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The current conceptual model of hazing is based on an assumption that low-grade hazing (buffoonery) serves as a gateway to severe acts of hazing. Consequently, the range of acts regarded as hazing is broad in scope and estimates of the rates and nature of hazing may be inflated. In the present study, the gateway assumption was tested and not supported. Further, in this study students clearly differentiate between buffoonery and hazing. The data supports reframing hazing reduction efforts, emphasizing potential for harm and educational efficacy in new member education. This approach aligns with student understanding and promotes internal regulation while encouraging the basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and belonging.

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Every year students are physically, mentally, and/or emotionally injured due to hazing. Some injuries are so significant they result in student deaths, yet “hazing is an issue that has been largely overlooked and under studied” (Allan & Madden, 2008, p. 5). Hazing is institutionalized by organizations, clubs, and groups, as well as within campus policy. Student hazing experiences are different for the individual(s) involved, and institutional experiences vary as institutions have their own hazing definitions and policies. Through document analysis, we examined and critically analyzed the ambiguous anti-hazing policy at the state and federal levels.

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As research on fraternity men largely focuses on misbehavior and criminal activity, no research examines the types of stories reported on by media outlets and whether these stories include fraternity voices or statements. Employing quantitative content analysis, this study examines 100 fraternity-related stories published by the ten newspaper websites most frequently visited by people in the United States. Findings suggest 12% of fraternity-related publications are positive in nature and tone, 36% of publications include official fraternity-issued statements, and 69% of all publications include official university-issued statements. Implications for practitioners and future research is addressed

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GENERAL INFORMATION

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

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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.

USING RESEARCH TO DEFY EXPECTATIONS

JAMES P. BARBER, PH.D., *ORACLE* EDITOR

There is a certain comfort in the cyclical nature of life in higher education—we know what to expect at certain times of the year. As we make the finishing touches on this issue of *Oracle*, it's the beginning of a new academic year and the expected things are about to happen—move-in, orientation, and for some campuses, fraternity/sorority recruitment.

Sadly, racism, discrimination, sexual assault, and hazing are among the events that have become expected in our fraternity/sorority communities. These behaviors and attitudes are certainly not acceptable, nor tolerated, but based on past experience, no one should be surprised when they happen.

Interest in joining fraternities and sororities has been on the rise despite these tragic incidents and the heightened media attention they have sparked. This presents a challenging environment where even more undergraduates are entering communities plagued with dangerous traditions. We face a crisis that most other college organizations do not—students are being injured or killed because of joining our groups. How can research help us to address these issues? Some campus leaders have suspended or halted fraternity/sorority activities, but this is a short-term solution, not lasting change.

How can research help to address these issues, and effect lasting change in our communities? Research provides a systematic investigation to answer a question. Researchers use established tools and methods to collect information to answer that question. Research can help us to understand these phenomena, learn about student motivations, and seek solutions for the future. The findings from research establish a framework that gives us a sense of what we can expect next. However, it can only be effective when people use the findings in practice.

This issue of *Oracle* features four studies that address some of our most pressing problems today. Parker and Pascarella examine the ways in which exposure to diverse peers can benefit fraternity and sorority members, with clear relevance as undergraduates set out to recruit new members to join their chapters.

Roosevelt offers a new framework for addressing hazing behavior, using elements of psychology to understand student perceptions of the differences between activities that are physically dangerous and psychologically harmful, from those that are undesirable but not likely to result in harm (buffoonery). Salinas, Boettcher, and Plagman-Galvin analyze current state-level anti-hazing policies to provide an update on the legislative stances on hazing applied across the United States, most of which lack the nuance in definition described by Roosevelt.

Finally, Taylor, Zamora, McArdle, and Villa offer their findings about the ways in which fraternal organizations are reported in the media, and offer suggestions for how students, advisors, and headquarters can address negative press.

How will you use the findings presented in this issue as a professional? How will you communicate these findings to your students? The research is just one part of the process. If the research cannot be translated into action, it is useless in our communities. But, if research is understood and used to address those most pressing problems facing fraternities and sororities, it can help to defy expectations.

As we embark on a new academic year consider how you will use research in new ways to defy the expectations for ourselves, our organizations, and our students.

ON GREEK ROW: DIVERSITY, SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP AND FRATERNITY AND SORORITY MEMBERSHIP

EUGENE T. PARKER, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
AND ERNEST PASCARELLA, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

This study uses the Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education to examine the relationship between diversity experiences and socially responsible leadership among college fraternity and sorority members. Results suggest that college diversity experiences are positively associated with socially responsible leadership for these student groups.

Issues of cultural insensitivity of students who participate in college fraternities and sororities continue to be a pervasive issue for the higher education community. There have been numerous incidents of fraternity and sorority members wearing attire based on racial stereotypes, vandalism of culturally diverse facilities and structures, and other accounts of the use of racial slurs and taunts toward fellow students from diverse backgrounds (Otani & Diamond, 2015). In 2015, a University of Maryland student was investigated for sending emails filled with racist slurs about people of Middle Eastern and Asian descent (Kingkade, 2015). The University of Missouri suspended a fraternity chapter in 2016 amid reports of sexist and racist behaviors by its members (Keller, 2016). Recent displays on cultural insensitivity by members of these student organizations persist on college campuses.

Scholarship on fraternity and sorority participation has shown adverse links between participation in these collegiate experiences and students' levels of intercultural competence (Pascarella, Edison, Whitt, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1996). The recent incidents of racism by members of these organizations and the empirical scholarship have produced noteworthy quandaries for higher education leadership. Specifically, questions about how to manage these student organizations while promoting positive campus environments for all students is a critical objective for administrators at colleges and universities. Additionally, there exists uncertainty in the higher education community

regarding what experiences influence college outcomes among these students, such as cultural competence or proclivities toward social change among college students. Given the recent occurrences of racial and cultural insensitivity, higher education professionals might question what are the experiences that significantly impact attitudes and behaviors toward social justice among members of fraternities and sororities?

Research has increasingly attended to contemporary facets of student leadership, such as leadership framed through the Social Change Model, i.e. socially responsible leadership (Kezar, Alcuna Avilez, Drivalas, & Wheaton, 2017; HERI, 1996). Socially responsible leadership (SRLS) considers leadership with attention to equity, social change, civic responsibility and process rather than simply position. Further, socially responsible leadership can be a transformative experience and developed in college students (Dugan, 2008, 2015; Dugan & Komives, 2010).

There continues to be uncertainty about for whom are these benefits salient. The present examination is associated with a larger study that explores the impact of diversity experiences on socially responsible leadership among college students. Recent research has found that diversity experiences are positively linked to socially responsible leadership among college students (Parker & Pascarella, 2013). That research focused on the general student body. The present study centers on specific groups of students and examines whether the benefits of diversity experiences on students' leadership

skills extended to particular student groups on campus. The aim of the present study was to focus on the unique experiences of students who participate in fraternity and sorority organizations. The purpose of this examination was to explore the relationship between membership in these organizations, the diversity experiences they encounter and leadership outcomes. There are very few longitudinal studies that have attended to this issue, thus, this study is significant to higher education because of its longitudinal design.

Review of Literature

Threads of prior research have examined the impact of college experiences, such as participation in a fraternity or sorority, on various educational college outcomes, such as cognitive skills. Scholars have contended that participation in a fraternity as sorority may be positively linked to higher gains in student learning and retention (Bowman & Holmes, 2017; Pike, 2003). However, there exists mixed evidence regarding the benefits of fraternity and sorority membership on cognitive development as other research as shown potential negative effects of these experiences of cognitive related outcomes. Some research has demonstrated a negative relationship between affiliation with a fraternity or sorority and cognitive gains (Pascarella et al., 1996). Additionally, other studies have found little or no statistically significant associations between membership in a fraternity or sorority and cognitive college outcomes, such as critical thinking skills (Hevel, Martin, Weeden, & Pascarella, 2015).

Additional research studies have examined the association between fraternity and sorority membership on non-cognitive outcomes. Scholars have demonstrated a positive link between these experiences and social involvement and campus engagement (Pike 2000; Pike, 2003). Fraternity and sorority membership has also been associated with increased civic

related outcomes, such as community service or volunteerism (Asel, Seifert, & Pascarella, 2009; Hayek, Carini, O'Day, & Kuh, 2002).

Prior research studies on students who join the fraternity/sorority community have also focused on binge drinking and risky behaviors. Researchers have revealed that students who join fraternities or sororities consume alcohol more often and in larger quantities when compared to their peers who are not members of these organizations (Barry, 2007; Borsari, Hustad, & Capone, 2009; Pace & McGrath, 2002; Wechsler, Kuh, & Davenport, 1996; Ragsdale, Porter, Matthews, White, Gore-Felton, & McGarvey, 2012). Yet, the research that has investigated the impact of fraternity and sorority participation on educational and college outcomes is largely inconsistent comprising mixed evidence regarding the benefits of these college experiences.

Diversity, Leadership, and Fraternities/Sororities

The scholarship focusing on the matter of diversity, leadership and membership in a fraternity or sorority is complex. The prior literature on diversity is plentiful as well as student leadership. There remains a dearth of scholarship that has examined the interactional effects of diversity and leadership, particularly for members of fraternities and sororities.

Diversity. Prior literature has generally demonstrated that encounters with diversity are generally salient experiences for college students. Scholars have asserted that diversity experiences are positive indicators for a host of educational and college outcomes, such as critical thinking skills, intellectual growth and moral development (Astin, 1993; Loes, Pascarella, & Umbach, 2012; Parker & Pascarella, 2013). Thus, diversity experiences are important for the all-encompassing group of college students.

Examining diversity in fraternity and sorority contexts is significant for higher education as there is a dearth of research that has investigated

this topic, particularly with longitudinal research designs. Of the prior research, the evidence is mixed and not conclusive about the effects of fraternity and sorority membership on diversity outcomes, such as intercultural competence. For instance, prior studies have shown there might exist a negative relationship between the affiliations in a fraternity or sorority and intercultural competence while other studies have revealed little or no significant relationship (Martin, Hevel, Asel, & Pascarella, 2011; Pascarella et al., 1996). Worthen (2014) found that being a member of the Greek systems illuminated a negative association with attitudes toward the LGBT community. In a longitudinal study, Martin, Parker, Pascarella, & Blechschmidt (2015) did not report a significant link between membership in these organizations and intercultural competence. These studies represent prior research that has shows the negative effects of membership in these organizations when considering diversity.

Leadership. Scholars have also examined the matter of student leadership development and growth. Prior research has centered on how college attendance has affected leadership development among students (Cress, Astin, Zimmerman-Oster & Burkhardt, 2001; Dugan & Komives, 2010; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). For example, Cress et al. (2001) posited effectual interactions with faculty and peers promoted leadership development in college students. Other scholarship has focused on the development of leadership among students by means of curriculum and formal classroom experiences (Brungardt, 1997). There is also a body of research that has explored leadership development and growth that occur outside of the class, i.e. nonclassroom experiences such as involvement with extracurricular activities. For instance, Martin, Hevel, & Pascarella (2012) demonstrated that participation in a fraternity or sorority in college positively influences socially responsible leadership.

Diversity, leadership, and fraternities/sororities.

Scholars have increasingly focused on student leadership development- through contemporary lenses that account for equity and social justice. The prior overarching body of literature on leadership growth and development has largely highlighted positional or organizational leadership, but this type of leadership is noticeably different than student leadership. Within this larger context and particularly in higher education, scholars have focused on the distinctness of student leadership. Student leadership is centered on interpersonal factors; such as values, beliefs and attitudes (Astin & Astin, 1996; HERI, 1996). Researchers have asserted that student leadership involves social responsibility (Komives, Lucas, & McMahan, 2007). Emerging research has investigated the association between college experiences that might influence socially responsible leadership. Contemporary frames of student leadership, such as socially responsible leadership, consider process (rather than position) and equity minded student leadership (Kezar et al., 2017; HERI, 1996). Researchers are increasingly exploring the links between socially responsible leadership and collegiate experiences. For example, Parker and Pascarella (2013) demonstrated that diversity experiences are positively associated with socially responsible leadership in students.

Regarding members of fraternities and sororities, Dugan (2008) found positive associations of sorority membership on SRLS. Accounting for selection bias, other studies have shown positive relationships between fraternity and sorority affiliation after the first year (Martin et al., 2012) but inconsistent or non-significant relationships between membership and SRLS at the end of the college going experience (Hevel, Martin, & Pascarella, 2014). Regarding the various types of college fraternal organizations (e.g. Interfraternity Council [IFC]), Johnson, Johnson, & Dugan (2015) found modest differences between student members when considering socially responsible leadership. Yet, there is a dearth of literature that has examined

the antecedents or predictors that promote socially responsible leadership development.

Conceptual Perspectives and the Social Change Model

Scholars have maintained the importance of effective leadership, such as leaders who are change agents and effectual behaviors, or processes that promote collaborative leadership (HERI, 1996). However, scholars have also contended that an attention to values ought to be at the center of effectual leadership. One of the tenets of the social change model of leadership (HERI, 1996) is the assumption that leadership is value-based. Fundamentally, the model supports the notion that “approaches leadership as a purposeful, collaborative, and values based process that results in positive social change” (p. 1). The model underscores themes such as citizenship, social justice and equity, with an emphasis on collaboration and other values. Further, the goals of the model focus on greater attention to the development of leadership competence and self-knowledge (HERI, 1996).

Several theories and conceptual frameworks guide the present study. Socially responsible leadership, as framed through the *social change model of leadership* (HERI, 1996), is “a purposeful, collaborative, values-based process that results in positive social change” (Komives & Wagner, 2009, p. xii). This theoretical lens views leadership that is shifting away from traditional views of leadership, such as management, to perspectives of leadership centered on social justice (Dugan, 2015; Komives & Dugan, 2010). The present study is primarily centered on the notion of student leadership through cognitive inclination and disposition toward social change.

Student leadership development and growth can be viewed through the frame of social change, and particularly the Higher Education Research Institute’s (HERI, 1996) Social Change Model. The social change model informs our understanding of leadership development that specifically pertains to educational contexts and

students (HERI, 1996). The goals of the model are leadership competence (e.g. the capacity of individuals to mobilize themselves, and others, to serve and work collaboratively) and self-knowledge (HERI, 1996; Parker & Pascarella, 2013). The social change model links leadership with several values: commitment, citizenship, common purpose, controversy with civility, congruence and collaboration (Dugan, 2006; Dugan, 2015; HERI, 1996). The conceptual perspectives of leadership and social change guide this research study’s attention to leadership growth that is focused on college students and, particularly, the notion of preparing students to be citizens in a global and diverse world.

Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, and Gurin (2002) asserted that students encounter diversity through several means while in college. They have diversity experiences that are linked with the structural diversity of the institution. Students have diverse experiences associated with their interactions with peers. Students also have experiences of diversity that relate to formal classroom activities or the curriculum. These perspectives guided the identification and inclusion of the appropriate variables for the present study.

This study also employs the Astin (1993) input-environment-outcome (I-E-O) model. This is a conceptual framework informs our understanding of the relationship between precollege variables, collegiate experiences and college outcomes. In this study, the inputs represent precollege characteristics and influences, such as race, gender and academic ability. The environment is associated with the institutional experiences or characteristics that may have an effect on students, such as having a liberal arts education or participating in volunteer programs. Last, the outcome is the post-college knowledge, attitudes and beliefs that students have when they leave college. This study utilizes the I-E-O model to identify and analyze the relationship between diversity experiences, fraternal organizational membership and socially

responsibly leadership. Additionally, the I-E-O framework allowed the researchers to consider a host of potential covariates and control variables for inclusion in the research design, such as parental education, co-curricular activities and work experiences.

Although scholars have largely posited that college students benefit from diversity experiences, the question still remains *for whom?* This study is a component of a larger project that focuses the impact of diversity experiences on socially responsible leadership among college students. The present study utilizes longitudinal multi-institutional data to examine the diversity experiences of a particular student group, fraternity and sorority members. The purpose of this study is to supplement the recent research that has focused on link between diversity experiences and socially responsible leadership by investigating the effects of these experiences on leadership for members of fraternity and sororities. The research question that guides this study is: *are diversity experiences of students who participate in fraternities and sororities positively associated with socially responsible leadership during college?*

Methods

The present study utilized data from the Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education (WNS). WNS is a multi-institutional longitudinal study with an aim to investigate the factors that influence liberal arts education outcomes (Center of Inquiry WNS, 2018). The longitudinal design of the WNS allowed the researchers employ a pretest-posttest research design. This included statistical controls for potential selection issues and confounding variables that may influence the dependent variable.

The student sample comprised individuals from 46 liberal arts colleges, regional and research universities (Center of Inquiry WNS, 2018). The institutions represented colleges and universities from varying geographic

areas of the United States. This institutional sample included seven research universities, nine regional universities, and 30 liberal arts colleges. Additionally, the institutions had varying institutional characteristics, such as size, control, selectivity and academic programs. WNS was funded by the Center of Inquiry in the Liberal Arts at Wabash College. WNS centered on the impact of liberal arts experiences and liberal arts colleges were purposefully over-sampled. Participants in the study were first year full time students.

The sample included students who were members of a fraternity or sorority during their college career. Data was obtained, from the larger WNS dataset, based on students' answer to a single survey item: *is respondent a member of a social fraternity or sorority?* The final sample included 959 students after listwise deletion and considering participants who met the criteria for the study, i.e. a member of a fraternity or sorority.

The overall sample included three waves (or cohorts) of student participants. There were cohorts in 2006, 2007 and 2008. Participants were assessed three times during their college career. First, students were sampled at the beginning of their first year. Next, students took assessments at the end of their first year of college. The final assessment point was at the end of students' fourth year of college. Each of the three assessment points were approximately 90 minutes. Students who included in the 2006 cohort were provided with a \$50 stipend. The other two cohorts did not receive a monetary stipend. Because of this distinction, the analysis included dummy variables to represent the participants in each cohort to account for any potential differences between the cohorts. Participants indicated their fraternity or sorority membership in the second and final assessments.

Variables

Dependent variables. The researchers utilized the Socially Responsible Leadership Scale (SRLS)

(Dugan, 2006; Dugan, Komives, & Segar, 2008; Tyree, 1998) to assess the dependent variable. This instrument measured student leadership development, within the context of the Social Change Model. The total scale is comprised of 68 items (8 subscales) that represented the SRLS leadership elements (Tyree, 1998), and had an internal consistency reliability of .85. Further researchers have maintained the validity of the SRLS measurement (see Dugan, 2015; Dugan & Komives, 2010).

The components (subscales) of the scale were (Dugan, 2006; Dugan et al., 2008; Tyree, 1998): *consciousness of self* (being aware of one's own values, emotions, attitudes, and beliefs that motivate one to take action, 9 items, $\alpha = 0.82$), *congruence* (thinking, feeling, and behaving with consistency, genuineness, authenticity, and honesty towards others, 7 items, $\alpha = 0.86$), *commitment* (intensity and duration in relation to a person, idea, or activity, 6 items, $\alpha = 0.85$), *collaboration* (working with others in a common effort, 8 items, $\alpha = 0.82$), *common purpose* (working with others within a shared set of aims and values, 9 items, $\alpha = 0.85$), *controversy with civility* (recognizing two fundamental realities of any group effort, 11 items, $\alpha = 0.78$), *citizenship*

(believing in a process whereby a person or group is responsibly connected to the environment and the community. Citizenship signifies more than membership; it implies active engagement in an effort to serve the community, 8 items, $\alpha = 0.90$), and *change* (adapting to continuously evolving environments and situations, while maintaining the primary functions of the group, 10 items, $\alpha = 0.84$).

Independent variables. The independent variables of interest represented various diversity experiences that college students might encounter in college. The author's utilized this scale to conceptualize this study through Gurin et al.'s (2002) theoretical perspectives. The variables represented experiences such as attending a lecture or debate on a current political or social issue or participating in diversity related workshops. Refer to Table 1 for a description of the diversity experiences items.

Control variables. A benefit of the Wabash National Study is the capacity to include a host of control variables to isolate any potential confounding influences. Control variables represented precollege and background characteristics, such as race, gender and high school academic ability. The researchers also

Table 1
Description of Diversity Experiences

Items of Diversity Experiences

This is a 6-item scale, which represents the extent to which the respondent had meaningful discussions with diverse peers and diversity related experiences. It has an alpha reliability of 0.692.

How often the respondent attended a debate or lecture on a current political/social issue during this academic year

How often the respondent had serious discussions with staff whose political, social, or religious opinions were different from own

Extent to which the respondent's institution emphasizes encouraging contact among students from different economic, social, and racial or ethnic backgrounds

During current school year, how often has the respondent had serious conversations with students of a different race or ethnicity than respondent's own

During current school year, how often have the respondent had serious conversations with students who are very different from respondent in terms of their religious beliefs, political opinions, or personal values

How often the respondent participated in a racial or cultural awareness workshop during this academic year

included variables that represented institutional characteristics or collegiate experiences, such as working in college or major. Refer to Table 2 for a list of control variables and descriptive statistics.

Analysis

We employed regression analysis, ordinary least squares (OLS), for the analyses. Because

our data was based on multiple random samples from over 40 participating institutions, we had to adjust for the nesting or clustering effect in our data (i.e., the tendency for students from each institution to behave more similarly to each other than they did to students at other institutions). This nesting or clustering effect leads to downwardly-biased standard errors and increases the probability of at Type-I error

Table 2

Description of Control Variables. SRLS - Seven "Critical Elements" of Leadership Development (Tyree et al., 1998). (Internal Consistency Reliability of .843)

Variable Name	Operational Definition	M	SD
Gender	1 = Male, 0 = Female	0.48	0.5
Black	1 = Black, 0 = non-Black	0.06	0.24
Asian	1 = Asian, 0 = non-Asian	0.05	0.22
Hispanic	1 = Hispanic, 0 = non-Hispanic	0.04	0.2
White	1 = White, 0 = non-White	0.84	0.36
Parent's Education	1 = bachelors degree or greater, 0 = less than a bachelors degree	0.48	0.5
Pre-College Academic Ability	ACT Score, SAT Equivalent. (Provided by each institution)	25.81	3.96
Pre-College/High School Involvement	How often the respondent participated in each of the activities in high school including: studying with friends, socializing with friends, participating in community service etc. 1 = Very often, 5 = Never	3.75	0.53
HS Political Views	Political views (1=far left-5=far right)	2.92	0.85
Attended a Liberal Arts College	1 = Attended a Liberal Arts College, 0 = Did not attend a Liberal Arts College	0.61	0.49
Co-Curricular Involvement	Number (#) of hours per week the respondent spends participating in co-curricular activities	3.81	1.76
College Political Views	Political Views (1=far left 5=far right)	2.9	0.83
Major (Humanities etc.)	1 = Majored in Humanities and/or Social Science 0 = Did not major in Humanities and/or Social Sciences	0.49	0.5
Major (STEM)	1 = Majored in STEM field 0 = Did not major in STEM field	0.31	0.47
Volunteerism	Importance of personally volunteering in the community (1=essential, 4=not important)	2.98	0.86
Work	1 = worked on campus, 0=did not work	0.77	0.42
Diversity Experiences	9 item diversity experiences scale, 1= never 5=very often	0.02	0.63
SRLS (Pretest)	Scale of Leadership Development, 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree	3.98	0.63
SRLS (Posttest)	Scale of Leadership Development, 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree	4.19	0.43

(Raudenbush & Bryk, 2001). To correct for this, we employed the SVY option in the STATA statistical package, which adjusts standard errors for the nesting effect. Additionally, as a supplemental analysis, we employed a multilevel modeling analysis that subsequently produced similar results as the OLS regression. Factor analyses from the original and prior WNS studies (see Parker & Pascarella, 2013) demonstrate that the factors and loadings for the instruments are essentially similar, and thus the included scales are appropriate for this sample.

The analysis was carried out in two steps. In the first step we sought to estimate the association of diversity experiences on four-year growth in socially responsible leadership. In this first step we estimated two models. In the first model we regressed end-of-fourth-year socially responsible leadership on the diversity experiences variable and covariates that included the following variables: pre-college socially responsible leadership, standardized precollege academic ability, pre-college political views, race, gender, parental education, high school involvement, whether or not one was attending a liberal arts college, dummy variables representing a person's cohort year in the study, and a dummy variable indicating if the institution they attended had been in multiple cohorts in the study. In the second model we added a battery of college experience variables to the model 1 equation. These included: academic major field of study, co-curricular involvement, work responsibilities, volunteer involvement, and college political orientation.

In the second step of the analysis we sought to determine the presence of conditional effects. Specifically, was the link between diversity experiences and end-of-fourth-year socially responsible leadership moderated by gender, race, or pre-college level of socially responsible leadership? To accomplish this we added a set of cross-product terms to the model 2 equation specified above. These cross-product terms multiplied the diversity experiences variable by

race, gender, and pre-college socially responsible leadership level. Individually significant cross-product terms were only interpreted substantively if the entire set of cross-product terms was associated with a statistically significant increase in explained variance. Prior to our analysis, we standardized all continuous variables, including the diversity experiences and end-of-fourth-year socially responsible leadership. Thus, the coefficients we report in our regression results can be interpreted as effect sizes.

Results

The results for the general effects estimates of models 1 and 2 are summarized in Table 3. When all covariates except the other college experience variables were taken into account (model 1), a one standard deviation increase in engagement in diversity experiences was associated with a statistically significant ($p < .001$) increase of .199 of a standard deviation in end-of-fourth-year socially responsible leadership. The addition of other college experiences to the model reduced that estimate to an increase of .161 of a standard deviation in fourth-year socially responsible leadership — which was still significant at $p < .001$.

In the test for the presence of conditional effects the addition of the set of cross-product terms failed to be associated with a statistically reliable increase in explained variance. Consequently, we concluded that the general effects results shown in Table 2 held irrespective of gender, race, or pre-college level of socially responsible leadership. The absence of a significant conditional effect by gender suggests that engaging in diversity experiences during college may have the same enabling influence on growth in socially responsible leadership for both fraternity and sorority members.

Limitations

There are limitations associated with the

Table 3*Estimated Effects of Diversity Experiences on SRLS for Members of Fraternities or Sororities*

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Model I (n=959)</u>	<u>Model II (n=959)</u>
Diversity Experiences	0.199*** (0.036)	0.161*** (0.036)
Socially Responsible Leadership (Pretest)	0.315*** (0.047)	0.303*** (0.044)
Pre-College Academic Ability	-0.005 (0.029)	-0.00 (0.027)
Pre-College/High School Involvement	0.069** (0.023)	0.031 (0.022)
Pre-College Political Views	-0.054 (0.029)	-0.038 (0.039)
Attended a Liberal Arts College	-0.141 (0.074)	-0.102 (0.059)
Male	-0.233** (0.068)	-0.110 (0.073)
Black	-0.131 (0.147)	-0.166 (0.139)
Asian	-0.032 (0.118)	-0.078 (0.120)
Hispanic	0.086 (0.111)	0.063 (0.099)
Parent's Education	-0.249*** (0.062)	-0.239*** (0.065)
College Political Views		-0.054 (0.041)
Co-Curricular Involvement		0.029 (0.020)
Major (STEM)		-0.199 (0.088)
Major (Humanities/Social Sciences)		-0.136 (0.071)
Volunteerism		0.210*** (0.025)
Work		-0.055 (0.065)
2007 Cohort	-0.044 (0.066)	-0.060 (0.056)
2008 Cohort	0.054 (0.084)	0.020 (0.078)
Multiple Cohorts	0.042 (0.081)	0.122 (0.089)
Constant	0.311** (0.084)	0.355*** (0.087)
R-squared	0.209	0.253

Standard errors in parentheses

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

present study. The aim of the WNS was to investigate college experiences on liberal arts outcomes. As such, liberal arts colleges were oversampled. Thus, the sample is not representative of all institutions of higher education in the United States and the findings may not be generalizable to the population. Likewise, this study did not explore special interest, affinity or ethnic oriented fraternal organizations, such as the Black Greek Lettered Organizations (BGLOs), and thus is limited in its generalizability to the population of students who participate in these collegiate experiences. Additionally, this study focused solely on fraternity and sorority members as previous research has explored comparisons between non-members and members. The purpose of this study was to examine the particular student community.

The included cohorts are for 2006-2008 with participants' final years occurring from 2010-2012. One might argue that the data is dated. Contemporary multi-institutional longitudinal studies, like WNS, are needed to further investigate diversity and SRLS. The study included a 6-item scale that represented various diversity experiences, such as attending a diversity related workshop, lecture or debate. The researchers recognize that students encounter many different types of diversity experiences in college. There may be other diversity experiences that may be salient regarding socially responsible leadership, such as interactional diversity in the classroom.

Discussion

The present study supplements an expanding literature base that has examined the impact of diversity experiences on college student outcomes. Bowman (2010) asserted that "more research is needed not about whether racial diversity has an impact but about how, for whom, and under what conditions" (p. 23). The aim of this study was to supplement the research on the impact of diversity experiences

on socially responsible leadership for particular student groups, namely students who participate in fraternities and sororities. Prior literature has shown the benefits of diversity on educational outcomes (Astin, 1993; Loes et al., 2012; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). The results of this study help inform our understanding of who benefits from diversity experiences. The findings indicate that diversity experiences matter for fraternity and sorority members. That is, there is a positive relationship between diversity experiences and socially responsible leadership among the members in the study.

The findings of this study suggest that students who join fraternities and sororities benefit from diversity experiences. This finding supports copious prior research that has demonstrated the positive link between diversity experiences and college outcomes, such as cognitive, civic and psychosocial outcomes (Bowman, 2010/2011; Denson & Chang, 2009; Parker & Trolan, 2015; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Umbach & Kuh, 2006). Specifically, students benefit from these experiences when considering student leadership and how they approach leadership through a social change perspective.

Unlike some prior research that has shown mixed results pertaining to membership in a fraternity or sorority and socially responsible leadership after four years, this study provides additional evidence of the positive association when considering specific experiences, e.g. diversity experiences (Martin et al., 2012). Further, Parker and Pascarella (2013) demonstrated a positive association between diversity experiences of the general student body and socially responsible leadership. The findings of this study provide supplementary support of their conclusions and also shows that the benefit of those diversity experiences extends to students who participate in fraternities and sororities. The findings are also important for fraternities and sororities considering the current climate for diversity. As student leaders, the SRLS framework serves as a guide for members

of fraternities and sororities to be civically and culturally minded citizens.

Considerations and Implications for Practice

There are implications associated with the findings of this study. The findings of this study illuminate the saliency of diversity experiences on socially responsible leadership for students in fraternities and sororities. Linking these students to those experiences is important for higher education and student affairs professionals. Some of the experiences operationalized in the study are programmatic or structural, such as the frequency in which students attend a debate or lecture on a political or social issue, while other experiences focus on social interactions, such as how often students have serious conversations with peers about religious, political opinions or values.

Higher education and student affairs professionals who work with student leaders should create programs that promote these experiences while also cultivating spaces that foster critical dialogues between students. For instance, contemporary research has demonstrated the benefits of particular types of student-faculty interactions (e.g. out of class discussions about social issues) on college outcomes, such as attitudes about diversity (Parker & Trolan, 2017). Fraternity and sorority professionals may develop nonclassroom programs which integrate faculty in a meaningful way, such as fireside chats or town hall meetings.

It is worth noting that the fraternity/sorority community at colleges and universities in the U.S. are mostly based on selective membership. A limitation of this study is that the diversity experiences, as operationalized in the study, did not account for the influence of having interactions specifically with diverse peers. Higher education professionals ought to consider how to better advise and supervise social organizations that have selective membership processes. Further research is needed to explore the relationship between students who

participate in fraternities and sororities and their interactions with diverse peers. These studies should also consider the interactions with diverse peers who are also affiliated with the fraternity/sorority community as well as those who are not affiliated with any organization.

The present study demonstrates that interactions with diverse peers may prompt higher levels of leadership that is rooted in social change. Encouraging student members who participate in fraternities and sororities to maximize their opportunities to interact with diverse peers should be a priority for higher education professionals. Ostensibly, a simply approach to this undertaking is to facilitate productive social experiences and programs that focus on salient interactions between students. Perhaps, another initiative is to create constructive programs that underscore the value of interactions with diverse peers. Higher education should consider programs that go beyond the traditional formulaic and unoriginal activities that are prevalent in student affairs, such as mandated trainings and workshops. For example, one example might be book discussions. Facilitating critical dialogues centered on book readings may encourage effectual diversity interactions, in social settings, that positively affect students.

Conclusion

Research that examines diversity and socially responsible leadership is vital for the higher education community. How are we preparing students who participate in this particular organizations to be effectual global citizens is significant for the field. The Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors has a strategic framework that illuminates critical areas of research for higher education (AFA, 2018). This current student attends to several of those themes including: longitudinal analysis, preparing fraternity/sorority for the post-graduate world and leadership development

focused on long standing issues. The results of the present study supplements our understanding of what collegiate experiences might positively impact end of college outcomes, such as socially responsible leadership, that promote growth in students.

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DECONFLATING BUFFOONERY AND HAZING: A TWO-FACTOR MODEL OF UNDERSTANDING MALADAPTIVE NEW MEMBER ACTIVITIES

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The current conceptual model of hazing is based on an assumption that low-grade hazing (buffoonery) serves as a gateway to severe acts of hazing. Consequently, the range of acts regarded as hazing is broad in scope and estimates of the rates and nature of hazing may be inflated. In the present study, the gateway assumption was tested and not supported. Further, in this study students clearly differentiate between buffoonery and hazing. The data supports reframing hazing reduction efforts, emphasizing potential for harm and educational efficacy in new member education. This approach aligns with student understanding and promotes internal regulation while encouraging the basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and belonging.

The presently accepted construct of hazing appears to have evolved with surprisingly little empirical investigation or formal scholarship in support. Indeed, the overall hazing literature is comparatively impoverished given the magnitude of consequences stemming from the act. The construct of hazing, as is it understood in the Fraternity and Sorority context, appears to be a series of cobbled together acts of behaviors that over time universities, inter(national) Fraternity and Sorority organizations, and insurance companies have deemed harmful (or simply bothersome). Allowing the explication of hazing to evolve by default, rather than through scholarship, has produced unintended and unhelpful consequences. First, it has led to distortion and misestimates of the rates and nature of inappropriate new member activities. Second, to conflation of merely inappropriate and misguided new member activities with those that are harmful. Third, poor alignment of language with student understanding. This in turn alienates students on the topic and produces messages that are off target. Fourth, it has led to interventions based on rules and extrinsic control of students rather than fostering intrinsic motivation. The present investigation explores student understanding of hazing and recommends adopting an approach in communicating about new member activity s that aligns with student

perspectives.

Physical and emotional harm resulting from hazing is of concern in many arenas of American life, including higher education (Adler & Adler, 1988; Allan & Madden, 2012; Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2002; Davis, 1998; Hoover & Pollard, 1999; Nuwer, 2000). Fraternities and Sororities, athletic teams (Hoover & Pollard, 1999), bands (Ellsworth, 2006), and academic clubs (Allan & Madden, 2012) alike have come under increasing societal scrutiny for the behavior senior members of these groups direct toward new members. Consequences borne by new members include lasting interpersonal resentment, psychological harm, physical injury, and death (Finkel, 2002; Leslie, Taff, & Mulvihill, 1985; Nuwer, 2001, 2004).

Insufficient and poorly directed explanation of hazing as a construct has hindered development of effective hazing reduction programs with students, universities, organizations, and researchers holding divergent conceptions of what behaviors constitute hazing (Ellsworth, 2006; Hollmann, 2002; Owen, Burke, & Vichesky, 2008; Rutledge, 1998). Adequate explanation of hazing as a construct is essential to the development of an accurate and commonly held understanding of the phenomenon. Understanding what purposes — both individual and organizational — hazing serves is an essential

step in the formation of effective intervention strategies.

Legal, university, organizational, and student understandings of what behaviors constitute hazing have substantial overlap but still differ in meaningful ways (Rutledge, 1998). There is widespread agreement that hazing includes elements of harm, intent, and a power differential. Less agreement exists about such behaviors for example as being required to do everything together as a group and being forced to listen to loud or repetitive music. Hazing, as a matter of law, is regulated by the states (Rutledge, 1998). While variation in definitions exist, state laws generally identify hazing as being *reckless and willful acts* that result in psychological or physical harm. Students largely accept the broad legal conceptualization of hazing but not university definitions. Universities, Fraternities/Sororities, and their insurance companies' conceptualization of hazing — hereafter referred to as the Standard Model — differs from the standard legal definition and student understanding. The standard model is laid out in the Fraternal Information and Programing Group (2011) definition of hazing:

Any action taken or situation created, intentionally, whether on or off fraternity premises, to produce mental or physical discomfort, embarrassment, harassment, or ridicule. Such activities may include but are not limited to the following: use of alcohol; paddling in any form; creation of excessive fatigue; physical and psychological shocks; quests, treasure hunts, scavenger hunts, road trips or any other such activities carried on outside or inside of the confines of the chapter house; wearing of public apparel which is conspicuous and not normally in good taste; engaging in public stunts and buffoonery; morally degrading or humiliating games and activities; and any other activities which are not consistent with fraternal law, ritual or policy or the regulations and policies of the educational

institution.

The Standard Model is predicated on the observation that where severe hazing has occurred it was preceded by low-grade hazing and the assumption that low-grade hazing therefore plays a *causal* role in producing severe hazing. This assumption is hereafter referred to as the Gateway Hypothesis. The response to the Gateway Hypothesis by host institutions, Fraternities/Sororities, and insurance companies alike has been to issue a blanket prohibition to an extensive list of activities that may not, in and of themselves, be harmful.

Significant institutional effort is expended in suppressing these lower intensity activities, producing several unintended consequences. First, a broad segment of student life has been pushed out of the public eye. In making these activities surreptitious, the identification of groups engaged in high risk activities becomes more difficult. By one estimate, only 33 percent of hazing occurs on campus (Allan & Madden, 2012), suggesting student groups may be intentionally sheltering new member activities from university scrutiny. Second, by effectively criminalizing these activities, undergraduates who might wish to seek guidance in improving new member experiences are effectively cut off from advisory assistance as seeking that support would be tantamount to a confession of guilt leading to serious consequences. For example, when asked why they do not report hazing, 37 percent of respondents in one study cited not wanting to get “my team or group in trouble” (Allan & Madden, 2012). Third, because undergraduates do not agree that many of the low-grade hazing activities are hazing *per se*, stake holders-in insisting these activities are hazing; suffer from diminished credibility in the eyes of the students, weakening their influence as brokers of change.

Surprisingly, given the influence of the Gateway hypothesis, its soundness remains to be established. Testing the validity of the hypothesis is important for practical reasons. If the Gateway

hypothesis is baseless, no amount of reducing low-grade activities will result in elimination or serious reduction of harmful behaviors. If the gateway effect is weak, suppression of low-grade hazing may not be an effective approach to reduction of hazing related harm and, paradoxically, may be counterproductive due to unintended consequences of prohibition. For these reasons, only a strong relationship and persuasive case for causation merits accepting the Gateway hypothesis as compelling basis on which to formulate policy.

Since 2000, two large national scale hazing studies have been reported in the literature or otherwise publicly distributed (Allan & Madden, 2012; Hoover & Pollard, 1999). Both studies assessed hazing by listing a number of putative hazing behaviors/activities and asking survey respondents to indicate if they had ever been subjected to the activities. Any individual who responded affirmatively to one or more question was categorized as having been hazed. For the “overall count” no attempt was made to determine the frequency at which the activity was reported nor to discriminate severity. Consequently, a student required to do a pushup was not distinguished from one receiving a beating; both were counted as having been hazed. While calculation of hazing rates on this basis is legitimate if one accepts the standard model, conflating relatively minor acts with acts likely to induce severe harm has the methodological disadvantage of producing overall hazing rates that misrepresent the nature and magnitude of harmful new member activities on campuses. The distinction between buffoonery and assault is not trivial. Further, clearly assessing the rates of high-risk behaviors is an important first step in reducing harm and in monitoring the success of intervention programs. Further, conflating genuinely harmful acts and buffoonery might make it more difficult to recognize successful interventions. For example, it is plausible that a program could reduce the rate of buffoonery and not underlying physical and psychological

activities and be hailed as a success. Conversely, a program might successfully reduce harmful activities — which occur at a low rate relative to buffoonery — while not impacting buffoonery levels. In such a case it is possible that the beneficial effects of the program would go undetected.

Following the hazing related death of a student athlete, researchers at Alfred University conducted a nationwide study of hazing of NCAA College athletes (Hoover & Pollard, 1999). Hoover and Pollard concluded that 79% of the athletes surveyed had been subject to questionable, alcohol related, or other unacceptable activity while joining their teams. Asked if they would report hazing, 60% of the students said they would not. Of those who said no, 26% said they “wouldn’t tell on their friends, no matter what.” The same students were skeptical that administrators would effectively deal with the issue--26% said administrators would handle the situation wrong and make matters worse; however, only 4% reported thinking retaliation by the team would be excessive. Allen and Madden (2012) surveyed students at 53 institutions nationwide asking about their experiences (if any) as new members of various student organizations and sports teams. Overall 55% of the respondents reported having been hazed (61% of males/52% of females). For those affiliated with sororities, fraternities, and sports teams, the overall rate was 70%.

Hazing has existed at least as far back as ancient Greece; Plato complained of hazing (Nuwer, 2001). It is noteworthy that he gave no indication in his remarks that this was novel behavior. Hazing persists in many societal domains: military services (Davis, 1998; Wegener, 2001; Winslow, 1999), medicine (Cousins, 1981; Shah, 2007) including nursing (Brown & Middaugh, 2009), and police (de Albuquerque & Paes-Machado, 2004). Why has hazing persisted so long and with such prevalence as a behavior?

Behaviors exist to satisfy needs (Deci, 1980;

Deci & Flaste, 1996; Glasser, 1985; Maslow, 1954), and any particular behavior that persists over long periods of time and across cultures does so because it serves some instrumental purpose. Identification of those purposes is a necessary first step in controlling the behavior. Although full consideration of what needs are being satisfied (both in the hazer and the hazed) is beyond the scope of the present investigation, a brief review of some proposed mechanisms is in order. Hazing has been argued to serve a variety of functions including: allowing the new member to show commitment to the organization, bonding and cohesion (Cornelius, Linder, & Brewer, 2007; Van Raalte, Cornelius, Linder, & Brewer, 2007), and rites of passage (Butler & Glennen, 1991; Chang, 2012; Winslow, 1999).

Whatever instrumental purposes hazing serves, it seems self-evident that a major reason new group members submit to such acts is a desire to avoid social exclusion. Because of our need for affiliation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1943), humans are especially vulnerable to social exclusion (Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Twenge, 2005; Baumeister, Twenge, & Nuss, 2002; Twenge, Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Bartels, 2007; Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001; Twenge, Catanese, & Baumeister, 2002; Williams & Zadro, 2005). Social exclusion thwarts the basic psychological need of belonging and activates some of the same central nervous system (CNS) structures as physical pain (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003) and is felt even if the agent is a member of a disliked group (Gonsalkorale & Williams, 2007) or a machine/internet (Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2004). Understanding the role that social exclusion—and the fear of social exclusion—plays, both among new and established group members, in hazing will be essential in hazing reduction efforts.

The question of if the bulk of students involved in student organizations are supportive of hazing is largely unresolved. This question, when answered, will pose further important

questions. If students are not supportive of hazing, why do so many fail to intervene? If students are supportive of hazing, why do they value it? Are their motives sincere or are they malicious? Understanding what the pro-hazing and bystander student hope to accomplish is essential in the attempt to persuade students to change behavior.

The primary goal of the present study is the development of a candidate framework for conceptualizing hazing that is both consistent with student perspectives and viable as a foundation for building intervention efforts. To be successful, the proposed framework must possess a number of features. Specifically, the proposed framework must have an organizing principle(s), be credible, concrete, and simple. An organizing principle permits combination of a wide array of observations into a more unified and simple structure. A unified and simple structure allows prediction, additional insight, suggests potential interventions, and allows identification of underlying motivations and utility. Credibility is derived from being empirically based and from mapping onto stakeholders' experiences. Concreteness results to the extent that the framework is not abstract, making it difficult to understand and apply. A useful framework must also be simple enough for student use, easy to teach, and functional within the environment of high repetition interactions with students.

A second purpose of the present study was to assess student experiences with behaviors categorized in the Standard Model as hazing--specifically to assess the frequency and intensity of these behaviors and student attitudes about the usefulness of these activities. This assessment serves as the basis of the proposed framework for working with students in the attempt to reduce harm related to new member activities.

Methods

Undergraduate fraternity members (N=

10,863) of a large fraternity were invited to take part in an online survey with respect to their fraternal experience. Data were collected over a two week period with up to three reminders sent. Responses from 1,203 students representing 191 campuses of varying size, residential setting, and sponsorship are reported.

In order to reduce deceptive and spurious responses, participation was noncompulsory and uncompensated beyond being informed that responding would help in understanding the fraternal experience. Because participation in the study was voluntary and uncompensated the response rate was anticipated to be in the range observed. To assess if a representative sample was obtained survey items with known population values (e.g. suicide ideation rate and sexual orientation) among college students were included and the results were found to be consistent with our observed values.

Survey items were developed on the basis of previous research and needs of the current study. Students were asked a variety of questions about their fraternal experience including which aspects of membership they consider most valuable, and the importance these aspects place on being part of a group that shares their values. Students were also asked to report whether they had been subjected to various activities universities define as hazing and, if so, how often the exposure occurred (see Table 1). Members were asked to assess the extent to which they view hazing to be a problem both in their own organization and in general on their campus (see Table 2). Finally, members were asked to rate how useful/harmful they view various behaviors identified in the Standard Model as being hazing (see Table 3).

To identify if there is an underlying structure to how students identify various new member activities as being hazing or non-hazing in nature, the items comprising Table 1 were explored using principle component analysis (PCA) with Oblimin rotation and Kaiser normalization. A two factor solution was predicted *a priori*.

To determine the relative strength of the item loading, a measure of absolute distance was computed from the loading scores ($| \text{Component 1} - \text{Component 2} |$).

On the basis of the PCA, further analysis was conducted using the resultant derived component structure. To evaluate how strongly exposure to activities identified by students as not being hazing predict being subject to activities widely recognized as hazing, intensity and frequency scores for the broad categories of student defined hazing/not hazing were compiled and subjected to analysis using Pearson's Coefficient. Using the same PCA derived schema, a relative risk analysis was conducted to determine the risk of being hazed based on exposure to the activities identified by students as not being hazing.

This study examines hazing within a single, nation-wide organization of largely white males. Caution is warranted in externalizing to groups substantially differing in terms of gender, racial makeup, or organizational purpose. Individual campus cultures vary considerably and should be taken into account when considering hazing. Further, non-fraternity groups were not studied and no inferences about those groups are supported by this data. This report is a single study, inclusion of other Fraternities, Sororities, and student organizations in future iterations would strengthen confidence in the results. Finally, given the paucity of reliable hazing literature to build on any findings must be considered tentative.

Results

To the question "How important is it to you to belong to a community of people who share your values and beliefs?" 89.9% said somewhat or very important; whereas, 11.1% said not at all or not too important. When asked to rate the importance of friendships as an aspect of membership, the mean response was 4.84 (SD = 0.44) on a 5 point Likert-like scale with 5 signifying the most importance. Friendships

Table 1*New Member Experiences with Various Activities*

<u>As a new member were you required to</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Once</u>	<u>Twice</u>	<u>Three times</u>	<u>Four Times</u>	<u>Five to ten times</u>	<u>More than ten times</u>
Perform physical exercises (beyond normal workouts if a sports team).	87.53	4.21	1.54	2.27	0.73	2.02	1.70
Listen to extremely loud or repetitive music during pre-initiation or initiation events.	60.57	18.70	5.67	3.56	2.59	5.67	3.24
Required to do everything together with new member class when not in class	62.25	9.70	5.34	4.53	2.99	7.92	7.28
Undergo individual or group (lineups) interrogation.	81.49	7.31	3.08	2.11	1.46	2.52	2.03
Perform acts of servitude for active members.	83.60	4.55	2.52	2.52	0.49	2.76	3.57
Required or encouraged to drink alcoholic beverages by active members.	79.30	5.52	4.71	2.11	1.22	3.90	3.25
Required to consume unpleasant foods.	93.59	3.73	1.14	0.73	0.24	0.49	0.08
Perform sexual acts.	99.35	0.08	0.16	0.08	0.00	0.08	0.24
Steal an item.	94.17	4.13	0.73	0.57	0.24	0.08	0.08
Be struck by an object.	95.79	2.59	0.57	0.41	0.08	0.41	0.16
Be totally nude at any time.	97.09	1.86	0.40	0.24	0.16	0	0.24

Note. New member experience with various activities defined as hazing in the Standard Model displayed as percentage of subjects reporting exposure to the activity during their new member experience. Bolded text indicates Type I hazing, plain text indicates Type II.

were rated much higher than parties/social activities, which yielded a mean response of 3.82 (SD =0.98).

Respondents were asked to report whether or not, and how frequently, they had been exposed to a list of 11 activities (see Table 1) considered hazing under the Standard Model. When a single episode of any of 11 activities was counted as hazing, 53.2% of the respondents reported having been hazed. It is noteworthy that very few of the behaviors in Table 1 represent either inherently dangerous or otherwise harmful activities. Further, these activities occurred at a relatively low frequency. Exposure to activities that are inherently dangerous or psychologically

harmful was reported by 32.2%. With the exception of alcohol-related activities, which had a more complex pattern, reported incidents were largely limited to one or two exposures.

Attitudes about hazing within the student's organization and campus are summarized in Table 2. Most respondents reported that hazing is not a serious problem in their organization (95.85% vs. 0.82%) or campus (59.2% vs. 17.43%) and that it is worse in other organizations than theirs (70.6% vs. 14.25%). Most (65.39% vs. 13.27%) disagreed with the statement that hazing is acceptable on their campus. The small number of students who stated the belief that hazing is a problem on their campus and within their

Table 2*Respondent's Rating of Campus Hazing Culture*

<u>Hazing is...</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Neither Agree or Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>
Is a serious problem on my campus	23.13	36.07	23.37	15.15	2.28	2.37	0.031
Is a serious problem in my organization	81.83	14.02	3.34	0.49	0.33	1.24	0.016
Is more serious in other groups than mine	9.77	4.48	15.15	40.88	29.72	3.75	0.035
Is socially acceptable on my campus	34.45	30.94	21.34	10.91	2.36	2.15	0.031

Note. Respondent's ratings of campus hazing culture. Mean and standard error values derived from a five point Likert scale (5 SA-1 SD). Subjects reported their assessment that hazing is not a problem in their organization and that it is worse in other groups than theirs. Subjects report that hazing is not acceptable or a serious problem on their campus.

organization is consistent both with previous reports and the relatively low rate at which activities likely to result in harm were reported. While the majority of students reported that hazing is not socially acceptable on their campus, a large minority either disagreed or were unsure.

Student attitudes about the instrumental function of hazing are summarized in Table 3. Respondents overall reported negative assessments regarding the utility of hazing. Most (74.72% vs. 10.2 %) disagreed with the statement that hazing makes new members better members. Similarly, most disagreed (74.15% vs. 11.83%) with the statements that hazing is an important way for new members to show commitment, that is expected by new members (66.39% vs. 17.21%), and that it is desired by new members (68.76% vs. 11.09%). Most agree that hazing causes resentment among the members (57.78% vs. 23.81%) and creates cliques within the organization (57.83 vs. 23.46).

Student rankings of their perceptions of 11 behaviors as being hazing are summarized in Table 4. When these rankings were analyzed

using PCA, a two factor solution emerged, hereafter referred to as Type I and Type II hazing (Table 4, Figure 1). Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was performed yielding a value of 0.933 exceeding the minimum value of 0.6. Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant $p < 0.00$. A parallel analysis was conducted to confirm the component specification. The items loading onto each component are presented in Table 4.

Behaviors contained in the Type I hazing component included physical abuse, physical harm, humiliation, and embarrassment. Behaviors contained in the Type II hazing component included those behaviors less likely to be interpreted as being likely to cause harm to the individual. Three items-being required to perform acts of servitude, being encouraged or required to consume alcohol, and individual or group interrogation-did not load distinctly onto either component indicating a lack of consensus among the members as to the degree to which the behaviors are likely to cause harm.

To evaluate the Gateway Hypothesis, the relationship between exposure to Type I and

Table 3*Student Ratings of Utility of Hazing*

<u>Hazing...</u>	<u>SD %</u>	<u>D %</u>	<u>NA/D %</u>	<u>A %</u>	<u>SA %</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SE</u>
Makes new members better members	49.84	24.88	15.09	7.75	2.45	1.89	0.031
Is an important way for new members to show commitment	50.41	23.74	14.03	9.14	2.69	1.90	0.032
Is expected by new members	46.57	19.82	16.39	14.68	2.53	2.07	0.035
Is desired by new members	48.86	19.90	20.15	9.30	1.79	1.95	0.032
Causes resentment among the members	10.72	13.09	18.41	33.88	23.90	3.46	0.037
Is the reason I quit an organization	49.26	8.60	36.36	2.55	3.55	2.02	0.032

Note. Student responses to questions about the utility of hazing as an educational tool for new members reported in percentages selecting strongly disagree (5), disagree (4), neither agree or disagree (3), agree (2), strongly agree (1), mean (M), and standard error (SE). Students report being skeptical about the utility of hazing as a member development tool and concerns that hazing causes resentment and the formation of cliques within the organization

Table 4*Principal Component Analysis*

	Component	
	1	2
Perform physical exercises (beyond normal workouts if a sports team)?	.493	.746
Listen to extremely loud or repetitive music during pre-initiation or initiation events?	.368	.776
Do everything together with your new member class when not in class?	.249	.817
Undergo individual or group (lineups) interrogation?	.540	.780
Perform errands or other acts of servitude for active members?	.638	.723
Required or encouraged to drink alcoholic beverages by active members?	.724	.550
Be totally nude at any time?	.761	.453
Perform sexual acts?	.852	.237
Steal an item?	.826	.393
Be struck by an object (fist, paddle, etc.)?	.884	.384
Be subjected to public embarrassment humiliation?	.863	.457

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Note: Principal component analysis of behaviors considered to be hazing by fraternity men revealed a two factor structure. Bolded values indicate which factor the item loaded onto. Factor 1 (Type I hazing) was characterized by activities likely to cause physical or emotional harm whereas Factor II (Type II hazing) included those behaviors that are not intrinsically harmful. These results demonstrate that fraternity men's understanding of hazing is in alignment with legal, but not standard model definitions of hazing. Shaded items did not load distinctly onto either factor indicating confusion or disagreement among the participants. Two of the poorly loading factors (lineups and alcohol consumption) are common factors in many harm-related incidents suggesting a need for further emphasis on discouraging these activities.

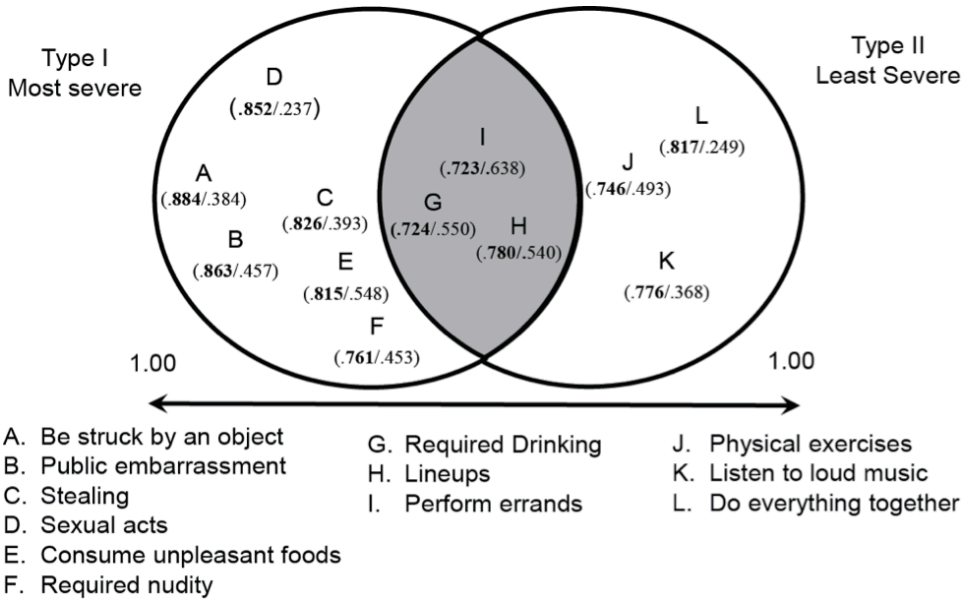


Figure 1

A two component structure of hazing derived by PCA from fraternity members reported perceptions of activities that they view as hazing or not hazing. Items loading most strongly onto the Type I component were those behaviors, that to the students, were most likely to result in physical harm or humiliation. Items loading most clearly onto the Type II component were behaviors less likely, to be perceived by the student as not being likely to cause harm. A few items did not load clearly onto either component indicating that students views about the behaviors are unclear. Behaviors like encouraged drinking should be considered TYPE I hazing because of the actual (vs. perceived) risk, whereas acts of servitude which are inappropriate but not likely to cause harm should be treated as Type II hazing.

subsequent Type II hazing was explored by Pearson's moment coefficient ($r = 0.41$).

Discussion

The results from the questionnaire indicate several interesting points: First, students appear to regulate their behaviors related to new member activities on the basis of perceived risk of psychological or physical harm. Second, belonging may represent a powerful tool in developing hazing interventions. Third, students are skeptical about the utility of hazing as a tool for producing better members and strengthening bonds of brotherhood. Fourth, the standard model does not present a sufficiently powerful explanation of the relationship between buffoonery and severe acts of hazing to justify the either confidence in the model or continuance

of policy based implicitly upon that model. Finally, a framework for discussing new member activities that aligns with student experience is proposed.

Students Regulate Behavior on the Basis of Perceived Harm

The low rate of Type I compared to Type II behaviors when paired with the high value placed on friendships and belonging can be taken as evidence that students regulate new member activities to reduce harm. That students fail to fully recognize encouraged or required alcohol consumption and lineups as harmful or questionable activities is a reflection of judgment rather than intent. That students naturally judge behaviors to be hazing/non-hazing in nature on the basis of harm suggests that conversations with students about hazing can productively be

framed in the context of potential for harm.

Belonging as a Tool to Reduce Hazing

Fraternity men highly value friendship and belonging to a group that shares their values, and the majority hold anti-hazing views. The high value placed on friendship and shared values represents a powerful leverage point for any proposed intervention intended to reduce harm. The perception that peers approve of hazing or are willing to tolerate it may act as an impediment to their actively opposing harmful behavior. Perhaps the most potent barrier to hazing is the extent to which there is a sense among the group that hazing is simply not done nor will those who haze be tolerated. Efforts directed at educating the anti-hazing majority about the attitudes actually held by their peers may help shift group dynamics. Conversely, just as the anti-hazing student's impulse to intervene may be impeded by the perception that he will not receive support from his peers, so too the pro-hazing student may be reluctant to act if he evaluates that peers do not support his plans and that acting on those plans may result in his being alienated from the group.

Students are Skeptical about the Instrumental Value of Hazing

Respondents overwhelmingly (approximately 75%) indicated skepticism regarding the argument that hazing makes new members better members, is an important way for new members to show commitment, is desired by new members, and that it is expected by new members. In comparison, less than 5% agree that hazing has instrumental value. Further, a majority (approximately 58%) reported they believe that hazing both creates cliques and causes resentment. In contrast, about 20% reported disagreeing with those statements. This skepticism about the instrumental value of hazing represents a potentially potent tool. Seventy-five percent of students are potential allies, allies who need to be educated that they

hold the majority view.

There is a minority, but nontrivial, segment of the respondents who are either strongly supportive (10%) of or ambivalent (15%) about hazing. Together, when paired with students who misinterpret group attitudes toward hazing, these students represent a sufficiently large collation to permit unacceptable new member activities to exist as an endemic problem. Presumably, a segment of this group could be convinced through educational measures or social norms to alter its views or abstain from hazing. Likewise, another portion of this group for whatever reason — be it honest conviction or pathology — are likely not persuadable. Those who can be persuaded should be. Those who cannot be persuaded must be either socially isolated on this issue or removed from the organization.

Rejection of the Standard Model

The overall rate of hazing reported--as defined using the Standard Model--is consistent with that of previous studies of national scope. What is less clear, however, is if this number provides a useful representation of reality. Conflating all undesirable activities with inherently harmful ones has the effect of occluding the true nature of both types of activity.

Unsurprisingly, participants largely agreed among themselves and with the standard legal definitions — but not with the Standard Model — as to which behaviors are and are not hazing. The Standard Model of hazing does not map onto the cognitive understanding of undergraduates severely limiting its utility in harm reduction conversations. Students are the principal actors in new member activities, and any definition of hazing must be consistent with their understanding of the world to be functionally useful. Undergraduate students clearly have a nuanced perspective that separates new member activities from hazing on the basis of perceived risk of harm (although not necessarily actual risk).

The primary argument in support of the

Standard Model approach to defining hazing is that low intensity hazing activities, which do not necessarily cause harm per se, lead to increasingly more intense and dangerous activity--the Gateway effect. However, the foundational basis of the Gateway effect is dubious. Type II and Type I hazing activities were weakly to moderately correlated ($r=0.41$) with Type II acts accounting for only 17% of the variance in Type I events. While it is true that correlation does not imply causation, weak correlations surely imply the lack of causation. Further, it is of note that only 13% experienced Type I hazing and less than 3% were exposed more than three times. Conversely, Type II hazing activities were much more common with 57% experiencing at least one exposure. Thus the evidence indicates that while Type II hazing is weakly to moderately predictive of, it does not cause Type I hazing (Figure 2). It

is possible that Type II hazing contributes to a hazing permissive environment by desensitizing individual members to the potential ill effects of hazing and in which normalized low grade activities may escalate--particularly under the influence of alcohol. Even if true, given the weak causal argument, having Type II behaviors in plain view likely serve a more valuable function in the identification groups where hazing is occurring--identification that would be more difficult if the behavior were hidden.

A stronger argument is that both Type I & II hazing are caused by a third (or more) variable and that both forms may be more properly thought of as comorbid processes stemming from a common causal set. If the comorbidity hypothesis is correct, even complete elimination of Type II behaviors would not result in the eradication of Type I activities. A compelling

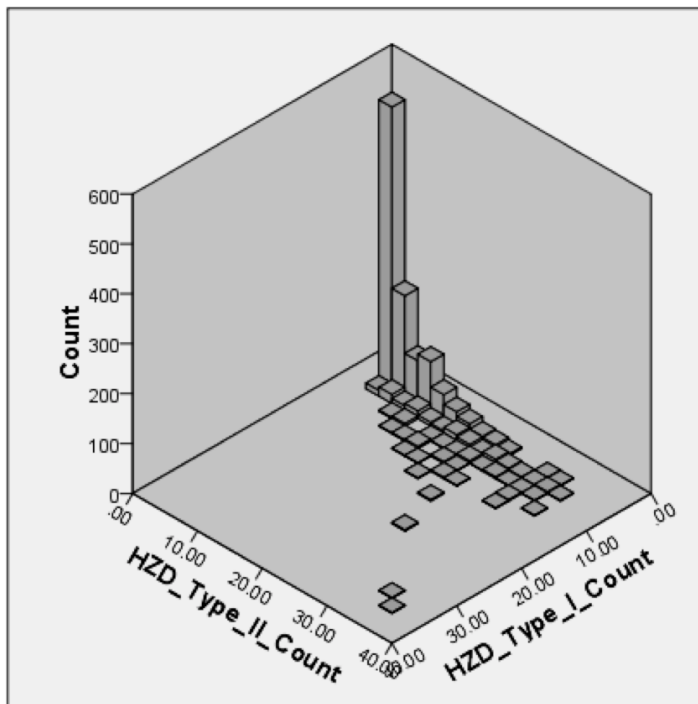


Figure 2

Relationship between the number of times a respondent was exposed to Type I activities based on his exposure to Type II behaviors.

argument can be made that rather than causing higher level hazing, Type II hazing may instead serve as a marker--not unlike a canary in a coal mine--by which groups potentially engaging in inherently harmful activities can be identified.

Conflating all undesirable new member activities under the category of hazing has resulted in an incoherent, unwieldy construct such that hazing as a term has lost meaning in student-advisor conversations. The Standard Model results in diffusion of anti-hazing efforts because treating low-harm and high-harm behaviors as equivalent results in disproportionate time/effort being spent on low-harm behaviors and other unintended consequences.

A Proposed Framework

I wish to suggest a structure for engaging students in new member activities along two dimensions: harm and utility. Behaviors likely to result in psychological or physical harm (i.e. Type I) should continue to be strictly prohibited. Type I behavior should be prohibited because it causes harm, not because it violates rules. Engaging students on the potential for harm to new members should be central to approaching new member activities, especially for activities that senior members do not fully appreciate the potential for harm (e.g. any drinking associated with new member obligations). Indeed, the ambiguity in the minds of students about alcohol-related activities represents the greatest single area of concern. Efforts to completely sever new-member specific activities from alcohol must continue to be a priority for all stakeholders, both because of direct harm from consumption by the new member and from impaired judgment in the initiated member. Alcohol will remain an ongoing challenge to the extent that social activities are permitted to mingle with any new member specific components.

Given the weakness of evidence supporting the Gateway Hypothesis, it is less clear that new member activities not likely to result in harm, but which are nonetheless undesirable

(i.e. Type II), should be strictly prohibited. Discouragement of these activities may be a superior approach compared to prohibition. Such discouragement might take the form of engaging students on the basis of what they hope to accomplish with the activity (e.g. Is the goal a worthy one? Are there better ways to achieve the desired end?). Removing prohibition will have the effect of reducing the probability of these activities occurring covertly where they cannot be detected and addressed. Further, by reducing the evaluation of the activities from felony status to misdemeanor, a less emotionally charged environment for change can be achieved--also supporting an educational approach. Non-harmful activities can be treated as educational opportunities without the disproportionate label of hazing. Further, these conversations shift behavioral regulation from the host institution to the individual and further strengthening intrinsic behavioral regulation, an approach that has been demonstrated to be healthier compared to over extrinsic control (Deci, 1975; Deci & Flaste, 1996; Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000). An imposed rule, particularly one viewed as arbitrary, is perceived as an attack on personal autonomy and is met with resistance, whereas collaborative approaches are autonomy and competence supportive (Deci & Flaste, 1996; Glasser, 1985, 1995).

The proposed approach assumes that the student is sincere in his actions rather than pathological. It is an approach that supports healthy satisfaction of the basic psychological needs of belonging, autonomy, and competence (Deci, 1975, 1980; Deci & Moller, 2005; Deci & Ryan, 2008, 2009; Deci & Vansteenkiste, 2004; Glasser, 1985, 1994, 1995). Additionally, couching the conversation in terms of gain rather than loss is more likely to appeal to the student with high reward sensitivity; those sensitive to loss/punishment are likely already refraining from the undesired behavior out of fear of being punished (Carver & Scheier, 1998).

The Two Factor Approach Satisfies Framework Requirements

The proposed approach meets the stipulated requirements for a new framework. The two-factor solution is simple enough that students can readily understand and apply it within their organizations. First, it is concrete: students will readily grasp the utility of harm and usefulness over abstractions. Second, it is credible: it matches their understanding of hazing. Finally, it has utility: students and adult stakeholders alike can appreciate the desirability of reducing harm while achieving new member integration goals and the framework for accomplishing those ends.

In conclusion, fear of social exclusion is likely a potent force in hazing and may be a key to harm reduction. Further, the proposed intervention model represents a significant improvement in conceptualizing new member activities. In addition to mapping onto student cognitive understanding, the proposed approach further suggests potential strategies for the reduction of harm while building an environment that is supportive of healthy satisfaction of the basic psychological needs of autonomy, belonging, and competence.

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A DOCUMENT ANALYSIS OF ANTI-HAZING POLICY

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Every year students are physically, mentally, and/or emotionally injured due to hazing. Some injuries are so significant they result in student deaths, yet “hazing is an issue that has been largely overlooked and under studied” (Allan & Madden, 2008, p. 5). Hazing is institutionalized by organizations, clubs, and groups, as well as within campus policy. Student hazing experiences are different for the individual(s) involved, and institutional experiences vary as institutions have their own hazing definitions and policies. Through document analysis, we examined and critically analyzed the ambiguous anti-hazing policy at the state and federal levels.

Hazing is a term with a broad definition that can encompass many different activities, events and incidents that individuals endure to gain entry to an organization, group, or team (McGlone, 2010). Although hazing practices are present in many organizational settings in United States’ culture from the military to athletic teams; marching bands to honor societies; and in fraternity and sorority life (FSL) organizations, this policy document analysis focused on providing a critical overview of anti-hazing law and policies at the state and federal level. It is important for college and university administrators and organizational advisors and leaders as well as researchers to be knowledgeable about not only policies, but the impact of hazing on their students and their campuses as well. Furthermore, it is critical for policy makers beyond campus to have a clear understanding of the effects of hazing in order to develop effective anti-hazing policies and laws at the state and federal level.

Throughout this paper we refer to hazing activities as habits instead of *traditions*. While the word tradition is steeped in history, pride, and organizational backstory, we seek to disrupt this idea when it comes to the role of hazing in the experience of organizational members. Instead, habits are simply actions, practices, and behaviors that we do repeatedly (Aarts & Dijksterhuis,

2000). Aarts and Dijksterhuis (2000) illustrated that we become what we repeatedly do, and that habits make us or break us. Comparably, Salinas and Boettcher (2018) provided examples of good habits, such as eating well and exercising on a regular basis; as well as bad habits, for example: hazing, smoking, or drinking to excess. And some habits do not matter, including: listening to a certain radio station or taking a specific route to work each day that develop from routine practice (Owen, Burke, & Vichesky, 2008). Yet, through the literature hazing is often referred as a tradition (Stillman, 2017; Véliz-Calderón & Allan, 2017).

In contrast to habits, traditions are the inherited and established customs, beliefs, and values that have been passed from generation to generation and align with espoused organizational values. Traditions are important to help identify barriers and obstacles to successfully create organizational and institutional change (Kezar, 2003). Therefore, we argue against this notion of tradition and challenge individuals who practice habits of hazing to reflect on how hazing is learned based on lived experiences and replicated *without intention*. While traditions are the *intentionally developed* and established foundations upon which organizations pride themselves. Traditions serve the purpose of working to build a sense of connection, healthy bonds between members

(Véliz-Calderón & Allan, 2017), and a strong community built on common goals, interests, and beliefs.

Through document analysis, we bring together a diversity of experiences and perspectives that highlight the context and complexity of hazing within the military, on athletic teams, among marching band members, and in the context of fraternity and sorority life (FSL) organizations (Ellsworth, 2006). To advance the development and growth of organizations and institutions as well as the safety of members, hazing education is essential, strong policies are required, and hazing habits must be effectively addressed and stopped (Owen et al., 2008). No one should be humiliated, degraded, demeaned, or intimidated by perpetrators (Véliz-Calderón & Allan, 2017).

For the purposes of our policy analysis we have intentionally used the term “perpetrator” - defined by Oxford dictionaries as “A person who carries out a harmful, illegal, or immoral act” (Perpetrator, n.d.) to refer to an individual who humiliates, degrades, abuses, or endangers others in the form of a hazing activity. The purpose of this policy document analysis is to examine and critically analyze the ambiguous anti-hazing policy at the state and federal levels.

Hazing Defined

Hazing activities have occurred and been acknowledged for centuries, yet there continues to be no universally accepted hazing definition (McGlone, 2010). While hazing is illegal in 44 states (Allen & Madden, 2008; Bailey & Hughey, 2013; State Anti-Hazing Law, 2000), the term hazing can have different definitions and can be perceived differently by individuals, organizations, and institutions (Ellsworth, 2006). As a result, in order to define hazing multiple viewpoints must be considered. For example, a perpetrator might have a different definition than the individual being hazed. An administrator may define hazing differently than a coach. Or, a college or university policy

might define hazing differently than the state law. Additionally, some definitions may only consider physical (non-sexual) activities as hazing while others include mental and physical (including sexual) acts (McGlone, 2010).

Hazing in Existing Literature

Hazing defined. According to McGlone (2010), hazing activities can be organized into two main categories: physical and mental. The physical form of hazing may include beatings, branding, paddling, excessive exercises, drinking alcohol or other substances, using drugs, and sexual activities. Sexual assaults are included here because simulated sex acts, sodomy, and forced kissing are sometimes included in hazing processes. In essence, some sexual acts are physical assaults, but physical assaults in the hazing process can include things other than sexual assaults.

Mental hazing is often overlooked or goes undetected, but it can be as serious and dangerous as physical hazing. Mental hazing can be more difficult to report because not only are there no physical marks, but also expressing mental or emotional distress can be very difficult. Types of mental hazing may include verbal abuse, being blindfolded, being restrained, and being locked in confined spaces (Salinas & Boettcher, 2018).

Both physical and mental hazing activities may include but are not limited to: alcohol consumption, sexual activities, paddling, physical and psychological shocks, fatigue, scavenger hunts, blindfolding, being locked-in a confined space, involuntary road trips, morally degrading or humiliating activities, and any other behaviors that are inconsistent with the organizational, institutional, or state policies and laws (Ellsworth; 2006; Keim, 2000).

The results of these hazing activities can be exhausting, humiliating, degrading, demeaning, and intimidating, with significant physical and emotional discomfort (Lipkins, 2006). Allan and Madden (2008) defined hazing as “any activity expected of someone joining or participating

in a group that humiliates, degrades, abuses, or endangers them regardless of a person's willingness to participate" (p. 2). Lipkins (2006) further defined hazing as,

A process, based on a tradition [habit] that is used by groups to discipline and to maintain a hierarchy (i.e., a pecking order). Regardless of consent, the rituals require individuals to engage in activities that are physically and psychologically stressful. (p. 13)

Similarly, Finkel (2002) defined hazing as "committing acts against an individual or forcing an individual into committing an act that creates a risk for harm in order for the individual to be initiated into or affiliated with an organization" (p. 228). The effect of the stress of these activities required for joining a group – despite their common practice and the ongoing use of these habits for community building – are negative. Researchers have found that individuals at colleges and universities "perceive hazing as harmful" (Campo, Poulos, & Sipple, 2005, p. 146).

Hazing activities can have negative physical and mental effects in both the short and long-term on the well being of individuals. Researchers found that while the severity of initiation increases the attractiveness of a group, it also generated feelings of frustration, loneliness, and depression for those being hazed (Finkel, 2002; Hollman, 2002; Lipkins, 2006). In other words, the more challenging the hazing process for an organization, the more people who aspire to be members and the more those members experience isolation and other mental and emotional distress through the process. Moreover, severe feelings of shame, self-blame, and post-traumatic stress can be experienced by victims of hazing practices along with adverse effects on a student's academic performance (Maxwell, 2011).

History of hazing. Understanding the complexity of this issue is challenging, as the history of hazing goes back centuries. In ancient

Greece and Rome, rituals for educating and mentoring boys were done through hazing practices (Finkel, 2002; Lipkins, 2006; Nuwer, 2001). Lipkins (2006) found that those activities included kidnapping, requiring sexual favors, and slavery. During the Middle Ages (1000 - 1399), European college students were systematically hazed as a part of the transition into and membership within higher education (Lipkins, 2006; Salinas & Boettcher, 2018). For example, new college students drank urine, and endured physical torture such as scraping skin off their ears. Lipkins (2006) wrote that school administrations believed beating, humiliation, and servitude were good ways to teach obedience in educational settings. Martin Luther, in the sixteenth century, claimed that hazing "strengthened the student and prepared him for the obstacles of adulthood," (Lipkins, 2006, p. 3).

In the 1660s, Oxford University students who came to Harvard University introduced beating, humiliation, and servitude, and other hazing practices (i.e. wearing special clothes, running personal errands), as ways to teach obedience to their peers. These practices were adapted, published by Harvard sophomores and distributed to first year students. In 1781 Harvard's Phi Beta Kappa fraternity began using hazing practices and activities, which are still present across the nation in the FSL system (Lipkins, 2006). Since the 1660s, hazing has been reported and spread to other colleges and universities across the United States.

Syrett (2009) argued that hazing has changed over time. He further purported – specifically about fraternity hazing – that "fraternity men's behavior is a product of various historical phenomena that are specific to time and place" (p. xi) and that the version of masculinity in our culture today (that informs fraternity behavior) is different than what is has been in the past. Nuwer (2018) highlighted increasing scholarship and a growth in hazing prevention organizations in the past 40 years as evidence of the ongoing

issues facing organizations on (and beyond) college campuses. Nuwer's (1990) previous scholarship asserted that hazing deaths are not a series of isolated incidents, but rather a cultural issue in the context of organizational intake and membership.

Hazing Examples

Biemiller (2018) highlighted several recent hazing-related deaths. Timothy Piazza¹ and Andrew Coffey² hoped to be engineers. Maxwell Gruver³ was an aspiring sportswriter. Matthew Ellis⁴ was a business administration major. Each of these young men's lives was cut short because of hazing activity in 2017. In each case the men were pledging fraternities on campus. In each case alcohol was involved. In each case the fraternity chapters were closed or suspended. In three cases other students have been charged.

Compared to the past, hazing today is "more frequent, more demanding, more violent, and much more sexual" (Lipkins, 2006, p. 4). Parks, Jones, Ray, Hughey, and Cox (2014) found that White fraternities and sororities have more issues with sexual hazing; White fraternities have more issues with mental and physical hazing; and Black fraternities and sororities have more issues with violent hazing. Hazing is frequent and relevant today; it continues to occur in high school and college student organizations (fraternities, sororities, cheerleading, band, choir, speech, debate, athletic teams, honor societies) and even in church groups. Examples of hazing incidents in the 2010s that involved physical and sexual brutality include:

- In the fall of 2011 at Florida A&M University, Robert Champion was hazed and killed during the Marching 100 band trip to the Florida Classic at the Orland Citrus Bowl (Gast & Levs, 2011;

Grasgreen, 2011).

- In September 2012, Maine West High School soccer coaches were accused of sanctioning the sexual assault of three soccer players in a hazing ritual. Hazing was sanctioned by the coaches, who ordered the team do a "campus run," code for hazing. The three boys were shoved to the ground and beaten by the older senior soccer players (Seidel, 2012; Huffington Post, 2012; Silverberg, 2012).
- In September 2012, the University of Iowa received complaints of hazing and sexual assault allegations in 2008 and 2009 against Sigma Alpha Epsilon, Iowa Beta Chapter. The chapter was closed and removed from the university, and over 60 members were suspended (Helldt & Carlson, 2012).
- In 2013 Chun "Michael" Deng died after suffering brain trauma as a result of trying to get through a line of brothers as part of a hazing practice of Pi Delta Psi at Baruch College. Deng was hit repeatedly, pushed, tackled, and beaten, (Bever, 2017).
- In March of 2016, Wheaton College football player Charles Nagy was abducted by several other football players, bound by duct tape, beat, threatened to be sodomized, and left him half naked with tears to both shoulders that required surgery, (Gutowski & St. Clair, 2018).

Each hazing story carries similar themes from students and their loved ones about the painful and tragic consequences of hazing. That said it is impossible to collect and track every hazing experience. There currently exists no centralized governmental clearinghouse⁵ to report, sort, collect, and maintain records on hazing activities across the country.

In addition, even if such a database at the

¹Mr. Piazza was pledging Beta Theta Pi at Pennsylvania State University.

²Mr. Coffey was pledging Pi Kappa Phi at Florida State University.

³Maxwell Gruver was pledging Phi Delta Theta at Louisiana State University.

⁴Matthew Ellis was pledging Phi Kappa Psi at Texas State University.

⁵Hank Nuwer's Hazing Clearinghouse (<http://www.hanknuwer.com>) is the most comprehensive source that provides an overview of hazing deaths.

federal level did exist, reports of hazing are limited. Among students who witness hazing, 36% said they would not report it because they do not know whom to tell, and 27% would not report hazing because students are not sure how to handle hazing and the reporting process correctly (Alfred University, 2000). Given the limitation of the available data, we discuss our strategies around collecting more data in the following section.

Role of Administrators and Advisors

Despite knowledge of the problems of hazing, hazing culture persists in higher education. Ultimately, organizations seek ways to foster senses of community, belonging, brotherhood, sisterhood, and other connections among members. Hollman (2002) wrote, “Campus administrators must acknowledge the importance of rites of passage and find ways to meet the psychological and sociological needs of group membership while addressing the problems of hazing” (p. 17). Regardless of extensive educational programming and anti-hazing awareness, Hollman (2002) explained, “hazing is an addiction and must be treated as such. College and university administrators can no longer ignore, deny, or enable hazing and alcohol abuse” (p. 18). Nuwer (2001) further developed this concept in the book, *Wrongs of Passage*,

For hazing to continue to survive within the education system, as it has for thousands of years, requires dependence and tolerance — the two common characteristics of addiction ... on the parts not only of perpetrators and the hazed but also of those who supervise them. (pp. 114–115)

So what is the role of administrative leaders — staff and faculty working with these organizations — in disrupting hazing culture on campus? Allan and Madden (2008) found that often “coaches, advisors, friends, and family have knowledge of hazing in some cases” (p. 25). Therefore, it is essential for college and university

administrators, family members, coaches and advisors to understand the signs and symptoms of hazing and be knowledgeable of hazing policy and law. Additionally, these individuals must be actively engaged in training and education related to group or team development. Coaches, advisors, peer leaders, and family members must be equipped to provide student(s) with support around hazing prevention and the have the ability to challenge hazing behaviors as they emerge. Finally, there must be both organizational and individual accountability combined with additional education in the face of hazing activities in organizations.

The literature in this section makes a case for our work. Researchers agree that hazing is an issue with physical and mental health implications (Campo, Poulos, & Sipple, 2005; Finkel, 2002; Hollman, 2002; Lipkins, 2006). As incidents continue in various organizations on campuses across the country, there is a need for common definitions and policies on campus, in the state, and at the federal level around hazing. Our scholarship serves as one resource where information is compiled to better inform the dialogue around policies and laws related to hazing.

Methods

We used document analysis to analyze the anti-hazing state law policies in effect as of March 2017, and we provided different hazing cases to put these policies into specific contexts. Atkinson and Coffey (1997) referred to documents as social facts used in socially organized ways. In the case of this study, the social facts of the documents are being used to gain a deeper understanding of hazing. To determine whether policies, laws, and processes are effective, it is essential to have events by which to test them. In the case of this scholarship, we have chosen test cases through which we can examine the effectiveness of existing legislation and policy. Document analysis is a qualitative research

procedure used to evaluate text (printed and electronic material). Documents contain data — words, images, etc. — that are analyzed to foster learning and understanding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This form of analysis is applicable and particularly appropriate for qualitative case studies such as those referenced in this work. Yin (1994) wrote that this approach is being used to provide rich descriptions of a single phenomenon — in the case of this scholarship that single phenomenon is hazing.

As this study sought to understand the ways in which hazing is addressed through law and policy, document analysis proved to be a particularly effective approach. As Merriam (1988) wrote, “Documents of all types can help the research uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights,” (p. 118). In addition, this study sought to identify common language around hazing and common means of addressing hazing behavior. Comparing documents across states and policies across institutions and organizations helped inform that work.

In seeking a broad understanding of hazing from a policy perspective, document analysis was effective. This method also helped surface additional questions and areas for exploration related to the topic. As Bowen (2009) wrote, “documents provide background and context, additional questions to be asked, supplementary data, a means of tracking change and development, and verification of findings from other data sources” (p. 30). In the case of hazing when those involved may be reluctant to talk or restricted as to what they can discuss about pending cases, document analysis is also a way of filling voids of information. Bowen (2009) added, “Moreover, documents may be the most effective means of gathering data when events can no longer be observed or when informants have forgotten the details” (p. 30).

Data Collection

The data collection process for this document analysis study included three forms to examine

and critically analyze the often-vague anti-hazing policies that currently make up much of state and federal law: (a) search of the literature; (b) examination of both hazing law and policy; and (c) review of hazing events in the news. Document analysis is informed by examining data (i.e. text) as a way to gain understanding and make meaning of a phenomenon.

The documents used for this evaluation were current and historical, including: published scholarship, manuals of state laws and policy, newspaper articles, press releases, and annual reports. The content data was organized into categories related to public policy on hazing, state definitions, and organization hazing practices as mostly cited in newspaper articles, press releases and annual reports (i.e. military, athletics, and fraternity and sorority life). Through the data collection, the authors critically analyzed all data collected and determined the relevance of documents to the research problem and purpose (Bowen, 2009). Based on the sources, we determined the “authenticity, credibility, accuracy, and representativeness of the selected documents” as related to the purpose of the study (Bowen, 2009, p. 33).

Public Policy on Hazing

The persistence of both hazing law and policy as well as the continuation of hazing incidents over time provides evidence that having formal policies and laws does not necessarily change behavior. Hazing is prevalent in today’s society, in part because the anti-hazing policies and laws are unclear (Hosansky, 2013). Allan and Madden (2008) showed in their national study that 1.5 million high school students are hazed each year, 40% of athletes who reported being involved in hazing behaviors report that a coach or advisor was aware of the activity, and more than one in five students reported that they have personally witnessed hazing. The stakes are literally life and death for research in this area, and it is critical to analyze the definition, policies, and

implications of hazing. That said, because there is no centralized tracking of hazing in higher education, it is difficult to discern how this practice affects college students. The numbers on hazing deaths are inconsistent at best. According to Alvarez (2015) between 2005 and 2015 more than 60 students died in hazing related incidents. However, Chamberlain (2013) reported that there were only 35 deaths related to hazing between 2000-2013.

State Definitions

Forty-four states have anti-hazing laws; the exceptions being Alaska, Hawaii, Montana, New Mexico, South Dakota, and Wyoming (Allen & Madden, 2008; Bailey & Hughey, 2013; Hazing Statutes, 2007; State Anti-Hazing Law, 2000). Hazing Statutes (2007) showed evidence that 22 states with anti-hazing laws use the same language to define hazing. Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, West Virginia, and Wisconsin's state laws define hazing as ... "any activity in which a person intentionally or recklessly endangers the physical health [or safety of an individual] for the purpose of initiation into or admissions into, affiliation with, or continued membership with any organization" (e.g., Nebraska § 28-311.06).

The other 22 states that have anti-hazing laws use different terminology and definitions of hazing can vary from state to state (Dixon, 2001). For example, Indiana law defines hazing as "forcing or requiring another person: with or without the consent of the other person; and as a condition of association with a group or organization; to perform an act that creates a substantial risk of bodily injury" (Hazing Statutes, 2007, p. 24). Indiana's state law definition of hazing recognizes that regardless of a person's willingness to participate in any events to be part of a group, and that *hazing is only physical*. In Arkansas hazing "is limited to those actions

taken and situations created in connection with initiation into or affiliation with any organization" (Hazing Statutes, 2007, p. 11). While Indiana limits hazing to physical acts, Arkansas limits its definition to the *initiation process*. Both state definitions use broad terminology to identify where hazing can occur, such as in groups or organizations; while other anti-hazing state policies specify that hazing includes customary athletic events, contests, and competitions.

Indiana, New Jersey, New York, and Texas proposed supplemental notes to legislation concerning hazing. In 2007, Indiana Senate Bill 343 proposed more severe punishments for hazing occurring in a highway work zone. New Jersey Assembly Bill 1173 proposed in 2006 to revise the law concerning hazing; to upgrade criminal penalties, provide certain immunities, and create civil offense and require written policies. In 2007, New York proposed Assembly Bill 2795, which called for increases in severity of hazing charges and punishments in several areas including making it a felony charge when a hazing injury results in an injury or death. And, in 2007 hazing was added to an additional section of the education code of the Texas Senate Bill (Hazing Statutes, 2007). Furthermore, hazing may constitute additional criminal violations such as sexual assault, physical assault, and domestic abuse (Hennessy & Huson, 1998).

As a result of recent incidents, states are taking action when it comes to hazing legislation and punishments. Examples include 'Tim's Law' named for Penn State student Tim Piazza in Pennsylvania. Daub (2018) wrote, "The proposed legislation, known as 'Tim's Law,' could result in third-degree felony charges and up to seven years in prison in the case of injury or death, as well as property confiscation from the Greek groups responsible" (para. 2). Similarly, Senate Bill 91 in Louisiana would allow for civil penalties to be issued to perpetrators of hazing as well as colleges and universities and national organizations lacking clear anti-hazing policies (Anderson, 2018). Finally, in response

to the hazing death of Baruch College student Michael Deng, New York State Assemblyman David Weprin has proposed a bill to prohibit physical contact and physical activity during organizational initiation (Monteverdi, 2018).

Lack of Federal Guidance

There is currently no federal legislation regarding hazing practices. However, it is important to keep in mind there are federal protections granted to persons that overlap into hazing behaviors. Issues of protected class come into play when those engaging in hazing practices use language, target individuals, or engage in other behaviors targeting members of a protected class. As the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) stated in its Dear Colleague Letter (2010) on bullying in academic settings:

The label used to describe an incident (e.g., bullying, hazing, teasing) does not determine how a school is obligated to respond. Rather, the nature of the conduct itself must be assessed for civil rights implications. So, for example, if the abusive behavior is on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, or disability, and creates a hostile environment, a school is obligated to respond in accordance with the applicable federal civil rights statutes and regulations enforced by OCR.

Again, currently the impetus is on institutions and states to manage hazing issues. Federal guidance is lacking, which may inform why national statistics are also absent from the dialogue. Without federal requirements, there is little reason for organizations, institutions, or states to track hazing incidents in and beyond higher education.

Organizational Hazing Practices

While federal oversight is missing and state law provides broad oversight for hazing, the bulk of the responsibility for hazing oversight rests with organizations themselves. Clubs, groups,

and organizations implement their own policies, practices, and rituals related to the induction and acclimation of new members. These processes vary not only by organizational type, but also between similar organizations. For example, not all athletic teams foster community through hazing. Similarly, as discussed above, not all FSL organizations utilize hazing and those that do haze do not all haze in the same ways. Here we explore different organizational types and the role of hazing in their development.

Hazing in Athletics

While some organizations – FSL organizations and the military – may use hazing practices to foster connections, the scenario can be very different in athletics. Athletes compete for positions on a team. Hazing can potentially be used to impact certain athletes making teams or earning starting positions (Hosansky, 2013).

Hazing in athletics has a long history and begins when an athlete tries out for a team, continues through practice, competition, and season after season. These behaviors can surface as hazing habits, humiliation, and victimizing new team members (Peluso, 2006). Athletic teams haze in a variety of ways including: requiring new members to carry equipment or run errands for coaches or more senior players; being forced to pay for senior player or team meals; being forced to dress up in drag; or being given unflattering haircuts. Sport hazing can be more violent and unpleasant than other student organization hazing activities (Hosansky, 2013).

Hazing Statutes (2007) showed that 26 of the 44 states with anti-hazing laws either do not reference athletics in the context of hazing or single athletics out as uniquely different from hazing. For example, Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Michigan, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Washington's anti-hazing laws state, "hazing does not include customary athletic events or other similar contest or competition" (e.g., Florida § 1006.63). Still other states used different

terminology and definitions to state that hazing does not apply to athletic teams of or within the college or university. Connecticut law states, “hazing shall not include an action sponsored by an institution of higher education, which requires any athletic practice, conditioning, or competition or curricular activities” (Hazing Statutes, 2007, p. 15).

Military Hazing

The military setting is unique among potential hazing environments as its members eat, sleep, live, and work with one another. As Pershing (2006) said of the experience at military service academies (much of which translates to other military organizations and settings):

A fundamental component of military training at DOD [Department of Defense] service academies is the indoctrination system for fourth classmen (freshmen), which includes traditions and rituals passed down through several generations. Because these systems are primarily student-run by upperclassmen (juniors and seniors), and since the distinction between hazing and legitimate military training has sometimes been ambiguous in the past, the fourth class indoctrination systems are subject to potential abuse. (p. 471)

With that in mind, hazing is relevant in military organizations at all levels. The settings range from military schools to basic training, and carries over into other official and unofficial military activities. As in other settings, the stress related to being hazed cannot only harm individuals, but can be so severe that individuals engage in self-harm behaviors as a means of escape.

On August 4, 2010, Army Pvt. Keiffer Wilhem of Willard, Ohio, killed himself, ten days after he arrived in Iraq with a platoon based out of Fort Bliss, Texas. Whilhem’s family said he was being bullied and hazed, including being forced to run for miles with rocks in his pockets (Seewer, 2009; Edmond Sun, 2009). Similarly,

Army Pvt. Daniel Chen of New York City was found dead from a self-inflicted gunshot wound on October 3, 2011. Chen was targeted with racially motivated taunts and physical attacks from his superiors and comrades before he died. According to Chen’s diary, he was dragged by soldiers across the floor, pelted with stones, and forced to hold liquid in his mouth while hanging upside down (Hawley, 2011).

Eight U.S. Army soldiers were charged in the death of Chen, five of the soldiers received demotions and brief prison sentences, two others received demotions but avoided prison, and the final soldier – Chen’s platoon leader was accused of failing to create “a climate in which everyone is treated with dignity and respect, regardless of race” and failure to “to prevent his subordinates from maltreating and engaging in racially abusive language.” (Semple, 2012, para. 6). The Chen case was reported as a hazing incident, and forced the military to review its hazing policies (Hosansky, 2013).

Additional responses to these types of cases have gained traction at the national level. U.S. Congresswoman Judy Chu and other house members introduced The Harry Lew Military Hazing Accountability and Prevention Act of 2012 to prevent hazing in the military, and to ensure that the Department of Defense has effective hazing and harassment prevention and accountability policies. The Harry Lew Military Hazing Accountability and Prevention Act of 2012 provided the Pentagon with the necessary tools to effectively address the problem of hazing and harassment in the armed services, to guarantee that our brave service members can safely and honorably defend the citizens and the Constitution of the United States (Chu et al., 2012).

Fraternity and Sorority Life Hazing

Of all hazing settings and scenarios, perhaps the most common and most stereotypical setting is in the context of fraternity and sorority life. As has been mentioned, hazing in an educational

context — particularly in settings involving secret societies or FSL organizations — has a long history (Lipkins, 2006).

While the rationale for many of these activities is the need to work through difficulty as a means of bonding and cultivating brotherhood or sisterhood, there are significant risks when college students engage in these behaviors. Hazing activities can be exhausting, humiliating, degrading, demeaning, intimidating, with significant physical and emotional discomfort (Lipkins, 2006). Hazing activities can cause harm or create risk of harm to the physical or mental health of individuals (UNL Office of Greek Affairs, 2013; Keim, 2000).

Specific demographics and history of a chapter can have an influence in the type of hazing in an organization, as well. Nuwer (2001) noted that in “the late ’80s and ’90s, pledging deaths in historically Black fraternities occurred as a result of beatings and physical tests of endurance, while pledging deaths in historically White fraternities were associated with alcohol-related incidents and so-called road trips” (pp. 176–177). Pledging is an ongoing element of recruitment and intake in many organizations and hazing is often a step in initiating members into a fraternity, sorority, or other organization (Ruffins, 1997).

Hazing Statutes (2007) indicated that Michigan, Texas, and Vermont are the only three states with anti-hazing laws that define “pledging” as a form of hazing. These states define pledging as “any action or activity related to becoming a member of an organization” (Hazing Statutes, 2007, p. 35). These states’ anti-hazing law make the assumption that hazing mostly occurs when *pledging* to an organization. This leaves much of the oversight for these groups with the national offices for organizations or with university policies where the student organization chapters are located.

A Special Case: The Obligation of Educational Institutions in Regard to Hazing

Historically most hazing events are affiliated with educational institutions, including but not limited to, student, academic, honorary, athletic, and fraternal organizations (Allen & Madden, 2008). Due to the location of many reported hazing events, most states’ anti-hazing laws refer to hazing by persons at educational institutions. As such, there are special and specific expectations, guidelines, implications, and potential sanctions for colleges and universities when it comes to hazing practice. Michigan law states that educational institutions “shall not engage in or participate in the hazing of an individual” (Hazing Statutes, 2007, p. 35) and defines an educational institutions as a “public or private school that is a middle school, junior high school, high school, vocational school, college, or university located in this state” (Hazing Statutes, 2007, p. 35).

Educational institutions have played a major role in creating anti-hazing policies and laws. For example, on July 15, 1986, the board of trustees of the University of Kentucky and the University of Louisville adopted policies prohibiting hazing that intentionally endangers an individual’s mental or physical health. On August 1, 1995, the Board of Trustees of the University of West Virginia and the board of directors of the state college system created guidelines for anti-hazing policies. On January 1, 1996, the Board of Trustees of the Vermont state colleges adopted policies and procedures to ensure the enforcement of policies prohibiting harassment and hazing. The state of Maine allows the board of trustees of an educational institution to maintain public order, and prohibit hazing by any members affiliated with the institution, either on or off campus. And, Minnesota State Colleges and Universities were directed by the state to adopt a clear written policy on hazing (Hazing Statutes, 2007).

Despite this, hazing continues to be an

ongoing problem for college and universities. Kaplin and Lee (2009) introduced legal guidance for college and university professionals:

Given the existence of state laws against hazing, and the lack of any rational relationship between hazing that exposes a student to danger and the educational mission of the institution, it is likely that courts will expect institutions to prevent hazing to make hazing a violation of the students' code of conduct, and to hold students who engage in hazing activities strictly accountable for their actions, whether or not they result in physical or mental injury to students. (pp. 600 – 601)

State laws hold colleges and universities responsible for regulating student conduct and monitoring the behavior of every student on campus (Kaplin & Lee, 2009).

For example, the Arizona hazing prevention law outlines that “every public educational institution in this state shall adopt, post and enforce a hazing prevention policy. The hazing prevention policy shall be printed in every student handbook for distribution to parents and students” (Hazing Statutes, 2007, p. 10).

Similar to Arizona anti-hazing law, Florida, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Texas, and Vermont have state laws that hold the educational institution responsible for adapting, posting, and enforcing a hazing prevention policy printed in the institutions' student codes of conduct. These codes set forth the specific authority and responsibilities of the institution in maintaining discipline, establishing guidelines that facilitate a civil campus community, and outlining the educational process for determining students' responsibilities for alleged violations of institutions' regulation (Student Disciplinary Regulations, 2012).

Disrupting Hazing Practices

Challenging hazing practices and harmful habits continue within many student, campus,

fraternal, academic, honorary, athletic, and military organizations nationwide. While many assume that severe hazing practices, pranks, and acts are stereotypes from the past or are exaggerated by the media, hazing activities are still prevalent within FSL communities.

These ideas are contradicted by a study at Alfred University (1999). The study illustrated a regional context and the cultural hazing activities that occur in each area of the United States. Rural, residential campuses with Greek systems in Eastern or Southern states with no anti-hazing laws were the most likely to experience hazing. Eastern and Western campuses had the most alcohol-related hazing, and Southern and Midwestern campuses had the greatest incidence of dangerous and potentially illegal hazing (Alfred University, 1999). While each region may vary in severity or type of hazing, it is still present nationwide.

Barriers to Reporting Hazing

While many colleges and universities promote reporting hazing events to police, there are barriers to reporting hazing through the criminal process. Due the diverse definitions contained in specific federal and state anti-hazing laws, reporting hazing becomes a challenge for individuals as there is no clear process to know and understand the implications of hazing. Allen and Madden (2008) found that “25% of coaches or organization advisors were aware of the group's hazing behaviors; 25% of the behaviors occurred on-campus in a public space; in 25% of hazing experiences, alumni were present; and students talk with peers (48%, 41%) or family (26%) about their hazing experiences” (p. 2). This is important to note as many individuals are aware of hazing events but do not report them.

Failing to report hazing activity can be a result of more than a lack of familiarity with the process or with state or federal legislations. Not reporting can also be due the lack of awareness of the process of reporting hazing, and the effects after a hazing case is reported. In addition,

individuals may be afraid of the consequences of getting their team or group in trouble, being afraid of the negative consequences that occur to individual students; fear of the larger team or group finding out who reported the incident(s); being afraid of being hurt by a member of their team or group; or not knowing where to go to report the hazing activity (Allen & Madden, 2008).

Hazing Penalties

When individuals do choose to report hazing, the outcomes can vary significantly. Just as there are many different definitions of and contexts for hazing there are also different charges, penalties, and punishments for individuals and organizations that commit hazing. As an illustration: if an individual is convicted of hazing in Rhode Island, the individual can be fined a maximum of \$500 dollars, imprisoned for 30 days to a year, or both. The penalty for a school official is a fine of not less than \$10 dollars and not more than \$100 dollars. Whereas in Utah hazing can be a class C (fine not exceeding \$750), class B (fine not exceeding 1,000), or class A (fine not exceeding \$2,500) misdemeanor. Additional penalties can include imprisonment of up to 15 years for felony charges in some states (Hazing Statutes, 2007). Yet, all state laws are unclear about hazing penalties. Unless a hazing victim dies then there will be a long investigation as it occurred in Pennsylvania, after the death of Tim Piazza in February 2017 at Penn State University. In this case, five members of Beta Theta Pi fraternity were charged with involuntary manslaughter (Deak, 2018).

Additional Consequences of Hazing

Beyond the criminal or organizational sanctions imposed on individuals and groups, there are other significant consequences of hazing that affect large numbers of students in the country each year. Allen (2012) stated that 47% of high school students experience hazing, and 55% of college students experience hazing

(Allan & Madden, 2008). Alfred University (1999) found that more than 250,000 college students have experienced some form of hazing to join a college athletic team. Some were forced to destroy property, make prank phone calls or harass others, others participated in drinking competitions or alcohol related events including consumption of alcohol on recruitment visits, and others were humiliated and deprived of sleep for extended periods of time.

Disruption Strategies

While hazing continues and as institutions, organizations, and individuals wrestle with ways to eliminate hazing practice, there are resources available that can prove helpful to advisors, leaders, and administrators. Resources, conference information, training, and other resources are available at:

- Anti Hazing Collaborative — <http://www.nohaze.org/>
- HazingPrevention.Org — <https://hazingprevention.org/>
- Stop Hazing — <https://www.stophazing.org/>
- The Novak Institute for Hazing Prevention — <http://www.novaktalks.com/novak-institute-for-hazing-prevention5>

Additionally, specific institutions and organizations have their own anti-hazing programming, resources, and information.

Implications for Practice

Colleges and universities should not limit responses but instead treat hazing just as any other serious crime. In an effort to maintain transparency regarding judicial actions, the college or university should release a monthly update with aggregate data on judicial actions taken on hazing cases and report all hazing incidents according to state and federal entities. Strategies must be broad to address the many aspects of hazing, but must be careful of being too broad or too inclusive (Hollmann, 2002).

Currently, some colleges and universities' hazing policies and anti-hazing state laws are too broad, with an unclear definition of what hazing is and what hazing penalties are. While other colleges and universities' and state laws only focus on anti-hazing within students' organizations, such as: fraternities and sororities, and athletics. Hazing practices are present in many aspects of American culture from the military, to athletic teams, to marching bands, to honor societies. Hollmann (2002) has offered eight specific strategies that institutions should explore in *Hazing: Hidden Campus Crime*.

Communication is essential. First, examine policy and regulation definitions of hazing that are currently in place. Consistent language leaves little room for misinterpretation of the definition of hazing. Second, institutions must communicate clearly and provide educational programs. Institutions must provide a clear message of consequences and the seriousness of hazing activities on campus. Institutions should provide training for student leaders, staff, and faculty on confronting hazing behaviors.

Monitoring behavior is a key element in the next items on the list. The third aspect highlighted is that institutions need to focus on attacking high-risk alcohol consumption both in hazing activities and across campus. Fourth, monitor activities of student organizations to better understand what is being seen and said within these organizations.

Once communication and monitory strategies are in place, follow up is essential. The fifth strategy is to investigate and enforce law and policy related to any report of hazing. In an effort to support the second strategy, the institution must treat hazing and all reports of hazing in a swift manner both in investigation and disciplinary response.

Sixth, build relationships with local and national organizations. Specifically, institutions should work closely with organizations and their leadership to utilize language that is consistent with the organization's goals, the institution's

goals, and the definition of hazing. Other organizations might consist of conference and athletic organizations to apply pressure where the institution cannot.

Finally, the seventh and eighth strategies are alternative teambuilding initiation and student leadership education and transition, respectively. These are framed around providing alternative approaches to the customs and traditions that persist in the organization, both with guidance from the institution but more importantly from the students and leaders that represent the organization.

Though these strategies are broad, they provide a basic understanding of ways in which institutions can begin to approach issues that can be damaging and harmful with hazing (Hollmann, 2002). These strategies are broad to cover any organization affiliated or unaffiliated with the institution. Institutions must focus on a cultural change to the habits of hazing.

Penalties, punishments, and charges for individuals and organizations that commit hazing crimes are different based on the institutional policies, and state and federal laws. All individuals and organizations must know that hazing carries a number of risks including: a civil lawsuit, criminal prosecution for an illegal act, discipline or sanctions from the national organization, discipline or sanctions from the college or university, and possible loss of insurance coverage (UNL Office of Greek Affairs, 2013).

Implications for Future Research

Hazing continues to be an issue in higher education and other contexts. It is imperative for the safety of students and the success of the extracurricular educational experience that research continue around hazing law and policy, hazing practices, and the impact of hazing on individuals and groups. To change the culture and habits of hazing in schools and organizations, to protect individuals from being hazed, states

should develop common and clear anti-hazing policies and laws. If policies and laws are put in place, students would be more likely to report and to tell others about hazing incidents (Dixon, 2001).

Most hazing scholarship focuses on FSL contexts. It is important to study hazing in other settings to better understand the role it plays across college campuses and throughout other organizations in our culture. Specifically, research in the areas of military organizations, marching and other bands, athletics, and non-FSL student organizations is important. Similarly, studies on the development of community, brotherhood, sisterhood, and group bonding without the use of hazing practices can help foster successful and healthy organizations in the future.

In addition, case studies are needed to help members, advisors, leaders, administrators, and legislators explore the concepts of hazing. Case studies based on actual events combined with fictional situations can inspire more dialogue around this critical issue. These can be used proactively to educate members. That education is essential given that the leadership of organizations changes each year as new students come onto campuses.

Conclusion

All states need to develop and propose policies and laws against hazing (Hosansky, 2013). College and university administrators need to be aware of the danger, seriousness, and prevalence of hazing on campus and in organizations. Furthermore, administrators need to be aware of the many different aspects of hazing and how they relate to legal issues, student development, and student awareness. Hazing is a crime that has serious dangers and consequences. It is important to be knowledgeable and active members in the community of the institutional policies related to hazing.

It is important for campus and university administrators to be aware of the potentially

harmful implications of hazing practices that can occur within the student organizations, athletic teams, and other groups that students with which they work are involved. By understanding what implications hazing practices have for a student's success on campus, administrators and practitioners can be better equipped to provide support or referrals for victims of hazing activities, while challenging harmful habits and practices. In this document analysis, we have examined the broad definition for hazing, the types of hazing practices that occur, and how state and federal laws are unclear. We encourage others to practice document analysis to fully understand the trends of a phenomenon, as we have demonstrated in this document analysis of hazing.

College and university administrators need to confront the hazing epidemic with tenacity, courage, and a deep sense of responsibility for the survival of the institutions, and student success. The dignity of those seeking admission into student organizations must be safe and respected at all times in order to achieve organizational missions and adhere to foundational beliefs and core values. College and university administrators must remember that hazing is a crime at the state and institutional level.

In addition, administrators need resources to educate staff and students. From educating student leaders during the process of recognition and funding of student organizations to providing severe and educational sanctions when policies are violated, administrators must work with these groups to ensure the safety of students. The same holds true for working with organizational advisors, coaches, and other staff leaders who engage in extracurricular experiences with students.

This training must be based on clear and accessible policy provided by the institution to administrators, staff, and students alike. In order for it to be effective, policy must be enforced. Enforcement must include consistent outcomes and high levels of accountability for individuals

and organizations when policies are violated.

Only when policies are clear and consistent, when leaders are educated, and when students are aware of expectations, policy / law, and outcomes can we provide for the safe experiences of students in higher education. Joining an organization should be a highlight of any student's experience in college. Enjoying the benefits of membership should be earned, but earning those privileges should never include physical, mental, or emotional harm. Until there is clear legislation as well as clear campus policy, our students continue to be at risk.

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A POSITIVE SPIN ON A NEGATIVE NARRATIVE: HOW THE MEDIA PORTRAYS FRATERNITIES AND WHAT FRATERNITIES CAN DO ABOUT IT

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As research on fraternity men largely focuses on misbehavior and criminal activity, no research examines the types of stories reported on by media outlets and whether these stories include fraternity voices or statements. Employing quantitative content analysis, this study examines 100 fraternity-related stories published by the ten newspaper websites most frequently visited by people in the United States. Findings suggest 12% of fraternity-related publications are positive in nature and tone, 36% of publications include official fraternity-issued statements, and 69% of all publications include official university-issued statements. Implications for practitioners and future research is addressed.

Extant research supports the notion that involvement in college and university fraternities has positive effects, including increasing men's self-awareness and leadership strengths (Isacco, Warnecke, Ampuero, Donofrio, & Davies, 2013); sharpening cultural competencies and diversity awareness (Johnson, Johnson, & Dugan, 2015; Reuter et al., 2012); building meaningful relationships with fraternity brothers (Long, 2012) and the university community (Asel, Seifert, & Pascarella, 2009), improving cognitive abilities (Pike, 2000), and boosting graduation rates and degree persistence (Walker, Martin, & Hussey, 2015). As of 2017, fraternity membership on college campuses was at an all-time high, as over 375,000 undergraduate men were members of fraternities, with over 6,000 active fraternity chapters operating on nearly 800 college campuses (North-American Interfraternity Conference [NIC], 2017).

However, Harris and Harper (2014) argued that the predominant view of male undergraduates is that they “are drunken, promiscuous, academically disengaged lovers of pornography, sports, and video games who rape women, physically assault each other, vandalize buildings on campus, and dangerously risk their lives pledging sexist, racially exclusive, homophobic fraternities” (p. 10). Akin to Harper

and Harris' work is decades of overwhelmingly negative fraternity-related research and reporting in higher education, social science, and popular media, focusing on fraternity members' alcohol abuse (Caudill et al., 2006; Glindemann et al., 2007; Park, Sher, Wood, & Krull, 2009), burdensome financial obligations and socioeconomic stratification (Byer, 1997; Miller, 1973; Newsome, 2009), hazing and initiation practices (Boglioli & Taff, 1995; Cimino, 2016; Somers, 2007), homophobic attitudes (Hall & La France, 2007; Hesp, 2006; Worthen, 2014), and sexual misconduct (Boyle, 2015; Franklin, Bouffard, & Pratt, 2012; Kingree & Thompson, 2013). To be clear, popular media does report on factual, abhorrent, and negative behavior demonstrated by fraternity men. Yet, it is possible that the media often leans toward a negative portrayal of fraternities and does not convey a comprehensive image of fraternities and their missions, values, and service to their communities.

This aforementioned negative fraternity-related research—coupled with the proliferation of social media and ease of information in the Internet age—has catalyzed the action of fraternity chapters' communications and public relations units. These units have charged themselves with “sophisticated public relations

efforts” (Kingkade, 2015, para. 1) to counteract the “popularized social media platforms” and “constant media scrutiny” (Kingkade, 2015, para. 7) which damages the reputation of fraternities and drowns out fraternities’ unified, powerful voice, according to the North-American Interfraternity Conference (Kingkade, 2015). Yet, after reviewing the literature, no study has examined this sense of “constant media scrutiny” (Kingkade, 2015, para. 7) as it relates to fraternity voices in media publications.

Research has suggested fraternities are portrayed in a negative, and often unfair, light (Harris & Harper, 2014), and a comprehensive synthesis of fraternity and sorority-related research determined “overwhelming body of research has explored detrimental behaviors and consequences associated with [fraternity and sorority] membership, while little attention has been paid to developmental aspects” (Biddix, Matney, Norman, & Martin, 2014, p. 101). However, the existing body of research has not addressed fraternity-focused media publications to articulate exactly how fraternities are portrayed in the media and what fraternities are doing to mitigate negative publicity and condemnation (Kingkade, 2015).

In short, this study seeks to answer two crucial questions related to the “constant media scrutiny” (Kingkade, 2015, para. 7) facing fraternities:

1. Which types of fraternity-focused stories are reported on by popular, widely-read media outlets?
2. Are fraternity voices included in fraternity-focused media publications, and if not, whose voices are included?

We hypothesize that fraternity-focused media publications are overwhelmingly negative in nature, possibly perpetuating the negative perception of fraternity membership touched upon by the research (Fouts, 2010; Sweeney, 2014; Wells & Corts, 2008). By exploring our two research questions, we hope to inform fraternities and their advisors regarding their work repairing fraternities’ public images

and sharing the wealth of positive work that fraternities do on a regular basis. If fraternities do experience condemnation from the media (Kingkade, 2015), this study will explain to the extent this condemnation exists and whether fraternities work to combat negative narratives with positive, or at least, more comprehensive narratives.

The Positive Impact of Fraternities

While extant research focuses primarily on the negative impact of fraternities (Harris & Harper, 2014), several researchers have explored the benefits of fraternity membership (Long, 2012; Reuter et al., 2012; Walker, Martin, & Hussey, 2014), as well as how fraternity men have been able to demonstrate productive masculinities (Harris & Harper, 2014). Drawing from the work of Kimmel and Messner (2007), Harris and Harper (2014) defined a productive masculinity as behaviors of fraternity men that promote desirable psychosocial outcomes, such as leadership skills, improved health, and increased student engagement. During a two-day leadership retreat, Harris and Harper found fraternity men challenged negative stereotypes of fraternity membership by holding each other accountable to the values and principles of their organization. These men often practiced disrupting negative stereotypes by “calling brothers out” (Harris & Harper, 2014, p. 715) in order to challenge sexism, homophobia, and racism apparent in some fraternity men.

Anderson (2008) completed a two-year ethnographic study on fraternity men and found members he studied embraced a culture of inclusive masculinity, valuing vulnerability and rejecting hegemonic masculinity using positive peer pressure to curtail homophobia, racism, and misogyny. Referencing Anderson’s work, Harris and Harper (2014) provided the most direct examination of men who contradicted stereotypes and engaged in productive masculinities. The men Harris and

Harper worked with “consciously acted in ways that sought to disrupt sexism, racism, and homophobia; confronted chapter brothers who behaved in ways that were inconsistent with their fraternity’s espoused values; and cultivated substantive non-romantic friendships with women on campus” (p. 706).

Walker et al. (2014) argued opportunities for leadership development, networking, and community involvement were all potential benefits to fraternity membership. Results of their study, conducted at an elite, highly-selective institution, found that fraternity membership led to more involvement in and satisfaction with campus social life and predicted higher graduation rates. Long (2012) found the fraternity membership experience successfully created a sense of belonging and helped men develop a variety of academic and non-academic skills.

Here, fraternities have demonstrated their positive social value in ways that impact a fraternity member’s academic and non-academic lives. However, this positive social value may struggle for its voice to be heard above the din of the negative fraternity-related research.

The Negative or Negligible Impact of Fraternity Membership

While some studies have demonstrated the positive impact of fraternity membership (Long, 2012; Reuter et al., 2012; Walker, Martin, & Hussey, 2014), other research has shown fraternity men do not experience many meaningful gains from the membership (Asel, Seifert, & Pascarella, 2009; Hevel & Bureau, 2014). Hevel and Bureau (2014) and Asel, Seifert, and Pascarella (2009) found fraternity and sorority membership had a net neutral effect on academic success, interpersonal skill development, moral reasoning, and critical thinking, among other measures. While fraternity membership did not have a harmful effect, positive gains found in other studies (e.g.,

Long, 2012; Reuter et al., 2012; Walker, Martin, & Hussey, 2014) are not constant across the literature.

Illustrating this inconsistency, Biddix, Matney, Norman, and Martin (2014) synthesized nearly two decades of critical research focusing on the influence of fraternity and sorority involvement from 1996 to 2013. Ultimately, the researchers determined negative effects of fraternity and sorority membership are most apparent in the first year of college, and this membership’s effect is largely context dependent (e.g., such as the size and culture of the organization and the campus on which the fraternity or sorority resides). Moreover, the researchers urged that adequate evaluation of fraternity and sorority membership is difficult due to the lack of accurate and comprehensive research, as most research has focused on White majority fraternity members and single-location case studies. Of this research, Biddix et al. (2014) suggested an “overwhelming body of research has explored detrimental behaviors and consequences associated with [fraternity and sorority] membership, while little attention has been paid to developmental aspects,” (p. 101). This finding perhaps speaks to this study’s hypothesis that both media outlets and research in the field has contributed to a negative narrative instead of balancing “detrimental behaviors and consequences” with “developmental aspects” (Biddix et al., 2014, p. 101) of fraternity membership.

Although research has explored negative effects and positive benefits of fraternity membership, perceptions of fraternities and sororities by other students are overwhelmingly negative. Wells and Corts (2008) found evidence of in-group bias in a study of affiliated and unaffiliated students: unaffiliated students showed a negative implicit attitude toward fraternities and sororities and positive attitudes toward other types of student organizations, while fraternity members showed positive implicit attitudes toward fraternities and sororities. Negative perceptions of fraternities play a powerful role in some students’ choices

not to join organizations as well.

In a survey of unaffiliated students, Fouts (2010) found one reason students chose to not join fraternities and sororities was a perceived incongruence between personal and organizational values. Unaffiliated students, especially men, did not want to be associated with negative stereotypes of fraternity and sorority life. Similarly, Sweeney (2014) explained fraternity men's perceptions of the collegiate party and hook up culture highlighted socioeconomic disparities within members in the fraternity. Privileged men viewed this culture as essential to the college experience and a rite of passage of fraternity life, whereas fraternity men with less privilege viewed this culture as isolating, uncomfortable, and a deterrent of fraternity association. Here, Sweeney argued this culture not only divides fraternity men from one another, but this culture may discourage men from associating with fraternities or, if already a member, dissuading a fraternity man from voicing his displeasure with activity related to the collegiate party and hook up culture.

Ultimately, extant research has composed a negative narrative of the fraternity, yet no study has critically analyzed how popular media outlets may be contributing to this negative narrative and how fraternities have addressed media scrutiny through these outlets (Kingkade, 2015).

Methodology

Riffe, Lacy, and Fico's (2014) quantitative content analysis (QCA) is an appropriate methodological tool to examine media coverage of college and university fraternities. Defined as a methodological tool for examining media messages and textual documents, QCA is the "systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods" (Riffe et al., 2014, p. 3). QCA has become an increasingly popular method for describing typical patterns or characteristics

or to identify important relationships within organizational communication. An examination of media outlets' communication of fraternity-related news may reveal these media outlets' communicative goals, beliefs, and biases, as well as how fraternities contribute to this communication (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2014). As a form of mass communication, an online news publication also lends itself to sender-to-recipient inferences. These inferences go well beyond the basic description of the message with the goal of identifying organizational or societal attitudes held toward fraternity-related news, including an audience beyond the postsecondary community. It is important to interrogate these news publications to learn how organizational and societal attitudes may be shaping the public perception of fraternities.

Finally, QCA of media publications is appropriate given QCA is not limited to the types of data captured or how the source presents the text or media. The websites analyzed in this study were published on official, organizational domains for each media corporation, implying organizational idiosyncrasies from company to company. Also, many online news publications — although including some organizationally-mandated information — are predominantly written by individuals or small group communications staffers and not the overarching institution itself. Employing QCA's variable dynamism is necessary to decode organizational attitudes related to communicating fraternity-focused stories with the greater population.

Within QCA, our research team employed a word frequency analyses of fraternity-focused media publications and their titles to add rigor and depth to the study. Term frequency was popularized by G. K. Zipf (1935), a quantitative linguist who articulated Zipf's Law: few words occur frequently (e.g., conjunctions and articles) and many others occur rarely (e.g., gerunds, participles, infinitives, and modifiers) given the context and purpose of a text. Since his landmark contribution, Zipf's Law — articulated as a

statistical power law when a change in quantity predicts a proportional growth in another, independent of initial size — has been widely used to study a range of societal issues such as income distribution of companies (Okuyama, Takayasu, & Takayasu, 1999), size distribution of cities (Gabaix, 1999), and gene expression (Furusawa & Kaneko, 2003). In this study's context, the more frequently a media outlet employs a specific word for a specific purpose (e.g., fraternity titles, university names), the more powerful that word is believed to be by its author, and the more powerful that word is to influence the syntax and semantics (meaning) of subsequent text. In short, word frequency analyses reveal patterns or characteristics in linguistic behavior, augmenting Riffe, Lacy, and Fico's (2014) QCA, which simultaneously established a project-specific word bank (lexicon) for this project, thus informing our coding strategies and emergent themes in the data.

Data Collection

To examine news outlets which reach the greatest number of people in the United States (U.S.), we needed to learn how U.S. people digest their news. A 2016 Pew Research Center report found most U.S. people (58%) get their news online, through either news websites (e.g., Yahoo News), newspaper websites (e.g., *Wall Street Journal* at www.wsj.com), or social media (e.g., Facebook News Feed, Twitter), instead of television or radio sources. The same Pew report found online news sources also produce more current, accessible content than television outlets, as most televised news stories are also published on a television company's website (e.g., news appearing on NBC Nightly News is also published on www.nbcnews.com; Mitchell, Gottfried, Barthel, & Shearer, 2016). Furthermore, ten of the twenty-five most frequently visited websites that U.S. people often explore for news are also major, in-print newspapers: *The New York Times* (www.nyt.com);

Washington Post (www.washingtonpost.com); *USA Today* (www.usatoday.com); *Wall Street Journal* (www.wsj.com); *Los Angeles Times* (www.latimes.com); *New York Daily News* (www.nydailynews.com); *New York Post* (www.nypost.com); *Boston Globe* (www.boston.com); *San Francisco Chronicle* (www.sfgate.com); and, *Chicago Tribune* (www.chicagotribune.com; Olmstead, Mitchell, & Rosenstiel, 2011).

These ten websites also republish select news stories on their social media accounts, and as a result, these newspapers reach a clear majority of U.S. people through three major channels: their website, related social media accounts, and in-print newspapers (Mitchell, Gottfried, Barthel, & Shearer, 2016). Furthermore, these ten newspaper websites also represent great geographic diversity from New York to Los Angeles and throughout the Midwest. Thus, the research team agreed these ten websites represented the most accessible, most dynamic, most frequently-visited news sources and would serve as appropriate, high-quality sources for this study.

All data used in this study were extracted directly from the aforementioned ten newspaper websites in March 2017 using computer-aided text analysis (CATA) software (i.e., Readability Studio, a quantitative linguistic software program). Using the CATA helped eliminate human error during the extraction, cleaning, automatic tabulation of variables, and content organization processes. The research team located each fraternity-focused media publication by employing the website search engine on each newspaper's website and searching for the term "fraternity." Every newspaper website returned at least fifty results, ranging in publication from 2011 to 2017. The research team cleaned the results and included only results focused on college and university fraternities instead of unrelated fraternities such as Elks Lodges. This cleaning procedure resulted in every major news outlet publishing at least ten college and university fraternity-related stories

since 2011. After these stories were identified, the research team employed a random sampling technique to identify ten stories from each news outlet to reduce sampling and researcher bias. For instance, if a news outlet published 33 fraternity-related stories, the team used a random number generator with the parameters 1 through 33 to assign one randomly-selected story to the sample. As a result, this study will focus on ten fraternity-related publications from each news outlet's website, resulting in a corpus of 100 fraternity-focused media publications.

Data Analysis

Once the data were extracted, cleaned, and organized, all text were inputted into a database including the following metadata: newspaper name, URL of the publication, title of the news article, and publication date (day, month, and year). Across 100 publications, there was one publication from 2012, one from 2013, five from 2014, 12 from 2015, 46 from 2016, and 35 from 2017.

First, the research team performed a preliminary review of the metadata and 100-article corpus to become familiar with the content. Next, the research team's coding procedure involved two steps and two coding strategies: holistic coding and attribute coding. First, holistic coding of the data was appropriate, as holistic coding "applies a single code to a large unit of data, rather than line-by-line coding to capture a sense of the overall contents and the possible categories that may develop" (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014, p. 77). After each research team member read each story, the reader assigned a simple, holistic code to the text: positive, negative, or neutral. Per modified binary coding (1 = positive, 0 = negative, * = neutral), positive articles were ones focused on fraternity fundraisers, community service events, and human-interest stories, whereas negative stories were ones focused on fraternity member misbehavior or criminal activity, university censoring of fraternity chapters,

and stories highlighting stereotypical behavior of fraternities, including hazing rituals, excess drinking, objectification of women, and homophobic behavior. Each research team member coded stories individually, with the entire team collaborating to compare results. Without deliberation, the research team unanimously agreed upon the positive, negative, or neutral coding of each story. Only one story was neutral, and the research team reached this decision unanimously.

Next, the team performed attribute coding to "notate basic descriptive information of text" and provide context for analysis and interpretation (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014, p. 79). Each team member performed the first round of attribute coding separately and then the team collaborated to develop attribute code categories. After collaboration, five textual elements relevant to the analysis of fraternity-focused media publications emerged from the descriptive coding procedure: inclusion of fraternity name, inclusion of university name, inclusion of an official fraternity statement, inclusion of an official university statement, and type of story (e.g., investigative report, news, opinion, or critical review).

Across 100 publications, 31 different fraternities and 62 different universities were specifically mentioned. Regarding fraternities, Sigma Alpha Epsilon (9 occurrences) and Tau Kappa Epsilon (5 occurrences) were the most frequently mentioned. Regarding colleges and universities, Penn State University (5 occurrences) and the University of California-Berkeley and University of Connecticut (4 occurrences) were the most frequently mentioned. In all, news outlets reported seven duplicated stories, six of them negative and one positive. The six negative stories involved a hazing incident at Central Michigan University (Alpha Chi Rho); the death of a fraternity member at the University of Connecticut (Kappa Sigma); a hazing-related death at Baruch College (Pi Delta Psi); a former fraternity president pleading guilty

in a sexual abuse case at Cornell University (Psi Epsilon); racist chanting by fraternity members at the University of Oklahoma (Sigma Alpha Epsilon); and a burglary attempt at the New Jersey Institute of Technology (Tau Kappa Epsilon). The positive story involved a 70-year-old member of Kappa Sigma at Arkansas Tech University. These duplicitous stories represented 19 of the 100 publications in this study: 17 negative and two positive. As a result, publications in this study reported on 81 unique fraternity-related incidents.

Limitations

Three primary limitations of this study were issues of generalizability given sample size, media duplicity, and the medium of publications examined.

First, issues of generalizability arise when a sample size is not large enough. In addition, this study did not examine sorority-related news stories, as Kingkade's (2015) reporting on the NIC was the catalyst for the study. As an exploratory study, the research team decided an examination of 100 fraternity-related news publications was a robust sample, considering multiple news outlets only published ten fraternity-related stories since 2011. Given the size and scope of modern news media outlets and the sheer volume of digital news produced daily across a variety of multimedia platforms, focusing on the ten most recent fraternity-related news publications on each newspaper's website allowed the team to conduct an appropriately tailored, narrowly-focused and manageable study from which to adequately inform fraternity advisors and university representatives as to how fraternities are portrayed in widely-read newspapers. Furthermore, this study rigorously examined each of the 100 fraternity-focused media publications featured herein, as this study produced a 58,767-word corpus, providing an ample semantic space for the first quantitative content analysis of fraternity-

focused media publications, resulting in salient, current, and well-informed implications for a variety of educational stakeholders including fraternity advisors and fraternity spokespeople and communication professionals.

Second, when a news story breaks, multiple news outlets cover the story and deliver their own version to their own idiosyncratic audience through their own unique multimedia channels. Subsequently, several newspaper websites covered the same story in this study (e.g., Cornell University's Psi Upsilon President pleading guilty to sexual abuse), and these duplicitous stories are included in our text corpus and this study. However, it should be noted that these duplicitous stories are far from identical in text and serve to augment this study's scope, focus, and purpose rather than detract from it. Analyzing several newspapers and media outlets covering the same story is a novel approach to dissecting and explicating how fraternities are portrayed in the news, especially given the geographic and structural diversity of the newspapers and the stories themselves. As a result, the research team simultaneously acknowledges the media duplicity included in this study and encourages future research to expand the size and scope of this study to continue to define how fraternities are portrayed in the media and if their voices are made apparent in all forms of media.

Lastly, we understand that people in the United States receive news from a variety of courses, meaning that the fraternity-focused stories analyzed in this study were not and will not be read by every person in the United States. However, as this study is the first of its kind, we decided to focus on the media outlets most likely to reach the greatest numbers of U.S. people. Future research related to fraternity portrayals in the news could and should focus on other forms of media, such as television, radio, social media, podcasts, blogs, and emerging media sources which could change the way the public views fraternities and their purposes and functions on college campuses and beyond.

In short, this study’s size and scope, as well as the ingenuity and inventiveness of the study itself, mitigates its limitations and provides ample room for future examination.

Findings

Results of a quantitative content analysis of 100 fraternity-focused media publications can be found in Table 1.

The types of articles included in this study were largely news-intensive, representing 81% of all publications, whereas opinions (11%), investigative reports (7%), and critical reviews (1%) were much less common. In fraternity-focused media publications, mentioning of a specific university was more common than mentioning of a specific fraternity, as 94% of all publications explicitly referenced a specific university or universities, whereas 77% of all

Table 1

Quantitative Content Analysis of Fraternity-focused Media Publications on Newspaper Websites (n = 100)

<u>Publication type</u>	
News	81%
Opinion	11%
Investigative report	7%
Critical review	1%
<u>Publication content</u>	
Mention of specific fraternity	77%
Mention of specific university	94%
Official fraternity-issued statement	36%
Official university-issued statement	69%
<u>Nature of publication</u>	
Positive	12%
and includes official fraternity-issued statement	9%
and includes official university-issued statement	3%
Negative	87%
and includes official fraternity-issued statement	27%
and includes official university-issued statement	66%
Neutral/indiscernible	1%

publications explicitly referenced a specific fraternity or fraternities. Official university-issued statements were also more prominently featured in publications of fraternity-focused news: sixty-nine percent (69%) of all publications featured an official university-issued statement—many from deans of students, presidents of university-sponsored hellenistic societies, or executive leaders—whereas 36%

of all publications featured an official fraternity-issued statement from either the university chapter’s leadership or a leader from the larger, international fraternity organization such as NIC.

The researchers also found that the nature of fraternity-focused media publications was overwhelmingly negative, as only 12% of all publications could be considered positive in nature. Only one publication (1%) was

neither positive or negative (i.e., a review of the movie *Burning Sands*). Of the 12 positive publications, nine featured an official fraternity-issued statement, representing 75% of positive publications. Inversely, three positive publications featured an official university-issued statement, representing 25% of positive publications. Of the 87 negative publications, 27 featured an official fraternity-issued statement, representing 31% of negative publications. Again, inversely, 66 negative publications featured an official university-issued statement, representing 76% of negative publications.

Results of a word frequency analysis of 100 fraternity-focused media publications and their titles can be found in Table 2.

Across 100 fraternity-focused media publication titles and text, the words “fraternity” and “university” were most popular. Frequent words in titles were demonstrably more negative than frequent words in the full-text of the publication, as the title words “hazing,” “suspended,” “death,” and “rape” were not used as frequently in the full-text. Although publications were more likely to mention a specific university and include an official university-issued statement (see Table 1), the full-text of the publication mentioned “fraternity” (518 occurrences) and “fraternities” (143 occurrences) much more frequently than “university” (386 occurrences) or “college” (165 occurrences).

Table 2

Word Frequency Analysis of Fraternity-focused Media Publications and Titles on Popular Newspaper Websites (n = 100)

<u>Ten most frequently used words in</u>	<u># of occurrences</u>
fraternity-focused media publication titles:	fraternity (43 occurrences)
	university (17)
	hazing (13)
	student (12)
	state (11)
	college (11)
	suspended (11)
	death (11)
	fraternities (8)
	rape (7)
fraternity-focused media publication text:	fraternity (518 occurrences)
	university (386)
	students (274)
	campus (227)
	student (216)
	members (199)
	sexual (184)
	college (165)
	fraternities (143)
	chapter (140)

Discussion

The researchers found fraternity-focused media publications were largely news, followed by opinions, investigative reports, and critical reviews. Media outlets tended to report on fraternity incidents, rather than publishing opinions, reports, and reviews about fraternities. As a result, these media outlets likely contribute to the public's negative perception of college and university fraternities, often focusing on widely-researched problems facing fraternities such as alcohol abuse, hazing, homophobia and sexual assault (Harris & Harper, 2014). However, limited research has found negativity in news and media outlets may be common, as a recent study found negative superlatives in headlines — such as “worst” and “bad” — were 30% more likely to attract a user to an online story than positive ones (Wood, 2014). Financial market reporting research also found journalists tended to report more frequently on negative news during times of positive market gains than report on positive news during times of market losses (Garcia, 2014). Although there is limited research to compare the negativity of fraternity news to other types of news, it is notable that 87% of media publications in this study's sample were unequivocally negative. As this research illustrates, if 81% of fraternity-focused media publications were composed to inform the general public of a fraternity-focused news story, fraternity advisors must understand that these news stories, often negative narratives, could be counterbalanced by positive news to inform the public of the good-natured, community-centered work that fraternities do across the United States on a daily basis.

For instance, the *Chicago Tribune* ran a story on November 30th, 2015 which featured an Alpha Sigma Phi chapter launching a food drive in River Grove, Illinois and collecting over 300 bags of food, just in time for the Thanksgiving holiday weekend (Pisano, 2015). The most encouraging aspect of this publication is the fact that River

Grove, Illinois is not a large metropolitan area by any means — its population is barely over 10,000 — and the Alpha Sigma Phi initiative was, according to all evidence included in the publication, a one-time initiative. This positive publication reached the *Chicago Tribune's* nearly 500,000 daily readers and helped share the many positive effects and outcomes of fraternity involvement, including leadership development (Isacco et al., 2013) and sharpening cultural competencies and diversity awareness (Johnson, Johnson, & Dugan, 2015; Reuter et al., 2012).

Possibly contributing to the public's negative perception of fraternities is the reporting on fraternity news without including the voice of the fraternity itself. For instance, 77% of publications mentioned a specific fraternity, yet less than half of these publications included an official, fraternity-issued statement. In this study's sample, fraternities often did not contribute to and augment their own stories, both positive and negative. Here, if fraternities are experiencing criticism from the media (Kingkade, 2015), these fraternities did not offer a condemnation of unacceptable behavior or any form of clarifying statement. Without a fraternity voice in a negative news story, members of the public may consider fraternity leadership ambivalent to the negative news.

Inversely, the research team's coding of media publications found colleges and universities were more likely to contribute to fraternity-focused media publications — 94% of publications mentioned a specific university and 69% included an official, university-issued statement — than fraternities. Here, media outlets may be intentionally associating the university with the fraternity to provide its readership with some geographic context, yet it is troublesome that universities were twice as likely to speak to a negative fraternity-related story than the fraternity itself. For Kingkade (2015), this study finds that fraternities may not be doing enough to address media scrutiny by often failing to address the media scrutiny in the first place.

Unfortunately, our study supports related research (e.g., Harris & Harper, 2014) and found only 12% of all fraternity-focused media publications were positive. Diction of a negative connotation was apparent throughout our word frequency analysis of fraternity-related publication titles. The terms “hazing,” “suspended,” “death,” and “rape” comprised four of the ten most frequently used terms in publication titles and eerily echoes what research has demonstrated are the largest problems facing fraternities (Boglioli & Taff, 1995; Boyle, 2015; Cimino, 2016; Franklin, Bouffard, & Pratt, 2012; Kingree & Thompson, 2013; Somers, 2007).

Of the 12 positive publications, two stories partially addressed the lack of evidence of rape during the University of Virginia scandal of 2014: one *Wall Street Journal* publication entitled, “Should Colleges Get Rid of Fraternities?” (Robbins, 2015), and one Washington Post investigative report entitled, “Fraternity Brother: Bad Headlines about Greek Life are Good for Us” (Svrluga, 2015). Considering these two publications and how they could be easily perceived as negative by a casual, inattentive reader, only 10% of all fraternity-focused media publications were unequivocally positive without a negative precursor or potentially misleading title. This is extremely problematic for fraternities and their advisors: This negative narrative must shift, beginning with a movement away from problematic behaviors which lead to negative media coverage and justified criticism.

However, this criticism could also be directed toward news outlets as well. For instance, a July 8, 2016 publication in *USA Today* highlighted a Chi Phi chapter’s decision to allow transgender pledges (Osler, 2016). Included in our study, this story was coded as positive in nature and tone and demonstrates multiple positive effects and outcomes of fraternity involvement: developing men’s self-awareness and leadership strengths (Isacco et al., 2013), sharpening cultural competencies and diversity awareness (Johnson, Johnson, & Dugan, 2015; Reuter et

al., 2012), and building meaningful relationships with the university community (Asel, Seifert, & Pascarella, 2009). However, this story was only reported by one news outlet. Inversely, the *New York Daily News* and *New York Post* both reported on a 70-year-old Kappa Sigma pledge at Arkansas Tech University (Burke, 2017; Eustachewich, 2017). Granted, a 70-year-old pledge is a fun and newsworthy narrative. Yet, given the political climate in our country and the challenges facing the transgender community during their fight for equitable civil rights in the United States (Thoreson, 2017), it is notable that news outlets publicized the Arkansas Tech story more frequently than the Chi Phi story.

Data in this study suggest fraternities were less likely to issue official statements than universities were, yet the type of media publication including official statements requires additional attention from fraternity advisors. In positive publications, our study found official, fraternity-related statements (9%) were three times as apparent than official, university-issued statements were (3%). However, the inverse was true in negative publications: official, university-issued statements (66%) were more than twice as likely to appear than official, fraternity-issued statements in negative publications (27%). Therefore, fraternity advisors must ask two questions: why are fraternity-related stories so overwhelmingly negative, and, why are fraternity voices more apparent in positive publications than negative ones? A hallmark of quality journalism is paying credence to both sides of a story, positive or negative, and fraternity advisors must ensure that fraternity voices are being acknowledged and heard by the United States’ most widely-circulated newspapers. A troubling finding of this study, only 36% of all fraternity-related publications included an official, fraternity-issued statement.

Universities and the media outlets themselves will continue to report — and justifiably so — on negative fraternity news and offer a one-sided version of this news until fraternities insert

themselves into the national conversation and make their voices heard, whether the fraternity statement condemns negative activity or praises positive activity. To begin a national conversation about fraternities, fraternity stakeholders must begin to share responsibility for providing more positive and comprehensive narratives about fraternities and combating overwhelming negative narratives.

Implications: Shared Responsibility in Starting a Conversation

The findings of this study imply all fraternity stakeholders must share responsibility to start a conversation with the media and with the public, beginning with inter/national chapter leaders. Whether they are marketing and communications officers, executives, or the chapter president, inter/national leaders should be active when addressing negative and promoting positive stories involving their chapter.

First, inter/national leaders must address media coverage of a negative fraternity-related incident through an issuance of a formal statement. Although members of the U.S. media are guaranteed freedom of the press, inter/national leaders must work to ensure members of the U.S. public are aware that the highest level of fraternity leadership has the highest level of condemnation for the unacceptable behavior of their members. Even if the media outlet refuses to publish a fraternity's formal statement, the inter/national leadership can publish the statement on their official website, disseminate the statement through digital channels including social media, and link any negative media publications to the formal statement on the website. Even though a small number of publications in this study were opinions (11%), inter/national leadership could respond to opinions, too. A fraternity voice responding to an outside opinion begins a dialogue — a conversation — that can help maintain and repair the good reputation of thousands of fraternity men across the country.

This responsibility to communicate with the public should be shared with inter/national leadership and the chapter leadership of the fraternity. This responsibility implies inter/national leaders and chapter leaders maintain open lines of communication and provide unified formal statements to any and all media outlets reporting on fraternities. In addition, this shared responsibility requires inter/national leadership and chapter leadership to foster positive relationships with media outlets at the local and national level to ensure fraternity voices can be heard in popular news publications read by millions of people in the United States every day. Here, both inter/national leaders and chapter leaders must communicate and collaborate on how to efficiently and effectively connect with media outlets and respond to negative media coverage.

Although inter/national leadership may be better suited to establish relationships with large media outlets, chapter leaders need to prepare fraternity members to not only respond to negative coverage but promote positive happenings. In this study, a sense of conversation was sorely lacking in the media's portrayal of fraternities and fraternity life: No media publications in this study included interviews with fraternity men. Here, chapter leaders and advisors need to not only prepare fraternity men to respond to negative media coverage, they also need to prepare these men to share their stories, become advocates for their chapter, and insert their voices into the national conversation. The public should be provided the opportunity to understand one or two bad apples cannot and will not spoil the bunch, and yet, this notion seems to hold as public perception (Harris & Harper, 2014). Without inserting fraternity voices into negative media publications, the overwhelmingly negative narrative surrounding fraternities will continue to be one-sided and misrepresentative of fraternities and the incredible amount of positive work they do on college campuses and in their communities.

At the campus level, it is possible that universities have the ability to get in front of a negative fraternity-related news story because they may possess prior knowledge that chapter leadership may lack. Given this study's findings that universities were identified and quoted more frequently in fraternity-focused media publications, fraternities must work to collaborate with their universities to address negative media coverage and promote positive coverage. This assertion does not presuppose that fraternities and universities do not collaborate: surely, they do. This collaboration was simply not apparent in the findings of this study. Again, speaking to a lack of conversation, no publication in this study included a joint statement from a fraternity and its university to address a negative incident or promote a positive one. Because chapter leaders are more closely connected to their university than inter/national leadership likely are, chapter leaders must share the responsibility of collaborating with their university and fostering an open, communicative relationship. Without this relationship, the public may read about fraternities in the news and deduce that universities and fraternities do not communicate, resulting in both the university and the fraternity appearing unprofessional, uncollaborative, and uncommunicative.

Both positive and negative news can reach a national audience more quickly than ever before, given the proliferation of social media and Internet technologies (Mitchell, Gottfried, Barthel, & Shearer, 2016). As a result, a unified effort among inter/national leaders, chapter leaders, fraternity men, and universities should work to promote positive fraternity happenings as frequently as possible across numerous channels (e.g., print media, digital media, and word of mouth). The aforementioned 2015 *Chicago Tribune* story is evidence that a small but positive fraternity event can reach a large audience. Similar to how chapter leaders should prepare fraternity men to respond to negative coverage, these leaders must work to put

fraternity men in positions to not only *do good work* but *share good work*. This preparation could involve chapter leaders teaching fraternity men how to document and publicize community service events or other positive contributions to society.

All fraternity stakeholders must share responsibility to promote positive news, as inter/national leaders, chapter leaders, and fraternity men themselves cannot assume their good deeds will be recognized by media outlets. Princeton University's Chi Phi chapter decided to admit transgender men as new members in 2016. For one of the nation's oldest fraternities to fundamentally change membership policies to become more inclusive is an incredibly noteworthy act of social justice and equity. However, more news outlets decided to publicize a 70-year-old Kappa Sigma member at Arkansas Tech University. Given this discrepancy, chapter leaders must communicate and promote positive, social justice work performed by fraternities to slowly change the media's overwhelmingly negative narrative of fraternities, again repeating the call to action by the NIC (Kingkade, 2015).

Regarding sororities and their leadership, many of the implications for fraternities are applicable to sororities. Given the negative media coverage of fraternities found in this study, sororities and their leadership should be proactive to address negative publicity and promote positive happenings. Although sororities may not face the same level of public scrutiny that fraternities do — and rightfully so, given the number of unique negative fraternity incidents analyzed in this study alone — sororities and fraternities can be mutually supportive and collaborative. If fraternity and sorority leadership and their members communicate and collaborate at chapter and national levels, perhaps fraternities can mirror best practices exhibited by sororities regarding public relations and media communication. Understanding fraternities and sororities often engage at a social level, leaders of these organizations should

explore ways for both groups to collectively make positive contributions to their community and greater society, and then publicize these contributions at the local and national level.

Finally, future research should investigate how inter/national leadership, chapter leadership, and fraternity men publicize fraternity-related news. Researchers could explore who is formally responsible for responding to both negative and positive media coverage, including how these fraternity leaders or fraternity men are trained to address such coverage. Beyond the fraternity, researchers should also investigate how universities communicate fraternity news — positive and negative — and whether universities actively solicit official fraternity statements regarding any type of news. The same call to research applies to how media outlets actively solicit fraternity feedback on a future or current publication and whether fraternities seek positive relationships with the media. To better inform how fraternities can share communicative responsibility and start a conversation with the public, researchers must interrogate all stakeholders with the power to shape the public's opinion of fraternities. Only then will fraternity men and their leaders begin to combat fraternities' negative narrative in the media.

Conclusion

Although this study found fraternities are portrayed in a negative light by the United States' most widely-read newspapers, stories such as the Alpha Sigma Phi food drive and the Chi Phi inclusion of transgender pledges must motivate fraternity advisors and leadership to ensure that fraternity voices are heard, whether newspapers publish positive or negative fraternity-focused stories. Surely, when a tragedy befalls a college or university fraternity, popular media outlets are likely to report on the story and continue to compose a negative narrative. However, such salient, culturally transcendent work performed

by fraternities across the country must find its place in modern media. Granted, each inter/national fraternity has an official website on which organizational leadership publishes positive stories of fraternity involvement in their campuses and communities, yet these websites are not likely visited by the overwhelming majority of news-seeking people in the United States. These positive stories must be supplied to major media outlets by fraternity advisors to provide a more comprehensive picture of fraternities and combat, what is currently, a largely negative narrative.

Perhaps Harris and Harper (2014) best articulated the desire of fraternity men to change the negative stereotypes associated with their fraternity membership. One of their participants remarked, "It's typical frat boys. Sometimes we bring it upon ourselves. There's a lot of fraternities out there who don't stand for good causes, so that's why we have that image, but our fraternity really aims to counter those ideas" (as quoted in Harper & Harris, 2014, p. 713). In an effort to "counter those ideas," fraternity leaders must address a real or perceived "constant media scrutiny" (Kingkade, 2015, para. 7) by condemning negative behavior and promoting positive behavior in widely-read media publications that may work to further perpetuate negative stereotypes or establish positive ones.

For decades, many fraternity men have reaped the positive benefits of fraternity membership and positively contributed to countless fraternities' legacies of service, leadership, and social justice. Now, it is time for the leaders of these men — chapter leaders and inter/national organizations — to ensure the incredibly positive work performed by fraternities is acknowledged, recognized, and praised.

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