four-year colleges and universities. In addition to professional contacts of the researchers who likewise agreed to participate in the study and distribute the online questionnaire to their fraternity members, opportunities to participate in the study were also presented to participants of two fraternity regional leadership conferences in the southeastern United States. The eastern half of the United States is represented within the sample, in addition to Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas and Oklahoma.

As before, duplication of internet protocol (IP) addresses was prevented as a measure to combat concerns over the same student participating multiple times. In total, 14,857 questionnaires were distributed and 647 (4.4%) were completed. Because the goal of this study was to perform both exploratory (Study 2a) and confirmatory (Study 2b) factor analyses, the resulting sample was split at random. For CFA, the model was confirmed with minimum fit indices (≥ 0.90) using the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI). Global fit was also estimated using Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). External validity was addressed by gathering a moderately sized sample

purposively by targeting participation efforts to achieve diversity based on university type (public vs. private), student classification level, and geographic area.

Measures. The 20-items representing the four hypothesized schema of brotherhood (i.e. solidarity, shared social experiences, belonging, and accountability) from Study 1 were included in the questionnaire. Because the belonging factor had fewer items, two additional items were developed and included to improve reliability. As before, the order of the items on the questionnaire was randomized.

Study 2a: Exploratory factor analysis.

Demographics. This half of the sample ($n = 319$) was composed of 60 freshmen participants (18.8%), 84 sophomore (26.3%), 88 junior (27.6%), 81 senior (25.4%), and 6 alumni (1.9%) classification. 235 participants (73.7%) were from public institutions and 84 (26.3%) were from private institutions. 278 participants (87.1%) were white, 21 (6.6%) were non-white, and 20 (6.3%) were of mixed or multiple descent.

Results. To replicate Study 1, a principal axis factor analysis (PAF) exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the 21 item Fraternal Brotherhood Questionnaire (FBQ) with oblique rotation (promax, $\kappa = 4$). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure ($KMO = .92$) verified the sampling adequacy, which is well above the acceptable limit of .50. Bartlett's test of sphericity, $\chi^2(231) = 4,415, p < .001$, indicated that correlations between items were sufficiently large for PAF. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. Four factors had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 67.7% of the variance.

Partially, solidarity accounted for 7.6% ($EV = 1.20$) of the total variance, shared social experiences for 14.6% ($EV = 2.81$), belonging for 36.1% ($EV = 7.63$), and accountability for 9.3% ($EV = 1.72$). The scree plot showed inflections that would justify retaining four factors. A parallel analysis and minimum average partial cor-

relation also resulted in four factor solutions. Given the sample size, the convergence on the scree plot, parallel analysis, and minimum average partial, four factors were retained in the final analysis. Table 3a displays the item descriptions, means and standard deviations. Table 3b shows the factor loadings, p (i.e. pattern matrix), item-factor correlations, r_s (i.e. structure matrix), and communalities (h^2) after rotation.

We again find support for the hypothesized four-factor model by observing similar pattern and structure alignment within these data. Brotherhood based on solidarity ($\alpha = .75$), shared so-

cial experiences ($\alpha = .94$), belonging ($\alpha = .93$), and accountability ($\alpha = .87$) all had high reliabilities. Table 4 shows the correlation matrix, means, and standard deviations at the factor level.

The addition of two items to the belonging measure significantly improved the reliability of the scale and the overall variance explained by the four-factor model. Study 2 provides further construct validity support to Study 1, and demonstrates that a parsimonious 22-item version of the FBQ that significantly captures the constructs related to brotherhood.

Table 3

Item descriptions, means and standard deviations of hypothesized brotherhood scale.

Item description	Mean	SD
1. I would never 'sell out' a brother who did something wrong.	3.53	1.18
2. It is my responsibility to always keep a brother's secret.	4.16	.961
3. My fraternity recruits by showing men that we are brothers for life, no matter what.	4.18	.957
4. Once a brother, always a brother.	4.19	1.05
5. The top priority of my fraternity's pledge program is to build a unified, bonded pledge class.	4.14	1.17
6. I tend to mostly hang out with my fraternity brothers.	4.13	.948
7. I tend to mostly do things with my fraternity brothers.	4.11	.963
8. My fraternity brothers and I do almost everything together.	3.84	1.10
9. My fraternity brothers are the people I prefer to spend most of my time with.	4.17	.924
10. The first people I ask to do things with me are my fraternity brothers.	4.22	.962
11. I take comfort in knowing that my fraternity brothers appreciate me for who I am.	4.37	.855
12. I take comfort in knowing that my fraternity brothers allow me to be myself.	4.42	.827
13. My brothers accept me despite my flaws.	4.39	.838
14. My fraternity is a tight-knit group of men.	4.20	.959
15. My fraternity brothers include me in the things they are doing.	4.30	.806
16. My fraternity brothers make me feel as if I belong.	4.39	.824
17. I expect my fraternity to confront me if I violate our shared expectations.	4.52	.713
18. It bothers me when my fraternity brothers fail to uphold our high standards.	4.47	.743
19. It bothers me when I fail to uphold our high standards.	4.47	.788
20. Brotherhood is best demonstrated when members are held to the chapter's standards	4.29	.880
21. It is important that all brothers demonstrate their commitment to the chapter's standards.	4.55	.652
22. I believe all members should be instructed on the fraternity's expectations.	4.69	.598

Table 3b*Rotated factor pattern and structure matrices among the items of hypothesized brotherhood scale.*

Item	h^2	Factor 1: <i>Solidarity</i>		Factor 2: <i>Shared Social Experiences</i>		Factor 3: <i>Belonging</i>		Factor 4: <i>Accountability</i>	
		p	r_s	p	r_s	p	r_s	p	r_s
Item 1	.475	<u>76</u>	<u>67</u>						
Item 2	.497	<u>72</u>	<u>70</u>						
Item 3	.461	<u>51</u>	<u>64</u>		40		49		
Item 4	.396	<u>60</u>	<u>63</u>				37		
Item 5	.258	<u>39</u>	<u>48</u>				37		
Item 6	.783			<u>91</u>	<u>88</u>		46		
Item 7	.796		40	<u>88</u>	<u>89</u>		49		
Item 8	.749		40	<u>82</u>	<u>86</u>		51		
Item 9	.737		33	<u>86</u>	<u>86</u>		48		
Item 10	.726		35	<u>85</u>	<u>86</u>		47		
Item 11	.769		41		44	<u>92</u>	<u>88</u>		
Item 12	.700		38		42	<u>86</u>	<u>83</u>		34
Item 13	.767		44		44	<u>90</u>	<u>87</u>		32
Item 14	.527		46		47	<u>62</u>	<u>71</u>		
Item 15	.682		45		52	<u>77</u>	<u>82</u>		
Item 16	.748		43		51	<u>83</u>	<u>86</u>		32
Item 17	.593						32	<u>74</u>	<u>77</u>
Item 18	.608							<u>81</u>	<u>76</u>
Item 19	.617							<u>77</u>	<u>78</u>
Item 20	.419							<u>62</u>	<u>64</u>
Item 21	.622							<u>78</u>	<u>79</u>
Item 22	.425							<u>62</u>	<u>64</u>

Note: Factor loading underlined and italicized by factor; Decimals omitted; loadings < .32 suppressed; Communality coefficient is denoted by h^2 ; Pattern matrix coefficient is denoted by p ; Structure matrix coefficient is denoted by r_s

Table 4*Factor means, standard deviations, inter-correlations, and internal consistency reliability estimates*

Schema	Mean	SD	F1	F2	F3	F4
F1. Solidarity	4.04	.756	(.75)			
F2. Shared Social	4.15	.883	.548	(.94)		
F3. Belonging	4.38	.782	.338	.195	(.93)	
F4. Accountability	4.61	.570	.512	.403	.221	(.87)

Note: All correlations significant at $p < 0.001$; Cronbach alpha coefficient reported on the diagonal. Overall $\alpha = .91$

Study 2b: Confirmatory factor analysis of brotherhood.

Demographics. This half of the sample ($n = 328$) was composed of 62 freshmen participants (18.9%), 88 sophomore (26.8%), 106 junior (32.3%), 87 senior (20.7%), and 4 alumni (1.2%) classification. 275 participants (83.3%) were from public institutions and 75 (22.9%) were from private institutions. 253 participants (77.1%) were white and 29 (8.8%) were non-white, and 24 (7.3%) were of mixed or multiple descent.

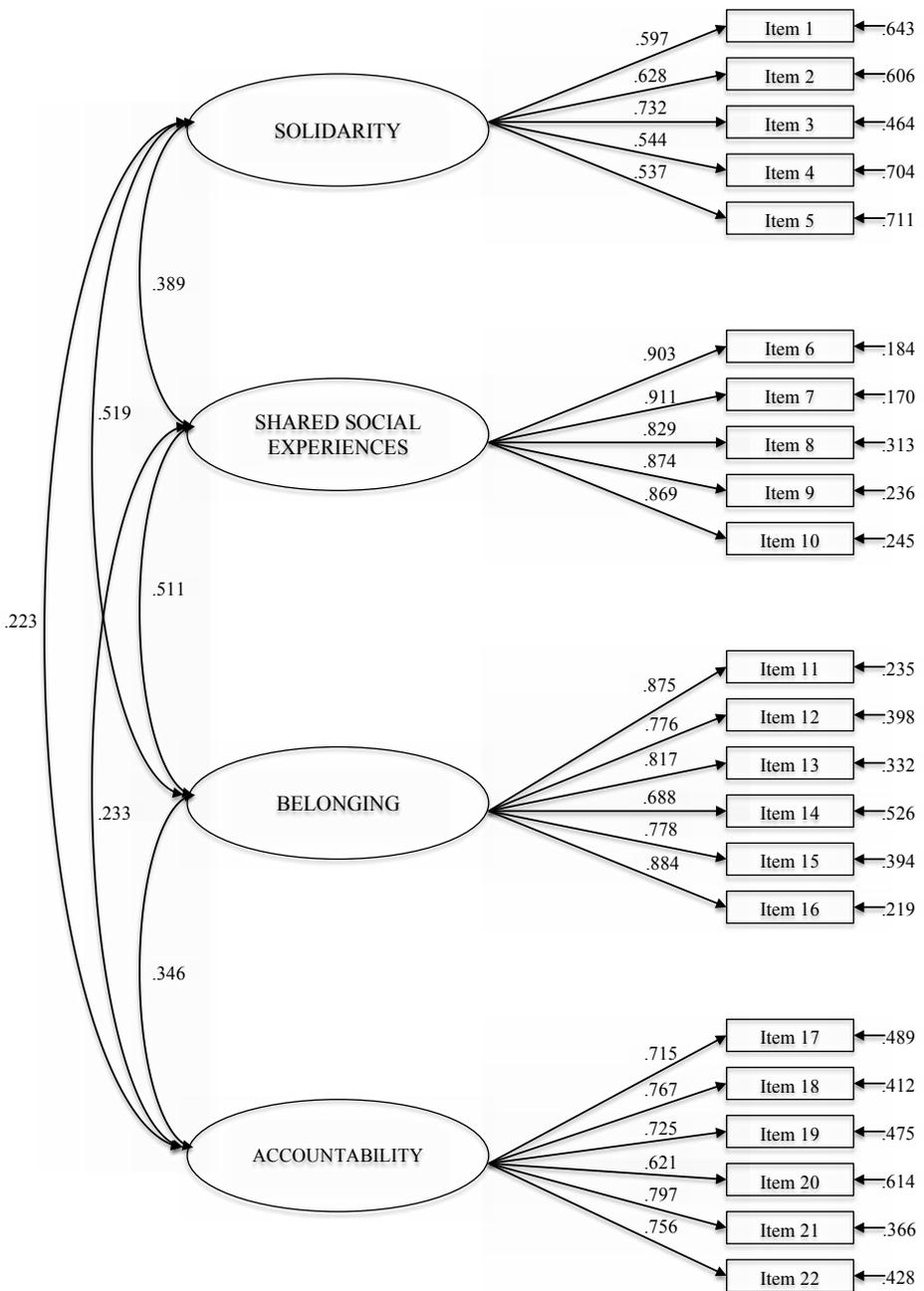
Results. The four latent schema of brotherhood (solidarity, shared social experiences, belonging, and accountability) and their observed items were analyzed in *MPlus* (version 7). The hypothesized factor loadings were allowed to vary freely and all constructs were allowed to intercorrelate. Robust maximum likelihood estimation (MLMV) was used to estimate the measurement model. To assess fit, the Satorra-Bentler χ^2 , Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), comparative fit index (CFI), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), weighted root mean square residual (WRMR), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) were examined. Hu and Bentler (1999) suggest that comparative fit indices (e.g. CFI and TLI) should be greater than 0.95, although 0.90 has been considered acceptable. RMSEA values should generally be less than 0.05 (Schumacker & Lomax, 2004), although values of 0.05 to 0.08 may also be considered ac-

ceptable (Kline, 2005). Yu and Muthén (2002) also report WRMR values should generally be less than 1.0. The four-factor model fit the data adequately, $\chi^2(203) = 358.3, p < .001$; SRMR = .066; WRMR = 1.43, RMSEA = .048 [90CI: .040 - .056]; CFI = .93; TLI = .92).

With parsimony in mind, no modifications were made to the model. The resulting factor loadings from the CFA values in Figure 1 reflect accurate construct formation. The model fit results were further tested against an underlying 1-factor structure (i.e. Brotherhood is simply one large construct without underlying schema or dimensions). The four-factor model proved to be a significantly greater fit to the data (Δ SRMR = .10, Δ WRMR = 1.40, Δ CFI = .44, Δ TLI = .49, Δ RMSEA = .081 [Δ 90CI: .082 - .080]). As such, we retain the four-factor model. Figure 1 displays the measurement model with standardized loadings. All correlations were in the expected direction given theory and prior EFA results, and were above 0.22 ($ps < .001$). The strongest schema relationships were between belonging and solidarity ($r = .519$), and belonging and shared social experiences ($r = .511$). Given some non-normality in the responses (negative skew), it stands to reason that the error adjustment (WRMR) would exceed the Yu and Muthén suggestion. Because of the strong affective arousal elicited by the nature of brotherhood (all items are generally viewed positively), this non-normality is expected.

Figure 1

Structural Model of Brotherhood. All values significant $p < .001$



External Validity of FBQ

As Studies 1, 2a and 2b demonstrated, the Fraternal Brotherhood Questionnaire meets nearly all established criteria related to internal instrument reliability. In order to establish its utility as a measure of the fraternal experience, external validation is also required. As part of Study 2, participants were also asked to complete a variety of other instruments for the purpose of establishing convergent validity.

The schema of solidarity should correlate with one's tolerance of hazing. Group unity has been identified as a primary intended outcome of hazing activities (Allan & Madden, 2008; Cimino, 2011). A hazing-tolerance measure was adapted from the work of Ellsworth (2006), in which students were asked to indicate the maximum level of hazing they found acceptable as part of their chapter's new member experience, beginning with mild forms of hazing and ending in severe hazing. Of the four schema measured, only solidarity was significantly correlated with the hazing tolerance measure ($r = .208, p < .001$).

The schema of shared social experiences should be related to an individual's consumption of alcohol. As this schema was built around the notion of the fraternity as a social outlet, and since binge drinking rates are significantly higher among fraternity members compared to non-affiliated students (Wechsler & Nelson, 2008), fraternity members who view the fraternity as a social outlet should report higher occurrences of binge drinking than those who do not. The researchers asked participants to indicate the number of nights per week that they consumed five or more drinks in one sitting. Shared social experience was significantly correlated with binge drinking ($r = .244, p < .001$). This was the strongest relationship to binge drinking among the four schema.

The schema of belonging ($r = .663, p < .001$) was the most correlated with "perceived organizational support," a construct that has been shown previously to measure the degree to which a member feels the organization cares about their

well-being, supports, and values their contributions (Eisenberger et al., 1986). Furthermore, belonging ($r = .567, p < .001$) was also the most correlated with "organizational identification", a construct that has been demonstrated to measure belonging (Umphress & Bingham, 2011), and can be thought of as the psychosocial attachment between an individual and an organization (Edwards et al., 2006).

A fraternity or "brotherhood" should have attachment-related aspects to it, and significant correlations were additionally observed with the other three schema; the correlations with shared social experiences ($r = .432, p < .001$), solidarity ($r = .406, p < .001$), and accountability ($r = .373, p < .001$) serve to support that belief. Individuals become attached to the organization because their idealized beliefs about brotherhood are both salient and fluid in terms of individual priority.

Brotherhood based on accountability reflects one's belief that individuals should be held responsible for their actions, particularly when those actions run counter to the standards and expectations of the group. Two instruments were used in this study to validate the schema of accountability. The Moral Disengagement (MD) Scale is a 32-item instrument developed by Bandura and his colleagues and measures the degree to which individuals fail to self-censure their actions and allow themselves to engage in transgressive behavior (Bandura et al., 1996). It stands to reason that individuals who focus on accountability are less likely to disengage from their moral self in order to support unethical behavior. Indeed, brotherhood based on accountability had a strong negative relationship with moral disengagement ($r = -.353, p < .001$). This was the strongest relationship between MD and any of the four schema. The Unethical Pro-organizational Behavior scale is a 5-item instrument developed by Umphress et al. (2010) to measure behavior that is by definition unethical in nature, and is performed with the intent to benefit the organization in some manner. Ac-

countability also had a strong negative relationship with UPB ($r = -.207, p < .001$). This was the strongest relationship between UPB and any of the brotherhood schema.

Limitations

Results of any study should be considered in the context of its limitations. In all of the studies, random selection of participants and assignment to conditions was not possible given the institutional collaboration needed to implement this study. Purposive sampling based on institutional location, type (i.e. public vs. private), and size was considered when soliciting partnerships with institutional communities.

Exploratory factor analysis requests a degree of thoughtful researcher judgment (Henson & Roberts, 2006). Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) stated, "One of the problems with [factor analysis] is that there is no criterion variable against which to test the solution" (p. 636). Interpretation is left to the researcher and should be evaluated in parallel with the rigor of the method performed. The self-reported nature of the instrument also presents potential concerns related to validity.

This study relied on a national sample of students that was disproportionately white, so caution must be given when generalizing to all students. Because white students were oversampled, the study provides a closer look at the white fraternity member's conceptualization of brotherhood. Future research should specifically target culturally-based fraternities to determine if differences exist based on race.

Discussion and Implications for Research and Practice

This study has demonstrated that the construct of brotherhood within the college fraternity has unique schema that can be quantitatively measured, and that those schema are related to a variety of outcomes associated with the college fraternity experience. This research should be of tremendous practical value to both research-

ers studying the impacts of fraternity membership on college students, as well as student affairs practitioners who work with college fraternity populations.

A number of observations can be made from these findings. First, a number of negative outcomes appear to be associated with brotherhood based on solidarity and shared social experiences. As noted by Emirbayer (1995), solidarity within groups fosters strong emotions around so-called "sacred objects" associated with the group. In the focus groups in this study, solidarity was often discussed in conjunction with the emphasis on unity as part of fraternity new member programs. Combined with the finding that solidarity is most strongly correlated with hazing tolerance, it appears likely that hazing rituals may be among those "sacred objects" providing the glue that holds groups together. This would suggest that hazing may be more difficult to eradicate in groups measuring high on solidarity, as that hazing may be viewed as a key component of the chapter's identity.

Brotherhood based on shared social experiences also appears to have problematic influences. In addition to being strongly linked with alcohol use, it also had strong, positive correlations with moral disengagement, a construct closely linked with moral development (McCreary, 2012; Carroll, 2009). This confirms the findings of Derryberry and Thoma (2000), who suggested that the social networks inherent in the fraternal experience were a driving factor in reduced levels of moral judgment. Based on this, it is likely that groups who measure high in shared social experiences would be more likely to make decisions as a group based on conventional moral schema, particularly those centered around maintaining norms in order to achieve social status on campus.

Brotherhood based on belonging was strongly related to organizational identification (Umpress & Bingham, 2011). Similar constructs have been shown to drive retention and persistence within higher education (Hausmann et al.,

2009). As such, it appears likely that this schema is related to organizational retention, although additional research is necessary to be certain. If this hypothesis held true, it would be of significant benefit to practitioners interested in bolstering student and/or organizational retention.

As noted by Gelfand et al. (2004), accountability involves being answerable for actions and decisions within certain cultural contexts. The strong negative relationship between brotherhood based on accountability and unethical, pro-organizational behavior (Umphress et al., 2010) suggests that, at least within the context of a fraternity, a sense of being held responsible for your actions and decisions within the organization is a very powerful driver of behavior. This is of incredible significance to practitioners seeking to align organizational behavior with espoused values – by fostering increased levels of accountability within an organization, one may be able to reduce the unethical behavior stemming from that organization.

The present study provides a valuable framework for practitioners seeking to better align the fraternity experience with the respective goals and missions of the institutions at which they exist. Knowing that ideas about brotherhood are related to alcohol consumption, hazing tolerance, moral disengagement, and organizational identity and attachment, it seems logical that brotherhood may be a valuable tool with which to alter and improve the fraternal experience. It is our experience that fraternity members are hesitant to engage in open dialogue about difficult topics, such as hazing, but are eager to engage in dialogue about brotherhood. Using brotherhood as a developmental outcome may serve as a useful way to engage students in conversations regarding other, more difficult topics.

In exploring the four schema of brotherhood, we suspect that these ideas may not limit themselves to the college fraternity experience, but may in fact represent a larger organizational dynamic in highly salient groups. It is reasonable to think of a college football team, a religious group,

or a living/learning community fostering varying levels of solidarity, social experiences, belonging and accountability. We suggest an adaptation of the FBQ into an instrument that might measure these ideas in other salient groups so that comparisons can be made and we might better understand how these group dynamics affect the outcomes associated with group membership and whether differences exist between fraternity members and members of other salient groups on the fit of the hypothesized model or in the mean distribution of the four schema.

The students surveyed in this research were predominately white. Previous research (Kimbrough, 1997) has indicated that student in Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO's) are more likely to view the membership intake process as a rite of passage and an opportunity for potential members to demonstrate both loyalty to the organization and unity with other members of the organization, ideas that are closely aligned with our schema of solidarity. In our research, solidarity accounted for the smallest amount of variance in the overall brotherhood model. We suspect that, among BGLO's, solidarity may play a larger role in explaining members' conceptualizations of brotherhood, and future research should investigate whether the overall model of brotherhood proposed in this study varies based on race. This study might be replicated in culturally-centered fraternal organizations to gauge if the focus of the chapter might be influential in how students build and conceptualize brotherhood. In the same vein, this research was conducted exclusively with men's organizations. We have no doubts that many of the ideas behind schema of brotherhood measured by the FBQ are also present in the ideas of sisterhood held by sorority members. Future research should extend the study of brotherhood into a study of sisterhood within collegiate sororities.

This research has demonstrated that the FBQ should prove useful in studying a variety of areas within the fraternal experience. Our review of the literature would suggest studying brother-

erhood within the context of fraternity hazing, substance abuse, retention and persistence, unethical behavior, attachment and belonging, organizational satisfaction, moral development, and identity development. In particular, research suggests that organizations with high levels of accountability are more likely to produce ethical behavior (Beu & Buckley, 2001). While additional research is necessary, the present study suggests that moving fraternity members from a focus on the solidarity and social aspects of brotherhood towards a focus on the belonging and accountability aspects of brotherhood should result in a number of pro-social gains in the overall fraternity experience. Future research should determine how those advances in brotherhood

are best achieved.

This instrument also opens the doors to study the effect of interventions aimed at promoting healthier ideas of brotherhood, once we understand what healthy brotherhood is. Better understanding this basic tenant of the fraternity experience should provide researchers and practitioners with useful information that will allow for more depth in understanding the outcomes associated with membership in highly salient groups. It is likely that programs and interventions focused on the advancement of brotherhood will provide an alternative point of entry for student affairs practitioners looking to align the activities of modern-day college fraternities with their historical roots and espoused values.

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OPERATIONALIZING ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE THEORY: IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE IN THE FRATERNITY/SORORITY MOVEMENT

TIM REUTER AND STEVE BACKER

The literature exploring organizational change theory, while rich in conceptual frameworks, is limited on longitudinal studies of fraternity and sorority organizations, and/or the higher education environments in which they exist, undergoing long-term change initiatives. Based on a review of the literature on organizational change theory, this article has outlined a specific model of change related to the relational culture of fraternities and sororities. As this article explicates the operationalization of change theory through a model specific to the fraternity/sorority context, aspects of the literature related to this unique population and industry are as follows: defining change in an organizational context, inertia, role of environment, performance aspects and criteria, readiness, barriers and resistance to change, organizational learning and unlearning, consequences of change, and models for planning and implementing change.

Introduction

Operationalizing organizational change theory is an immense undertaking, especially when considering the number of factors and steps involved in an organizational change effort. Extensive literature exists which explains conceptual frameworks for organizational change. However, there is limited research focusing upon member-based organizations undergoing long-term change initiatives within the fraternity/sorority movement. Further, the fraternity/sorority movement is comprised of many stakeholders with disparate notions of fraternity/sorority's purpose and overall utility; this produces complications when operationalizing change and measuring it in such a way that appeals to both the quantitative and qualitative bias (Reuter, 2013). To address these complications, this paper presents a review of literature on organizational change theory and subsequent model through which practitioners can implement and scholars can assess change in the fraternity/sorority context at the inter/national office and campus levels.

This paper focuses on specific aspects of organizational change theory: defining change in an organizational context, inertia, the role of environment, performance aspects and criteria,

readiness, barriers and resistance to change, organizational learning and unlearning, consequences of change, and models for planning and implementing change. In each of these areas, it is important to understand the context in which change occurs.

Organizational change is the product of intrinsic and/or extrinsic motivations (Armenakis, Harris, & Mossholder, 1993; Buckho, 1994; Hannan & Freeman, 1984; Miller & Chen, 1995) to alter the organization's trajectory (Cooper-rider & Whitney, 2005; Eisenback, Watson, & Rajnandini, 1999). While the notion that dissatisfaction with the organization's trajectory is a necessary and/or common motivator for change (Eisenback, et al., 1999; Greve, 1998), the impact of momentum, growth, and velocity should not be overlooked as important organizational dynamics that also motivate change.

Two types of change found in the literature provide context for this paper: incremental change and transformational change. Incremental change is a less risky, smaller scale type of change referred to as first order change; transformational change is radical in nature, associated with higher risk, intended to result in deep, lasting change, and involves changes in values, structure and organizational learning (Boyce, 2003;

Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). The process of enacting transformational change necessitates an exploration of both the nature of change (planning for change) and process of change (implementing change). The various aspects of change identified earlier lay the foundation from which the nature and process of change are explained.

The theories included in this literature review are utilized to develop a model of change that operationalizes how change occurs. However, fraternities and sororities are unique organizations because of the central emphasis on relationships and the relatively dispersed and multi-layered nature of decision-making and program development (Reuter, 2013). It is significant to note that this model of change emphasizes that authentic transformation is essentially a function of individual members and stakeholders who must be central to any explication of how change is planned or understood. The contemporary culture of fraternities and sororities is a function of several core groups, including undergraduate members, alumni/ae, and significant campus administrators who may operate to maintain an environment which blocks change. Therefore, the importance of unlearning ritualized traditions is a critical anticipatory component to precipitating any sort of meaningful and lasting change.

Literature Review

Defining Organizational Change

Cooperrider and Whitney (2005) define change utilizing a positivist frame and believe that the change process involves multiple stakeholders engaging in an appreciative inquiry dialogue that bridges the gap between stakeholder knowledge and an organization's change initiative. This definition supports the notion that change is multifaceted (Boyce, 2003; March, 1981; Pettigrew, 1990; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) and is strengthened by specifically noting the examination of an organization's relationship with its environment as a primary component of the organizational change process (Mintzberg &

Westley, 1992; Pettigrew, 1990; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Simsek & Louis, 2000). During the process of changing an organization, unlearning and learning occur sequentially and repetitively through exploring and understanding the organization's assumptions and values at all levels. This produces new assumptions, competencies, shifts in organizational paradigms, adaption to environmental norms and expectations which serves to envision and produce the desired state and integration during the process of creating successful organizational change (Boyce, 2003; Pettigrew, Woodman, & Cameron, 2001; Schein, 2004; Weick & Quinn, 1999).

When defining change, a definition of the process of change, the "how", becomes equally important in setting the stage for models defined both within the literature review and in our proposed model. Modeling the process of change provides opportunities to test theories and variables over time through clarifying the sequence of events, gathering data, facilitating interactions between stakeholders, noting system tasks and stimuli, and tracking and analyzing interactions, effects, and consequences, both intended and unintended.

Inertia

Inertia plays a compelling role in the nature of organizational change and awareness of its presence and scope, as its influence is a significant variable in determining organizational readiness to change (Amburgey, Kelly, & Barnett, 1993). An organization's decision to resist change in action or to continue its current trajectory is affected by many factors, including the age of the organization and the way in which efforts at change have been historically experienced and metabolized. Barnett and Carrol (1995) report an empirically supported prediction that the likelihood of organizational change decreases with an organization's age and state that "structural inertia theory also predicts that the likelihood of change increases once a change occurs, since the 'clock' of inertia is essentially restarted

when structures, roles, and procedures are re-generated in the process of change” (p. 221). Similar to the aspect of momentum in organizational change, this gives credence to the idea that organizations which have undertaken change initiatives in the past are more likely to initiate change initiatives in the future (Kelly & Amburgey, 1991). To maintain continuous change, organizations must foster a culture of learning and intelligent adaptation (Levinthal, 1991). Building upon Lewin’s (1947/1951) change theory, the organizations with momentum in the arena of organizational change are constantly in a state of unfreezing and changing. While at various times an organization’s parts will remain in various states of unfreezing, changing, and again freezing, the sum of parts will remain in a relative state of continuous change due to the overall fluidity of the sum of its parts.

Pfeffer (1997) defines inertia as an “inability for organizations to change as rapidly as their environments” (p. 163). This recognition of the relationship between an organization and its environment provides a conceptual framework through which inertia can be explored. Inertia can both be understood as an organization’s behavioral capabilities in conjunction with its environment or its interdependencies upon its environment (Hannan & Freeman, 1984; Weick & Quinn, 1999). Remaining inert or failing to meet the expectations of an organization’s environment increases the likelihood of failure for an organizational change initiative (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999; Armenakis, et al, 1993). This produces both environmental and organizational pressures that affect inertia. Organizations are driven to meet the expectations of their environment, incorporate industry practices and legitimize themselves through practice and procedure (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), yet are potentially limited by internal forces (e.g., structure, politics). As a necessary planning component of any change initiative, organizations must examine their own inertia and those forces that push or pull the organization into or out of an inert state.

Role of Environment in Organizational Change

Organizations exist in a transactional relationship with their environment, since the two rely upon one another for necessary resources (Burns & Stalker, 1961; Katz & Kahn, 1966; March, 1981; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Shafritz, Ott, and Jang (2011) take this one step further by stating “resource dependency theory stresses that all organizations exchange resources as a condition for survival” (p. 403). This mutually dependent relationship is increasingly important during times of organizational change. Continually changing environments challenge organizations to examine their purposes, values, structures and processes and potentiate the implementation of new strategies (Armenakis, et al, 1993; Katz & Kahn, 1966). These processes and resulting new strategies can possibly stall current organizational objectives or alter those already in place and designed to bolster organizational performance (Akgün, Byrne, Lynn, & Keskin, 2007).

To examine its congruence with the environment, an organization committed to successful change should “be rigorous in inquiry, skillful in dialogue, and fearless in examining the institution (organization) in the context of its environment” (Boyce, 2003, p. 133). Exploring the environment and its boundaries allows an organization to understand how a change initiative is affected by those environmental factors upon which the organization is dependent (Meyer & Rowan, 2003; Thompson, 2003). Adjusting the organization’s structure in such a way that conforms to the norms and expectations of the environment demonstrates fitness with the environment and potentiates legitimacy and support from environmental institutions (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Shafritz, et al., 2011).

Performance Aspects & Criteria

Not to be overlooked in the process of organizational change are performance criteria. In order to study organizational change, an organization must both clarify and identify criteria

and outcome variables to measure the efficacy of the change process (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999; Barnett & Carrol, 1995). New standards for evaluation and organizational performance are important to understanding the impact of an organization's shift in values, behaviors, and trajectory (Boyce, 2003; Schein, 1996). In framing the aspects of performance criteria, Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) note efficiency, an internal standard for performance, and effectiveness, acceptability of the organization by those judged outside the organization, as performance measures. Using external assessment criteria allows the organization to move forward in partnership with its environment and produces layers of support that shield it from failure (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Performance measures and criteria should support the organization's current state or desired state (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999), be conducted longitudinally, and serve as an anchor for the entirety of the change initiative (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999; Pettigrew, et al., 2001). Failing to measure change and performance at the organizational, member, or sub-cultural level can obfuscate outcomes and contaminate the data necessary to inform decision-makers and members. This failure will also interfere with the ability to determine fitness with environmental norms and expectations.

Readiness

Armenakis, et al. (1993) describe readiness for change through the context of an organization's members' beliefs and attitudes, stating that an organization's readiness for change is correlated with the readiness of its members. Readiness includes understanding the various cultures within the organization and their propensity to vie for dominance (Palmer, Jennings, & Zhou, 1993), motivation to change, opportunity to change, and capacity to change (Miller & Chen, 1995). Our model further emphasizes individual motivations and capabilities in order to accurately assess readiness to change.

Aspects of readiness also include anticipation, defined as the timeframe during which members are likely to experience denial and resistance (Armenakis, et al., 1993). This can motivate organizations to alter the message of change in adjusting to members' levels of anxiety (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999; Weick & Quinn, 1999). An organization's sub-cultures may polarize member readiness due to individual psychological boundaries and produce organizational dissatisfaction at various levels due to the pressures of change (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). It is the issue of loss, be it of purpose, role, etc., and the experience of anxiety derived from these potential threats to self-interest which become the focus of individual members and organizational sub-cultures (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999; Schein, 2004). This means that communication and anticipation of how members will receive the message of change are fundamental components, which determine readiness both within and outside the organization (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

While the process of building readiness should start with opinion leaders, the organization should include the design of psychological interventions that translate the goals of readiness into behavior among individuals and sub-cultures (Armenakis, et al., 1993; Sniehotta, Scharzer, Scholz, & Schüz, 2005; Thompson, 2003). The literature identifies strategies for building readiness within members and sub-cultures, including: education and communication, participation and involvement, facilitation and support, and negotiation and agreement (Kotter & Schlesinger, 1979). Before an organization or its leadership can initiate this process of building readiness, it must take the necessary steps to address these core needs for security and stability among individual members and sub-cultures.

The pre-intervention component to building readiness emphasizes assessing the organization through its sub-cultures and individual members and thereby determining their state of readiness for change. Miller, Johnson, and Grau (1994)

note that few studies actually measure an organization's capacity for change by assessing those individual and sub-culture variables which predict if change will be "supported, viewed with indifference, or opposed" (p. 61). By measuring willingness to change, organizations can develop interventions and experiential learning opportunities to meet the differing needs of individuals and sub-cultures within the organization (Armenakis, et al., 1993). This also allows the organizational leadership to understand perceptions and needs based on data and context, rather than assumption and conjecture.

Barriers and Resistance to Change

Another construct that intersects with readiness for change is the concept of barriers and resistance to change. Barriers to change are organizational variables, which may be produced both intrinsically and extrinsically. Intrinsic barriers such as anti-change influence efforts or contra-change behavior (Snihotta, et al., 2005) are founded and moderated by the politics of the organization, brought about by conflicts among competing interest groups which may be compounded by nepotistic performance measures (Greve, 1998; Pfeffer, & Salancik, 1978). Extrinsic barriers such as the achievement of ceremonial criteria or demonstration of legitimate function (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) are those changes which derived from the external environment and threaten organizational legitimacy, leading to the loss of support (Hannan & Freeman, 1984). In a review of empirical research, Piderit (2000) "reveals three different emphases in conceptualizations of resistance: as a cognitive state, as an emotional state, and as a behavior" (p. 785). The root of barriers and resistance is the perception of change among individuals and the ways in which power dependencies can enable or suppress organizational change (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

The dynamics by which individuals experience and resist change provide insight into those cognitive and emotional responses which impact

cultural and organizational readiness for change. Navigating the anxieties about change is central to engaging support for change processes and outcomes (Schein, 1996). These dynamics explicate how cognitive and emotional responses interact in reaction to the experience of change (Piderit, 2000). How the change message is communicated and the means through which members and sub-cultures are educated are central tenants in addressing and overcoming barriers and resistance. Additionally, the stress that change causes may itself be a barrier and determines differential responses to the change process (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999). The regularity and transparency between individuals and sub-cultures within the organization and the organization's leadership may factor into the emotional response to the message of change and the process through which the organization enacts change. Members and sub-cultures in "relatively 'poor' information environments may receive less information about the change, feel hostile toward the change since it promises to bring further role ambiguity, and possibly feel caught-off-guard by the announcement" (Miller, Johnson & Grau, 1994, p. 74). These emotional responses and potential consequences of loss of role, purpose, and need for learning and growth to maintain membership or status within the organization form the basis for barriers and resistance and a platform which must be addressed by organizational leaders as they plan for and message change initiatives.

Organizational Unlearning and Learning

Unlearning and learning also play a powerful role in organizational change (Boyce, 2003) and represent another way in which Lewin's (1947/1951) unfreeze, change, and freeze model becomes manifest. During change, organizations' critical factors and developmental processes include searching, learning, and deciding (Thompson, 2003). The organization then creates the context and environment through which learning occurs and can reduce the subjective interpretations of members and sub-cultures that

impact the unlearning and learning process (Pet-tigrew, 1990). Age and length of membership within the organization, cultural and geographic norms, lasting effects of previous initiatives, etc., all affect the unlearning and learning processes. As noted by Hamel and Prahalad (1994, p. 71), organizations “are going to have to unlearn a lot of their past...” and must do so to both produce behavioral changes in members and deconstruct innate, previously learned responses to situations (Greve, 1998; Martin, 2002; Sniehotta, et al., 2005).

The role of unlearning and learning in organizational change is well documented in the literature and spotlights the role of organizational values and beliefs in the unlearning/learning process. Unlearning may be re-inventive, with high emphasis on changes in beliefs or routines; or formative, with more emphasis on beliefs and less on routines. (Akgün, et al., 2007). Learning, however, is adaptive and incorporates a re-orientation process to changes taking place, links the learning to members’ cognitive constructs, and forms the basis for a new perspective rooted in the organizations vision, mission, and core values (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Levinthal, 1991; Mintsberg, & Westley, 1992).

Theoretical models for unlearning and learning emphasize the need to change members’ and sub-cultural beliefs, routines, and organizational artifacts (Akgün, et al., 2007) and emphasize the need to redefine how members and organizational sub-cultures think (Schein, 1996). Through both strategic and tactical interventions and the employment of readily available and detailed models, organizations can alter assumptions and change normative values and practices of an organization (Schein, 1996; Schein, 2004).

Consequences of Change

Consequences of change, even if not intended, play a role in determining if an organization will achieve lasting change (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999). Change involves planning for change, introducing change through communication and

unlearning/learning interventions, and ongoing dedication and attention to the “sum of parts” as the organization moves from its previous state to the desired state of change. This is a lengthy process during which the ongoing nature of change reverberates throughout the organization. Armenakis and Bedeian (1999) term this period as “aftermath” and note it “is the time when organizational members decide the extent to which they will commit to a change process” (p. 304), due to the consequences of lost skills and resistance; denial and resistance; and dissatisfaction.

There are other organizational processes which may also take place in the aftermath of change: unexpected transformations occur and resources are diverted to reorganization, both of which may reduce efficiency, may affect the bottom line, and may disrupt routines and relationships (Barnett & Carrol, 1995; Haveman, 1992; Merton, 1936).

When, then, is change worth the risk? Change is always worth the risk, since failure to change inevitably reduces an organization’s relevancy and effectiveness (Levinthal, 1991). In a reactive, survivalist sense, change is worth the risk because otherwise an organization faces potential extinction (Haveman, 1992; Kelly & Amburgey, 1991). In order to merit the risks and costs involved, change must be “guided by the performance relative to the goal currently active in the organization” (Greve, 1998, p. 82). “Transformational change requires rigorous organizational inquiry: continuous practice of examining assumptions, surfacing and challenging mental models, and acting on what is learned” (Boyce, 2003, p. 128).

Models for Planning and Implementing Change

This review of change theory results in a model which emphasizes the cyclical process of change and which requires an ongoing process of planning for change (pre-intervention), implementing change (intervention), and organizational learning. Through these three steps,

the many variables of organizational change may be understood and appropriately managed. The chasm between short-term, incremental change and deeper, long-term change is significant. Once an organization achieves the learning step, long-term change requires a return to the beginning of the change process. In this sense, the process of change is a continuous dynamic loop.

Planning for change involves understanding the nature of change conceptualized through the various models in the literature. Armenakis and Bedeian (1999) found four themes or issues common to all change efforts: Content Issues (largely focus on the substance of contemporary organizational changes); Contextual Issues (principally focus on forces or conditions existing in an organization's external and internal environments); Process Issues (address actions undertaken during the enactment of an intended change); and Criterion Issues (deal with outcomes commonly assessed in organizational change efforts) (p. 293). Spector (2010) also provides his Sequential Model of Effective Change Implementation for consideration when undertaking an organizational change initiative:

- Step 1: Redesign (roles, responsibilities, relationships);
- Step 2: Help (training, mentoring);
- Step 3: People Alignment (assessment, promotion, replacement, recruitment); and
- Step 4: Systems & Structures (reporting relationships, compensation, information, measurement & control). (p. 43)

Numerous other models exist within the literature to address how to plan for change. Palmer, Dunford, and Akin highlight a variety of these in their review of prevalent change models from 1992 – 2006 (2009). A review of these various models helps to clarify what factors to consider when planning an organizational change initia-

tive. However, in the planning process, whether it is strategic planning, organizational development or some related approach, consensus must be developed among the leadership regarding the nature and desired outcomes of change for the organization. Subsequently, the leaders must engage individuals from various organizational sub-cultures and allocate the necessary resources to implement and to support the change effort (Boyce, 2003; Mintsberg & Westley, 1992). At the unique intersection of organizational change between the leaders and those they are attempting to engage is the requirement that all must be aligned and moving in the same direction.

Once an organization has planned for change and charted its "pre-intervention" course, process models for implementation are required. Kotter's (1996) widely accepted model provides a template from which organizations can build implementation processes: establishing a sense of urgency, creating the guiding coalition; developing a vision and strategy, communicating the change vision, empowering broad-based action; generating short-term wins, consolidating gains and producing more change, and anchoring new approaches in the culture (p. 21).

Communication regarding change must be decentralized and multifaceted. This communication model is emphasized in many existing theories about change processes (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005; Martin, 2002). As noted by Schein (1996), Kotter's model supports the notion that the key to producing human change "whether at the individual or group level, was a profound psychological dynamic process that involved painful unlearning without loss of ego identity and difficult relearning as one cognitively attempted to restructure one's thoughts, perceptions, feelings, and attitudes" (p. 59). Through this model and a decentralized communication approach, the organization is able to co-opt sub-units, individuals, members and interest groups and then use them as agents of change within their own sub-cultures.

From Theory to Practice

A Model for Planning and Implementing Change in the Fraternity/Sorority Movement

In order to operationalize change theory, those driving change within the context of fraternity/sorority must integrate relevant conceptual ideas to form a process delineating the steps needed to produce desired change. Such a model of change must recognize that the relational nature of fraternity/sorority organizations is the crucible that facilitates individual transformation and experiential learning (Reuter, Baker, Hernandez, & Bureau, 2012). In relationship-based organizations such as fraternities and sororities, transformational change occurs through programmatic shifts which impact the education and development of members, stakeholders, and others who shape the development of brotherhood and sisterhood. Emerging from an analysis of the literature is a model that addresses with specific attention and intention the context of the fraternity/sorority movement for individuals and organizations aspiring to map, drive, and achieve lasting, organizational change. Significant aspects of the literature and related practical experiences may be integrated into this comprehensive model to understand and facilitate transformational change in the fraternity/sorority context:

1. *Identify the opportunity and need for organizational change:* Before an organization can map out, much less implement, transformational change, it must first clarify the purpose driving the organization's change by exploring the opportunity and need (Kanter, Stein, & Jick, 1992; Kirkpatrick, 2001; Mento, Jones, & Dirndorfer, 2002; Taffinder, 1998). The current zeitgeist in this area is wrapped around the thinking and position of Simon Sinek (2009) that, in the context of an organizational change initiative, organizations must start with why, a drive, cause, or belief that will give the

change initiative purpose. Again, given the relational nature of fraternities/sororities, change leaders must be clear on if their change is intrinsically or extrinsically motivated. If an organization is reacting to an outside influence, it may not believe as much in the change initiative as one that is intrinsically motivated. Step one is best addressed through the lens of appreciative inquiry, rather than traditional reaction-based thinking and planning. Cooperrider and Whitney (2007) define appreciative inquiry as follows:

Appreciative inquiry (AI) is the cooperative, coevolutionary search for the best in people, their organization and communities, and the world around them. It involves systematic discovery of what gives "life" to an organization or community when it is most effective, and most capable in economic, ecological, and human terms. AI assumes that every organization or community has many "untapped and rich accounts of the positive" – what people talk about as past, present, and future capacities – the positive core. AI links the knowledge and energy of this core directly to an organization or community's change agenda, and changes never thought possible are suddenly and democratically mobilized. (p. 75).

Specifically, this approach involves the following components: clarify the needs and opportunities for change, explore and clarify why this organizational change is needed, and integrate these considerations into a clear statement of the purposes and goals which will anchor and drive the change process.

2. *Task and trust a coalition to serve as the primary stewards of the organizational change initiative:* Designing, administering, and adapting to broad-scale organizational change is a significant undertaking for any individual. Organizations aspiring to achieve transformative change must task a

coalition to serve as the primary stewards of the organizational change initiative (Kotter, 1996; Nadler, 1998). To do so, fraternity/sorority inter/national offices should form a multidisciplinary team that includes professional staff members and key stakeholders (e.g., a board member, multiple volunteer members whose professional and volunteer experiences are such that provide expertise and credibility for the planning team). For a student life department this could include primary staff members and key stakeholders (e.g., appropriate staff from other departments/divisions, a Senior Student Affairs Officer (SSAO), appropriate faculty, potentially a trustee and/or a community leader, fraternity/sorority chapter advisors). This planning team should act as the designers and stewards of the organizational change initiative (OCI), as well as serve as its advisory committee (AC). Chaired by a member of the board (HQ) or department head (College/University), this team performs the background research that creates the conceptual framework for the components of organizational change and engages experts as needed for relevant subject matters. This multidisciplinary group should all believe in the central tenants, which drive the initiative and share a common vision regarding the end goals of this change initiative. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: create a change design team of 5-7 individuals, appoint a board member/department head to chair the workgroup, include 2-4 volunteers or individuals with expertise in the areas which conceptually form the framework for the change initiative, and include staff who will “own” the project.

3. *Map a model for organizational change supported by viable research and theory, and then gain support of organizational leaders and decision-makers:* After establishing the organizational change initiative’s purpose

and its AC, the AC must then map a model around which the organization can design its change initiative (Anderson & Anderson, 2001; Kanter, et al., 1992; Kotter, 1996; Leppitt, 2006; Taffinder, 1998). Once the AC accomplishes this, it should prepare a formal proposal for the organizational change initiative. The proposal should include the entire change model, supported by a conceptual framework, literature, and best practices, and be supported by the chief staff member, (e.g., executive director (HQ) or appropriate College/University SSAO). This model should then be taken to the organization or division’s governing body. Essentially, the AC should request approval to act as the workgroup, providing updates and feedback to the governing body. A board member or division head on the AC maintains connection to the governing body but reduces the need for micro-management from it. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: this model or vision of change must include metrics and performance criteria which not only address core competencies of the organization but which also measure the impact of the change initiative component. These new criterion should relate to environmental “fitness”; the model or vision should also include expectations and specific dates by which organizational change components must be achieved; and determine how long the organization will commit to this specific change initiative. Not only does this give the individuals and sub-cultures an idea of “by when” they need to change, but it also allows for a subsequent change initiative to take place, i.e., what happens next. This potentiates momentum and ongoing organizational change.

4. *Develop & confirm the initial implementation strategy:* after gaining the support of the chief staff member, the AC should develop and confirm the initial implementa-

tion strategy (Anderson & Anderson, 2001; Pendlebury, Grouard, & Metson, 1998). This should include a pilot process, during which initial organizational change components will be implemented with select individuals and/or chapters and communication with key stakeholders would occur. This pilot process should incorporate all individuals who will influence the implementation of changes with the pilot member(s) and/or chapter(s). During this pilot process the AC, and, as a result, the organization has a significant opportunity to learn and understand how culture and environment influence the achievement of organizational change objectives at “sub-culture” levels. Specifically, this approach involves identifying a pilot process for change component implementation and communicating with key stakeholders regarding the change initiative’s purpose, conceptual framework, literature and best practices that support the initiative, and nature of the pilot process.

5. *Pilot the core organizational change components and build organizational awareness and readiness through communication with key stakeholders:* Multiple lenses of learning can occur formally and informally through the pilot process. Both formal and informal learning contribute to increased awareness within the organization about the change initiative (Anderson & Anderson, 2001; Taffinder, 1998). Formal learning occurs through the pilot process, and informal learning occurs as the AC conducts meetings and discussions regarding the initiative during sponsored programs meeting (e.g., regional and inter/national program (HQ) or regularly scheduled programs and meetings (College/University). Concurrently, the staff member assigned to manage the pilot process should work with a specific number of members or groups to understand the needs associated with the change

initiative. Clear metrics must be utilized to determine an accurate cross section and representation of the organizational/institutional makeup through the pilot chapters. The AC should create a clear rationale for the pilot participants, as well as explore as many variables as possible to create an intentional and informed pilot process. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: utilize volunteer and staff members of the AC to lead formal and informal discussions about change with key stakeholders, create a cross-section of the organization through pilot participants to include as many organizational variables and facets as possible, and use the staff member from the AC to manage the pilot process to gain feedback on what works, does not work, and associated additional needs with this change initiative.

6. *Create the resources necessary for individuals and sub-cultures to learn, implement and adapt to the change initiative:* Prior to and during the pilot process, the organization should maintain a process of redesigning and developing those educational resources necessary for stakeholders to learn, understand, and implement core OCI components. Such educational programs are especially important in relationship-based organizations where the impact of tradition and emotionally charged rituals may compromise the availability of immediate support (Anderson & Anderson, 2001; Kirkpatrick, 2001). Initial resources should be provided to pilot program participants, who then assess what works, does not work, and what additional resources are needed to successfully achieve the unlearning and relearning associated with the change initiative. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: develop initial educational resources required to initiate the change process at the “sub-culture” level, gain feedback on initial resources

and understand additional needs from pilot groups, and subsequently update initial resources and develop additional resources in preparation for the formal rollout of the organizational change intervention.

7. *Build organizational momentum through marketing the announcement and rollout of the change initiative:* In the months leading up to a major program or meetings, organizations must develop and implement a communications plan related to the change initiative (Kanter, et al., 1992; Kotter, 1996; Light, 2005; Mento, et al., 2002; Nadler, 1996). This marketing campaign, directed at its members/program participants, stakeholders, environmental influencers, and others should promote a new initiative for the organization being undertaken and include feedback from pilot participants, organizational leaders, and other key stakeholders. Additionally, at all future major programs and meetings, the organization should continue to communicate the roll and/or state of the change initiative. This communication should include support materials and educational programming aimed at helping increase individual, chapter, and key stakeholder/influencer awareness and understanding of the change initiative and its positive impact on the organization. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: market the announcement of the change initiative at a major event, announce the initiative through a formal presentation led by the board member/department head and staff members of the AC, recognize the pilot participants publicly, and allow individuals from the pilot process to share their stories as champions for the change initiative, and organize all educational programming at regular meetings, conferences, events, etc. around the change initiative, and include educational materials to accompany programs.

8. *Change and adapt structures and processes*

through the organizational learning that occurs: Structures and systems that support and maintain change must become integral to all aspects of the organization's structure and culture (Anderson & Anderson, 2001; Kanter, et al, 1992; Kotter, 1996; Nadler, 1998). Both in-person and technical learning processes become a vehicle through which the change initiative is communicated. The organization will likely have to evaluate, refine, and even discontinue a number of traditional learning experiences and programs that no longer reflect the changing organization or align with its trajectory. During this process, the organization should co-opt a number of stakeholders as key agents of change. A wide range of individuals should be utilized in order to maximize the relational opportunities available and to increase the alignment of all aspects of the organization. This process will mobilize the "sum of parts" toward a common goal and consolidate shared perceptions, values, and beliefs. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: identify administratively what is needed to support this change, identify what human and educational resources are needed to support the change initiative, and identify which individuals outside the board and staff are best prepared to serve as champions and agents of organizational change.

9. *Assess the state and needs of members and sub-cultures and personally engage them to affect change:* Throughout the process of an organizational change initiative, the organization must continue to engage members and sub-cultures (Kanter, et al., 1992; Mento, et al., 2002; Pendlebury, et al., 1998). The nature of engagement should be proactive for those sub-cultures implementing or initiating the components of change, but may become reactive for those sub-cultures fighting and resisting change. Everett Rogers (1962) would identify those sub-cultures

fighting change as a party of “late majority” adopters and would definitely consider them “laggards” who would be the last and least likely members of the organization to adopt change. As a result, the organization may need to adjust its support processes to meet the needs and various states of its sub-cultures. In effect, the process results in an inspirational approach to keep high performing sub-cultures motivated in their ongoing implementation of the OCI components. It may also necessitate an approach likened to benevolent coercion for those members and sub-cultures who may never be inspired to change, due to the dominant level of influence exerted by the environment in which they operate and the culture of which they are a part. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: regardless of implementation level, sub-cultures and members require ongoing, in-person support; use inspirational approaches for those sub-cultures and members which have already adopted, embraced, and implemented change; and identify benevolent ways through which the consequences of non-adoption outweigh the influence of culture and environment preventing change in sub-cultures.

10. Build relational equity with key environmental stakeholders who define “fitness”, engage them in the change initiative, and share successes and outcomes which show “fitness” with the environment: Given the nature of resource dependency and an organization’s transactional nature with its environment, building relational equity and determining “fitness” with the environment is a critical component of a transformative organization (Anderson & Anderson, 2002; Mento, et al., 2002). Given that this model specifically focuses on the fraternity/sorority movement, this step emphasizes the need to bridge the gap between inter/national offices and host institutions. More specifically, this step is

about strengthening the relationships between the staff members that work for the inter/national offices and the host institutions. If an inter/national office rarely explores the trends of higher education in the arena of student development or does not offer programming and services that foster the co-curricular nature of the fraternity/sorority experience, then it has a reduced potential to show “fitness” with its environment. Conversely, if a host institution never engages the inter/national offices on the initiatives of the campus, its programming, etc., then it may or may not offer and/or foster a member experience that is consistent with that of the inter/national offices and its expectations for its chapters and members. Simply put, in a relational sense, this step is about turning issues into opportunities regarding host institutions and inter/national offices. Collaboratively, they can create a sphere of influence for all other stakeholders. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: assemble research, process, and outcomes associated with the organizational change initiative and submit program proposals to meetings of professional organizations which emphasize “fitness” to the environment; and build relationships with individuals and leaders of professional associations.

11. Communicate organizational change successes and outcomes both within the organization and with environmental stakeholders to promote and validate the change initiative: As the organization achieves outcomes and mines meaningful data, it can both quantitatively and qualitatively understand the impacts of the change initiative. With this information, organizations must communicate change successes to both promote and validate the change initiative (Kanter, et al., 1992; Kirkpatrick, 2001; Kotter, 1996; Light, 2005; Mento, et al., 2002; Nadler, 1998; Pendlebury, et al., 1998). Beyond

marketing campaigns, organizations should also draft and disseminate regular reports for appropriate audiences regarding the change initiative. These reports then create a meaningful set of data and outcomes that drive the content for an annual report. Through the annual report, the organization should both clarify outcomes and successes with all stakeholders, as well as document benchmarks and aspects of organizational change as years pass. This report should be shared with organizational members and the external environment as part of the organization's larger marketing campaign. This keeps the change initiative on the radar of members and sub-cultures and continues the organization's demonstration of fitness with its environment. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: create and publish an annual report on the change initiative, and share the report with the organization's members, sub-cultures, and external environment stakeholders; and incorporate the organizational change reports, data, outcomes, and successes into the organization's larger marketing and communication plans and strategies.

12. *Continue organizational development via a vision clarification or future state mapping plan that produces benchmarks and deadlines to formally reaffirm the organization's commitment to the change initiative:* Once multiple years of data show evidence that the change initiative is positively impacting the organization at the individual and group levels, the organization must formally reaffirm its support for the OCI through ongoing organizational development exercises, a (re)establishment of priorities, and general governance. After reaching out to members, stakeholders, and vested individuals from its environment, the organization should clarify how it will continue to support the accomplishment of its organizational change initiative (Kanter, et al., 1992; Kotter, 1996; Nadler, 1998).

This level of organizational development should include benchmarks for those individuals and chapters for whom the change initiative is designed. The result of this step is twofold: it both reinforces the importance of the change initiative across the organization and confirms for the laggards that they must change or accept clear consequences. This should be done in such a way that gives the staff and overall AC ample time to educate, support, and restructure the organization to facilitate the change process and achieve desired outcomes associated with the change initiative. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: reinforce the importance of the organizational change initiative through ongoing organizational development; and include change implementation expectations for members and/or sub-units of the organization, with clear consequences for failure to meet expectations.

13. *Reaffirm the organization's commitment to the change initiative through restructuring the organization's formal structures and expectations of individual members and sub-cultures:* As a final step in affirming the organization's long-term commitment to the change initiative, it must implement those structural changes necessary to maintain success (Anderson & Anderson, 2002; Kanter, et al., 1992; Kotter, 1996; Mento, et al., 2002). The organization should task a new workgroup, which could include at least two members from the AC, to review the structure of the organization at all levels and to determine necessary changes. It should also task the new workgroup with determining any new expectations of members, chapters, and/or stakeholders and influencers. This step is the way through which the organization can institutionalize the changes that have been accomplished. Specifically, this approach involves the following components: determine what restructuring of the orga-

nization at all levels is required to achieve the desired state with the change initiative; determine what new and/or refined sets of expectations of members and/or sub-cultures are needed to move the organization forward in its operationalization of change; and identify consequences for failing to meet new expectations at individual and sub-cultural levels.

14. Maintain awareness that steps 1 – 13 will need to be repeated at various times during the ongoing process of change: Through adaptive learning, the organization should continue to design resources, support mechanisms, and necessary organizational initiatives to transform the organization to its desired state (Anderson & Anderson, 2002; Light, 2005). Varying consequences of change will create new opportunities and needs for further change, ongoing models will be mapped out, and programs and resources will continue to be designed, piloted, and added to the necessary learning opportunities for members and sub-cultures to maintain change. Specifically, this approach involves identifying which steps must be repeated and evolved to ensure the organization maintains momentum in its change initiative.

Conclusion

Based on the review of the literature, this article has outlined a specific model of change related to the relational culture of fraternities and sororities. This model emphasizes fourteen major components that, when intentionally combined and aligned, allow for both the operationalization and research of change initiatives within the fraternity/sorority movement. The implementation of this model will allow for important

opportunities for both conceptual and programmatic research to determine its validity in actual use. Such research should consider what would determine success in terms of outcomes, objectives, deliverables, and associated timelines. Additionally, such variables should accurately predict the process and be specifically germane to the relational environment of fraternities and sororities. Researchers should also examine adequate integration of individual and organizational variables, as well as what changes would be needed, to increase the model's effectiveness and overall efficacy. Hypotheses for research should depend upon the overall aims and aspirations of the change initiative, yet encompass both organizational and member-based components. For example, if the desired outcome of an organizational change initiative is to reposition the college fraternity/sorority as a co-curricular, developmental institution, research can and should focus on the affective learning and development that is produced by programming interventions. This affords researchers the ability to measure member development against interventions and understand the overall value of the change initiative and impact it has on participants. Additionally, traditional organizational metrics that are quantitative in nature (e.g., recruitment, retention, chapter size, G.P.A., insurance fees per member, community service hours, foundation dollars raised) can also be measured to understand, inform, and calculate the return on investment. This level of research requires that scholars and administrators collaborate to understand the needs and scope of the change initiative and accompanying research, so that the data analyzed produces outcomes relevant to both individual/member and organizational development, transformation, and, as is impetus for this paper, meaningful organizational change.

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BIG FIVE PERSONALITY TRAITS OF COLLEGIATE SOCIAL FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES

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This study examined differences in personality between fraternity- and sorority-affiliated college students and unaffiliated college students. A 20-item online survey was completed by 613 undergraduates (51% fraternity- and sorority-affiliated) measuring the Big Five personality factors. Analyses were conducted using independent samples t-tests to compare personalities of fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students to unaffiliated students. Fraternity and sorority members scored higher on measures of extraversion, measures of conscientiousness, and lower on measures of neuroticism than nonmembers.

Research on undergraduate, collegiate, social fraternities and sororities focuses on the negative aspects of Greek life (see Caudill et al., 2006; DeBard, Lake, & Binder, 2006; DeSimone, 2009; Drout & Corsoro, 2003; Park, Sher, Wood, & Krull, 2009). The bulk of scholarly literature on fraternities and sororities focuses on alcohol abuse, legal issues, and academics. This study was intended to contribute to the growing literature on the positive aspects of the fraternity and sorority community (see Ahren, Bureau, Ryan, & Torres, 2014; Mathiasen, 2005; Porter, 2012; Reuter, Baker, Hernandez, & Bureau, 2012; Sasso, 2012). Personality has been shown to be a valuable predictor in the field of industrial and organizational psychology. Specifically, the Five Factor Model of personality (McCrae & John, 1992) can account for variance within several job performance criteria across many occupational groups (Barrick & Mount, 1991). Murphy (1996) suggests that personality is divided into behavioral consistencies and affective responses (i.e., consisting of values/interests and dispositions/temperaments, respectively). Although dispositions are relatively stable (Costa & McCrae, 1986), behavior can be shaped (Skinner, 1958). In fraternity and sorority recruitment, member personalities are possibly due to two non-exclusive processes: first, potential members are attracted to organizational members with similar dispositional as themselves (Judge

& Cable, 1997; Schneider, 1987) and second, member personalities (i.e., behavioral consistencies) are changed over time by forces within the organization. For example, a college student open to new experiences might be attracted to a particular fraternal organization because he perceives the members of that organization to also be open to new experiences, thus reinforcing his disposition. On the other hand, a college student with a behavioral pattern of consistent aggression might join an organization of less aggressive behaving members because of his status as a legacy. Over time, the organization as a whole may influence the student to behave less aggressively, because the members do not value aggressive behavior, thus eventually shaping the behavioral consistencies of the student. The authors believe that by demonstrating the positive effects of fraternity and sororities upon member personality, an argument can be made to justify the merit of joining of such organizations. In order to examine the effect of fraternity and sorority organizational forces upon member personality, fraternity/sorority member personality must first be distinguished among different organizations. Before distinguishing among different organizations, fraternity and sorority member personality must be distinguished from the personality traits of unaffiliated students, the purpose of the present study.

Review of Literature

Research on the Merits of Fraternities and Sororities

Literature on fraternities and sororities is dominated by research on alcohol use and abuse (Borsari & Carey, 1999). Members are often stereotyped such that all fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students have parties and binge drink (Wechsler, Kuh, & Davenport, 1996). Wechsler, Dowdall, Davenport, and Castillo (1995) define “binge drinking” as “having consumed five or more drinks in a row for men and four or more drinks in a row for women” within a two-week period (p. 922). They found that 75% of the fraternity members of their sample engaged in binge drinking, while Caudill et al. (2006) found that 86% of their fraternity sample engaged in binge drinking. Studies on the frequency of college and fraternity/sorority binge drinking have led researchers to examine the secondary effects and contexts of fraternity and sorority member drinking behaviors (Borsari & Carey, 1999; Meilman, Leichliter, & Presley, 1999; Wechsler et al., 1996; Workman, 2001), as well as the possible demographic characteristics associated with the behavior (Caudill et al., 2006; DeSimone, 2009; Park et al., 2009; Wechsler et al., 1996). According to Wechsler et al. (1996) and Meilman et al. (1999), fraternity and sorority members are more likely than unaffiliated students to have a hangover, do something they later regretted, miss a class, experience memory loss, get into an argument, and drive under the influence of alcohol, among other risky behaviors.

At first glance of the literature on fraternities and sororities, alcohol is the most readily available subject; however, more research is beginning to appear for the merit of joining these organizations from the perspective of academic success. DeBard et al. (2006) compared fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students to unaffiliated students in their first year of college in regards to grades, credit hours earned, and retention rates. They found that affiliated students of both

genders have lower overall grade point averages (GPAs) in their first year of college on average when compared to unaffiliated students. Nonmembers displayed higher GPAs each semester of college, higher cumulative GPAs, and earned more credit hours than fraternity and sorority members on average in the first year, although fraternity and sorority members had significantly higher retention rates than nonmembers (84% vs. 74% for women, 83% vs. 71% for men). Furthermore, Asel, Seifert, and Pascarella (2009) observed that fraternity and sorority affiliation did not correlate with academic performance, development of general or liberal arts competencies, or development of career and professional preparation.

Pascarella, Flowers, and Whitt (2001) observed a continued negative effect in fraternity- and sorority-affiliated student academics, but a less pronounced effect in years two and three of college. These findings suggest that any major detriments to learning resulting from joining a fraternity or sorority occur during the first year of college when transitioning to the work load and lifestyle of college is coupled with the new member process of joining a fraternity or sorority.

Contrary to DeBard et al. (2006), DeBard and Sacks (2010) found positive results for fraternity and sorority academics. They found that students joining fraternities or sororities during their first year of college earned significantly higher GPAs than unaffiliated students. DeBard and Sacks also found that fraternity- and sorority-affiliated first year students had significantly higher retention rates compared to their sophomore year. The contradiction in these two findings indicates that the academic success and retention of students might vary from institution to institution. DeBard and Sacks (2010) believe that institutions with lower academic standards will have more academic problems with fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students than institutions with higher selectivity and academic standards.

Even though evidence is mixed for fraternity

and sorority members' academic performance, Whipple and Sullivan (1998) give reason for optimism about fraternities and sororities, claiming that the organizations have potential as learning communities. Whipple and Sullivan explain that fraternities and sororities are primed for student learning in that there is potential for a living-learning community with member housing. In member housing, strong connections are formed between members, leadership development abounds with the self-governing nature of fraternities and sororities, and in many organizations, the expectation of community service.

Pike (2000) found that fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students differed from unaffiliated students in average levels of social involvement and gains in general abilities, with affiliated students reporting higher levels of both while not reporting lower levels in other measured constructs. After observing college experiences and cognitive development of students, Pike found that the differences observed between fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students and unaffiliated students were more pronounced for college experiences. Affiliated members were significantly more involved with campus clubs, showed greater gains in communication skills, greater gains in interpersonal skills, and greater gains in critical thinking than unaffiliated students.

In regards to the literature, there appear to be both benefits and detriments to individuals joining fraternities and sororities. In exploring the differences between fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students from unaffiliated students, personality has been absent as a topic of research. By exploring the effects of fraternity/sorority membership on personality, more clarity might be brought to the merits of such organizations.

Fraternities/Sororities and Personality

The Five Factor Model of personality (also known as the "Big Five" personality factors; McCrae & John, 1992) integrates a variety of personality constructs (extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness

to experience) in such a way as to give a global description of personality, while tapping in to both dispositions (e.g. being open to new experiences as in "openness") and behavior (e.g. assertive actions as in "extraversion") in as few as five scores. The Big Five personality factors have been able to predict academic success (Cole, Field, & Giles, 2003a; Furnham, 2012; Kurtz, Puher, & Cross, 2012; Schnuck & Handal, 2011), health-promoting behaviors (Raynor & Levine, 2009), self-esteem and self-concept (Worrell & Cross, 2004), political opinions (Cooper, McCord, & Socha, 2011), and social adjustment (Kurtz et al., 2012; Schnuck & Handal, 2011).

The personality factor of extraversion is described as a form of positive emotionality, manifested as dominance, talkativeness, sociability, warmth, affiliation, and energy (McCrae & John, 1992). Meta-analysis has demonstrated that extraversion is a valid predictor of different types of performance across multiple occupations (Barrick & Mount, 1991). Fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students have been found to differ from unaffiliated students in terms of social involvement (Pike, 2000), which tends to involve extraversion to a large extent. Park et al. (2009) found extraversion positively correlated with fraternity/sorority affiliation. Additionally, Cole, Field, and Giles (2003b) correlated job applicant personality traits with résumé items and found that membership in college clubs and social fraternities/sororities positively associated with extraversion. For these reasons, it is hypothesized that fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students will score higher than unaffiliated students on measures of extraversion.

McCrae and John (1992) describe neuroticism as chronic negative affect, the tendency to experience distress, and the cognitive and behavioral repercussions of those characteristics. Neuroticism has been found to correlate positively with social activities (Cole et al., 2003a). This emotional instability might be due to individuals' lack of time stemming from involvement with too many activities. The demands of joining

a fraternity or sorority indicate that the collegiate extracurricular activity would lead to poor academic performance and adjustment (Asel et al., 2009; DeBard et al., 2006), and thus, lead to higher measures of neuroticism among fraternity and sorority members. Furthermore, Park and colleagues (2009) found neuroticism to be positively correlated with fraternity and sorority affiliation. However, Cole and colleagues (2003b) later found that membership in college clubs and social fraternities/sororities negatively correlated with neuroticism, explaining that the close quarters living arrangements and other aspects of communal living may be unappealing for individuals high in neuroticism. For this reason, it is hypothesized that fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students will score lower than unaffiliated students on measures of neuroticism.

The personality factor openness is commonly observed as aspects of intellect, but broader in scope (McCrae & John, 1992). This scope encompasses intelligence, imagination, and perception, while also serving as “sensitivity to art and beauty” (McCrae & John, 1992, p. 197). Barrick and Mount (1991) found openness to be a valid predictor of training proficiency across multiple occupations. This is presumably due to individuals scoring high on openness measures also having positive attitudes toward learning experiences. In regards to fraternities and sororities, De Los Reyes and Rich (2003) explained that the college fraternity was inspired by the ancient Greeks of Europe, demonstrating openness, but now has digressed away from their original, scholarly focus into the purely social organizations that they are today. Pasarella et al. (2001) found that among undergraduate students participating in diversity programming, fraternity and sorority members chose to attend fewer sessions and, consequently, declined in openness to diversity during their first year of college. Asel and colleagues (2009) maintain that although fraternities and sororities facilitate members’ social involvement, the involvement lacks relationship diversity and heterogeneity. This leads to the hy-

pothesis that fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students will score lower than unaffiliated students on measures of openness to experience.

Conscientiousness is characterized by thoroughness, neatness, organization, diligence, and an orientation towards achievement (McCrae & John, 1992). It is the Big Five factor most associated with academic achievement (Cole et al., 2003a; Furnham, 2012; Kurtz et al., 2012; Schnuck & Handal, 2011), as well as with the promotion of healthy lifestyle choices and behaviors (Raynor & Levine, 2009). Barrick and Mount (1991) found conscientiousness to be the strongest predictor of job performance, consistently correlating positively across several types of performance and a multitude of occupations. According to Raynor and Levine (2009), conscientious individuals are highly socialized to following rules and regulations. Their carefulness may lead them to cost-benefit analyses in decision-making. Fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students have been found to have an increased likelihood to participate in an assortment of risky behaviors, including but not limited to smoking cigarettes, consuming alcohol, binge drinking, and having a large number of sexual partners (Raynor & Levine, 2009). Some literature also points to fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students’ lack of academic success (Asel et al., 2009; DeBard et al., 2006), which would indicate a lack of either mental ability or conscientiousness (Cole et al., 2003a). For this reason, it is hypothesized that fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students will score lower than unaffiliated students on measures of conscientiousness.

In regards to the last factor, agreeableness, it is hypothesized that no significant difference will be found between fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students and unaffiliated students. Agreeableness lies along a spectrum of altruism, nurturance, caring, and emotional support on one end, to hostility, indifference to others, self-centeredness, spitefulness, and jealousy at the other (McCrae & John, 1992). Worrell and Cross (2004) found that agreeableness has a moderate

effect on impression management, a measure of how one attempts to present to others. Reasoning follows that, on average, any student would not self-report that he or she were hostile, indifferent to others, self-centered, spiteful, or jealous of others because he or she is attempting to appear agreeable.

Method

Participants and Design

The total sample size of this study consisted of 635 participants. After accounting for missing data, 613 participants were included in the final analysis. All participants were a convenience sample of undergraduate students at a large, east south-central university. At this university, 1,812 students were affiliated with either a fraternity ($n = 761$) or sorority ($n = 1,051$) and 16,170 students were unaffiliated. Fraternal organizations had existed at this university for 48 years as of the time of this study. Of the sample, 427 (69.7%) participants were female and 182 (29.7%) participants were male, with four (0.01%) participants not indicating gender. This sample consisted of 313 (51.1%) participants belonging to fraternities or sororities and 300 (48.9%) participants not affiliated with fraternal organizations. Thus, 17.3% of the possible affiliated students and 1.9% of the unaffiliated students participated in this study. There was no significant difference in age between fraternity- and sorority-affiliated ($M = 19.71$, $SD = 1.39$) and unaffiliated ($M = 19.88$, $SD = 3.90$) participants, $t(605) = 0.72$, $p = .470$. However, there was a significant difference in years of education between fraternity- and sorority-affiliated participants ($M = 14.46$, $SD = 1.12$) and unaffiliated participants ($M = 13.60$, $SD = 0.96$), $t(610) = 10.73$, $p < .001$. Unaffiliated students were primarily recruited from introductory psychology classes, which accounts for the difference in education level. The design for the study was a two-group, cross-sectional design. The independent variable was fraternity/sorority affiliation

and the dependent variables were personality factors.

Measures

Demographics. Participants completed an electronic demographics form including questions on age, gender, race, class year, and affiliation, if applicable.

Personality. The Mini-IPIP, a short form of the International Personality Item Pool (see Appendix A; Donnellan, Oswald, Baird, & Lucas, 2006), was given to participants to measure the Big Five personality traits (Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism). The Mini-IPIP consists of 20 brief statements that participants respond to on a Likert scale (*strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, strongly agree*). A sample item from the Mini-IPIP is, "I have a vivid imagination." Another item from the Mini-IPIP measuring a different construct is, "I get chores done the right way." Short- and long-term test-retest reliability correlations for the Mini-IPIP are acceptable, with correlation coefficients over .60 across five separate studies (Donnellan et al., 2006), and the time necessary to complete the measure is kept at a minimum.

Procedures

Fraternity- and sorority-affiliated participants. Each of the North American Interfraternity Conference, National Panhellenic Conference, and National Pan-Hellenic Council organization presidents were emailed encouraging their chapters to participate in an online survey. The top three highest participating organizations by percentage for both fraternity and sorority were awarded money towards the philanthropy of their chapter's choice. Presidents forwarded the link to the online survey to their chapter members. Chapter members were given an electronic letter of informed consent, six demographic questions and then the 20-item Mini-IPIP. After completing this measure, participants were given an electronic debriefing statement.

Non-affiliated participants. The same link to the online survey given to fraternities and

sororities was also distributed to non-affiliated participants. It was posted to a University application on www.facebook.com once, explaining that participants would be entered in a drawing to win one of five gift cards. In addition to an open online post, the survey was distributed online through the Department of Psychology Study Board website that offered students course credit for participating in psychology studies. The survey was the same for non-affiliated participants as for fraternity- and sorority-affiliated participants except that non-affiliated participants were given five demographic questions and after the Mini-IPIP, participants were given the opportunity to enter the gift card drawing by providing an email address. Students participating for course credit were instructed to email the author in order to be granted credit.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

The data were cleaned and checked for missing data. Participants completely neglecting the

personality survey (0 of 20 items answered) were removed from the data set. Participants' answers to the Mini-IPIP were summed and separated by construct. Descriptive statistics for all participants by personality sub-scale and affiliation are presented in Table 1. The lowest possible score on each summative sub-scale was 4.00 and the highest possible score was 20.00. The data were then checked for normality and outliers. Measures of each personality factor were found to be normally distributed via histogram across affiliation. Boxplot graphs were used to determine outlier data in regards to personality factor sum scores (on a scale of 4 to 20). In the data, one fraternity/sorority-affiliated participant was found to be an extreme outlier at the lower end of the openness to experience scale. The data were included in the final analysis because it is impossible to score below 4 out of 20, indicating plausible ranges of personality. This extreme outlier scored a 6 out of 20 on the openness scale, deviating from the rest of the sample, but measured an entirely plausible score.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Participants by Personality Sub-Scale and Affiliation.

Sub-Scale	Affiliation	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max
Extraversion	F/S	14.42	2.75	7.00	20.00
	U	13.40	3.43	4.00	20.00
Agreeableness	F/S	16.08	2.40	6.00	20.00
	U	15.86	2.44	8.00	20.00
Conscientiousness	F/S	15.19	2.64	7.00	20.00
	U	14.62	2.43	8.00	20.00
Neuroticism	F/S	10.33	2.85	4.00	18.00
	U	11.01	2.90	4.00	19.00
Openness	F/S	15.04	2.27	6.00	20.00
	U	15.11	2.51	7.00	20.00

Note: F/S = Fraternity/Sorority-affiliated; U = Unaffiliated.

To compare the homogeneity of personality scores between the fraternity/sorority-affiliated and unaffiliated groups, Levene's test for homogeneity of variance was used. Homogeneity of variance was assumed for agreeableness $F(602) = 0.30, p = .862$, conscientiousness $F(592) = 1.53, p = .217$, and neuroticism $F(595) = 0.88, p = .350$. Homogeneity of variance was violated

for extraversion $F(600) = 16.48, p < .001$ and openness $F(596) = 3.97, p = .047$. Despite these violations, t-tests are robust, yielding adjusted degrees of freedom for variables when equal variances are not assumed. Adjusted degrees of freedom were used for the t-tests of extraversion and openness. Cronbach's alpha was calculated for each sub-scale (Table 2).

Table 2
Cronbach's Alpha for Each Sub-Scale

Sub-Scale	Cronbach's Alpha
Extraversion	.80
Agreeableness	.68
Conscientiousness	.64
Neuroticism	.66
Openness	.64

Hypothesis Testing

It was hypothesized that fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students would differ from unaffiliated students in several of the Big Five personality factors. Fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students were predicted to score higher than unaffiliated students on measures of extraversion, lower on measures of neuroticism, lower on measures of openness to experiences, lower on measures of conscientiousness, and similarly on measures of agreeableness. Independent samples t-tests were conducted in order to determine if fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students differed from unaffiliated students in the Big Five personality factors. Five t-tests were conducted between the groups comparing mean summed scores of each personality sub-scale. Alpha was set to .01.

Fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students ($M = 14.42, SD = 2.75$) scored significantly higher than unaffiliated students ($M = 13.40, SD = 3.43$) on measures of extraversion $t(556.22) = 4.02, p < .001, d = 0.33$. Hypothesis 1 was supported. Fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students ($M = 10.33, SD = 2.85$) scored significantly lower than unaffiliated students ($M =$

$11.01, SD = 2.90$) on measures of neuroticism $t(595) = 2.88, p = .004, d = 0.24$. Hypothesis 2 was supported. Fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students ($M = 15.04, SD = 2.27$) did not significantly differ unaffiliated students ($M = 15.11, SD = 2.51$) in measures of openness to experience $t(581.28) = 0.36, p = .716, d = 0.02$. Hypothesis 3 was not supported. Contrary to hypothesis 4, fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students ($M = 15.19, SD = 2.64$) scored significantly higher than unaffiliated students ($M = 14.62, SD = 2.43$) in measures of conscientiousness $t(592) = 2.71, p = .007, d = 0.22$. Thus, hypothesis 4 was not supported. In line with hypothesis 5, fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students ($M = 16.08, SD = 2.40$) did not significantly differ from unaffiliated students ($M = 15.86, SD = 2.44$) on measures of agreeableness $t(602) = 1.10, p = .272, d = 0.09$. Hypothesis 5 was supported.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to expand the growing literature on the positive aspects of fraternities and sororities. By distinguishing be-

tween fraternity- and sorority-affiliated member personalities from unaffiliated student personalities, the organizational forces of fraternities/sororities that shape member behavior and personality can begin to be examined. Specific hypotheses of this study included that students affiliated with fraternities and sororities, as compared to unaffiliated students, would score higher in measures of extraversion; would score lower in measures of neuroticism, openness, and conscientiousness; and would not differ in measures of agreeableness.

These hypotheses were partially supported. Fraternity and sorority members scored higher than unaffiliated students on measures of extraversion, confirming previous research (Cole et al., 2003b; Park et al., 2009). Fraternity and sorority members also scored higher than unaffiliated students on measures of emotional stability (the antithesis of neuroticism), which has been disputable in the literature (Cole et al., 2003a; Cole et al., 2003b; Park et al., 2009). Furthermore, it was predicted and observed that fraternity and sorority members did not differ from unaffiliated students on measures of agreeableness. Contrary to our hypotheses, fraternity and sorority members scored significantly higher on measures of conscientiousness, a valuable finding for the fraternity/sorority literature. However, fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students were projected to score lower on measures of openness to experience compared to unaffiliated students. This hypothesis was not supported by the data, although no fraternity/sorority-related literature specifically speaks to either direction on this construct.

It comes as little surprise that fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students are more likely to be extraverted than the average college student. By self-selection, students determine for themselves whether or not they want to join a fraternal organization. Social fraternities and sororities encourage social involvement (Asel et al., 2009), which nourishes extraverted students' higher social and activity needs (Park et al., 2009). This

is not to say that an introverted student would not join a social fraternity or sorority, but, rather, that such a student is less likely to do so than a student high in extraversion. Students low in extraversion might receive their energy from other sources than social interaction. If a student gained energy from solitude and studying in college, perhaps he or she would be more inclined to join an honor society. Such honor societies were once combined with social fraternities, but now are said to foster more intellectual activity than social fraternities (De Los Reyes & Rich, 2003). Within an honor society, an introverted student might find individuals similar to him or her.

There are several perspectives to examine for reasoning why fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students score lower on measures of neuroticism than unaffiliated students. Park et al. (2009) explain that due to the high demands of life in a fraternity or sorority, students who often experience negative emotions stay away from the fraternity and sorority community. On the other hand, the fraternity and sorority community might be deciding for itself whether or not individuals high in neuroticism join. Fraternity and sorority recruitment habits and standards might limit student intake to only those deemed emotionally stable. If a student seems too anxious, stressed, or depressed, fraternities and sororities might reject the request to join by the prospective recruit. Another possible perspective that would explain why fraternity and sorority members score lower on measures of neuroticism could be the contribution of social support by fellow members. Woodward, Rosenfeld, and May (1996) observed sex differences in social support between fraternities and sororities. Even though fraternity members provided each other with less emotional support than sorority members provided each other, fraternity members were able to offer support to each other in areas such as technical challenges or tangible needs. Woodward and colleagues also observed sorority members provided less tangible support to each other, but were stronger at supporting via lis-

tening to one another than fraternity members. Social support in any form has the potential to benefit the target of support emotionally, which could decrease neuroticism within the fraternity and sorority community.

Perhaps the most valuable finding of this study is the unanticipated difference between fraternity/sorority members and unaffiliated students in measures of conscientiousness. Cole et al. (2003b) found a positive correlation between conscientiousness and membership in college clubs and social fraternities/sororities. The authors explain that the duties and responsibilities associated with joining organizations might be attractive to individuals high in conscientiousness, who in addition to being characterized by organization, are also characterized by an orientation toward achievement (McCrae & John, 1992). Because of the strength of conscientiousness as a predictor of job performance (Barrick & Mount, 1991), this finding is incredibly valuable to the fraternity/sorority community. If organizational forces within fraternities and sororities are shaping the personalities of their members, it is possible that fraternities and sororities shape their members to become more conscientious.

Limitations

By far, the largest limitation to this study is the sample. The size of the sample was sufficient for determining significant differences of personality traits between fraternity/sorority members and nonmembers at this institution, but is limited in its generalizability. Because the study was administered online via email, most fraternity/sorority members disregarded the study. The sample also was imbalanced in regards to gender. Approximately 70 percent of the sample was female, which might affect results for both fraternity/sorority members and unaffiliated students. Recent research on differences in Big Five personality factors between men and women found that women report higher levels of agreeableness, conscientiousness, extraversion, and neuroticism than men (Vianello, Schnabel, Sriram, & Nosek,

2013). However, in regards to comparing fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students to unaffiliated students, the gender sampling was similar. Of 310 fraternity/sorority members, 199 indicated that they were female (64%). Of 299 unaffiliated students, 228 indicated that they were female (76%). If the groups of interest were biased due to gender imbalance, it would be expected that unaffiliated student group would have had higher levels on most of the measured constructs than the fraternity/sorority sample. This was only the case with measurements of neuroticism, where unaffiliated students scored higher than fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students.

Furthermore, the results from the current sample may not generalize to other samples. All participants were students from the same university in the eastern south-central region of the United States. Not all social organizations are represented on its campus. Other organizations, students from other universities, and universities in other regions of the United States have potential for different results. Surveying individual differences on a multi-institutional basis would provide more accurate portrayal of the between-group differences.

Future Research

This study was intended to be a gateway into studying the organizational forces within fraternities and sororities affecting member behavior and personality. Longitudinal studies can provide support for identifying and understanding the change in fraternity/sorority member personality over time. In order to properly measure fraternity and sorority member personality change over time, members' personality should be assessed upon entering a new organization. This tends to be during the earlier years of college, often in the earliest stages of adulthood. Members' personality could be measured again on a yearly basis, but at the very least should be measured again upon leaving the organization, most often as an alumnus. It is uncertain as to what extent personality could change in young adults

within a few years.

Additionally, fraternities and sororities stand to be studied in other areas outside of higher education. Research has yet to be conducted on fraternities and sororities' relationship to workplace organizations. Fraternities and sororities teach members human resource management processes such as recruitment, selection, and training. Members learn about organizational structure and organizational development firsthand. The modern fraternity or sorority is an excellent setting for researching leadership, as well as group/team processes. Researching fraternity and sorority members' friendships and social networks might provide useful insight for structuring other organizations to promote more social involvement. Fraternity and sorority community service, philanthropy, and the motivations behind such service also could serve as another topic of study.

Conclusion

The notion that fraternities and sororities shape their members' behavior patterns, and

thus, their personalities, is far from confirmed. However, the results of the present study indicate that differences between fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students and unaffiliated students do exist, with some advantages for fraternity/sorority members. Although extraversion is not necessarily a good or bad trait to have, it does prove useful in jobs requiring enthusiasm, energy, and human interaction (e.g. sales, management; Barrick & Mount, 1991). Additionally, fraternity/sorority members display higher levels of emotional stability and conscientiousness, positive traits for most jobs (Barrick & Mount, 1991). Replication at a national level could confirm personality differences between fraternity- and sorority-affiliated students and unaffiliated students. Beyond these differences, different fraternities and sororities may affect personality development in different ways and to different extents. In order to fully understand the phenomena at hand, research on fraternities and sororities should continue, focusing on the positive potential of these organizations.

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Appendix A

Mini-International Personality Item Pool (Mini-IPIP)

Personality Sub-Scale	Item Text
Extraversion	I am the life of the party
	I don't talk a lot*
	I talk to a lot of different people at parties
Agreeableness	I keep in the background*
	I sympathize with others' feelings
	I am not interested in other people's problems*
Conscientiousness	I feel others' emotions
	I am not really interested in others*
	I get chores done the right way
Neuroticism	I often forget to put things in their proper place*
	I like order
	I make a mess of things*
Openness	I have frequent mood swings
	I am relaxed most of the time*
	I get upset easily
Openness	I seldom feel blue*
	I have a vivid imagination
	I am not interested in abstract ideas*
Openness	I have difficulty understanding abstract ideas*
	I do not have a good imagination*

Note: Responses were coded as *strongly disagree* (1), *disagree* (2), *feel neutral* (3), *agree* (4), *strongly agree* (5). Items marked with a (*) were reverse-coded.

Author Biographies

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