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PLAZING INSIDE THE FRATRIARCHAL FRAME:
AMERICAN COLLEGE FRATERNITY MEN'S GENDER IDENTITY AND HAZING

A Dissertation Presented

by

EMILY L. PERLOW

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

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Educational Policy, Research, and Administration
College of Education

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DEDICATION

I do this work because I believe in the transformative power of the fraternity experience.

I believe when done well, the fraternity has the ability to shape men into the citizens, leaders, fathers, husbands, and friends that we need in American culture.

This is for my nephews and all the boys growing up in cities and towns across America who will one day seek membership in a college fraternity. Through their fraternity experience, may they have the positive and constructive experience that shapes them into responsible, healthy, capable, loving men.

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It has been a long journey. I am different because of you and your support. For you all, I am immensely grateful.

ABSTRACT

PLAZING INSIDE THE FRATRIARCHAL FRAME: AMERICAN COLLEGE FRATERNITY MEN'S GENDER IDENTITY AND HAZING

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Hazing is both common and accepted within college fraternity culture. It also annually results in dangerous or destructive behaviors that have long-term consequences for students and organizations. One of the reasons college administrators have been virtually ineffective at addressing hazing is that students do not identify their experiences as hazing. I hypothesize that students are performing accepted gender identities as a mechanism to achieve group acceptance. This performance of gender manifests as *plazing*, a term I have coined to describe a form of adult play behavior that meets the definition of hazing. Within the play frame, individuals negotiate gendered meanings of self, and organizations test conformity to group norms. This study explored male hegemonic gender norm conformity and hazing behaviors in the confines of structured play among college fraternity men. Using the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46 (Parent & Moradi, 2009) and a hazing and play measure developed for the purpose of

the study, the study sampled fraternity men among 11 chapters at a campus in the Northeast to explore the relationship between individual and group masculine identity and the role of hazing activities in ensuring conformity to group norms. The differences between individual and group gender norms were compared to measures of hazing activity participation, the value respondents placed on new member experience outcomes, and the identification of hazing activities as play behaviors. Overall, individual and perceived group masculine norm alignment was found to have relationships with desirability of masculine-aligned new member outcomes, frequency of hazing in groups, and the likelihood that individuals report hazing activities as play. The findings also suggested a hierarchy of hazing play, with structured chaos-based activities occurring in more masculine norm-aligned groups and competition-based activities occurring in groups across the masculine norm adherence spectrum. Recommendations for research, policy, and practice are offered.

Keywords: Plazing, hazing, patriarchy, play, fraternity, college, gender, identity, subculture, higher education, norms, masculinity, men, CMNI-46, reference group

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Maybe there is a beast. . . maybe it's only us." –William Golding, *Lord of the Flies* (1954)

William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954) described what happens when ordinary British schoolboys stranded on a deserted island establish their own social structure, an effort that ends in disaster as the boys splinter and turn on each other. Intertwined within the story are the relationships between group and self-identity, belonging, power, and social hierarchy. Just as Golding's schoolboys sought to govern and socialize themselves without authority figure oversight, these same relationships are enacted in the American fraternity, as young adults hungry to be seen as men play at demonstrating manhood, sometimes with devastating results.

One of the ways fraternity aspirants seek to prove their masculinity is through participation in hazing behaviors that are a perceived condition of membership in some fraternities. The term hazing, which describes dangerous or detrimental activities through which groups initiate new members, touches the lives of the majority of fraternity members in American higher education (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo, Poulos, & Sipple, 2005; Hoover, 1999; Owen, Burke, & Vichesky, 2008). Often, the reported behaviors are extreme. Some hazing is degrading, abusive, and dangerous. Examples of hazing range from performing tasks for other members to forcing students to wear costumes, perform sexualized acts, engage in dangerous levels of alcohol consumption,

endure pain, and sacrifice through restricted access to the bathroom or food. Hazing injuries reported in emergency rooms are often the result of whipping, branding, paddling, calisthenics, confinement to an area, consumption of or immersion in noxious substances, drowning, falls, psychological abuse, sexual assault, alcohol consumption, and death (Finkel, 2004). The consequences of hazing are distressing, earning it the moniker as one of the “four horsemen of the student life apocalypse” (Flanagan, 2014, p. 11). Hazing is of specific concern in the fraternal world because the vast majority of hazing deaths, which number over 135 over the last 175 years, have occurred within fraternities (Nuwer, 2017).

Hazing, along with alcohol and sexual assault, is closely linked with fraternity membership. While membership in fraternities has positive outcomes linked to persistence (Tinto, 1993), satisfaction (Pennington, Zvonkovic, & Wilson, 1989), college involvement (Astin, 1977), and lifetime wellbeing and preparation (Gallup, 2014), there are also numerous negative impacts to the fraternity experience. These impacts led researchers to question the value of fraternities, citing lack of moral development (Derryberry & Thoma, 2000), drug use (DeSantis, Noar, & Webb, 2010; McCabe et al., 2005), alcohol abuse (Arnold & Kuh, 1992; Capone, Wood, Borsari, & Laird, 2007; Kuh, Pascarella, & Wechsler, 1996), sexual assault (Boeringer, 1996), and hazing (Baier & Williams, 1983; Sweet, 2004) as some of the most prevalent vices.

In my 15 years of professional experience, I have observed many individual and organizational impacts of hazing. On an individual level, students can fail classes because of the time demands of the fraternity, lose contact with friends due to mandated social isolation, dangerously sacrifice sleep, and experience extreme emotional and physical

stress due to fraternity activities. On an organizational level, fraternities that haze risk closure or lawsuits precipitated by their hazing. Organizations that haze also suffer from apathy when members believe they have already “earned” their membership upon initiation and see little need to contribute to the group’s functions after initiation unless the activities are fun.

For several decades, numerous organizations have attempted to eliminate hazing within the fraternal world. Groups like the North American Interfraternity Conference, National Pan-Hellenic Council, National Panhellenic Conference, HazingPrevention.org, Stop Hazing, and many more have led the charge. Unfortunately, these efforts have been largely unsuccessful. The frequency of hazing reported in the late nineties (Hoover, 1999) remained largely the same nearly 10 years later (Allan & Madden, 2008). Additionally, despite the fact that hazing is illegal in 44 of 50 states and that fraternal organizations and educational institutions educate students about hazing, most students do not identify the vast majority of hazing behaviors as actual hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008). Students explain away the hazing as tradition, a rite of passage, fun, or an experience that made them a better man. The disappointing impact of prevention efforts indicates that perhaps these organizations are misconceptualizing this complex social phenomenon.

At the same time as organizations have undertaken education and prevention efforts, numerous researchers have attempted to understand the interconnected organizational and individual features that contribute to a hazing culture. Researchers have explored organizational features, such as group belonging (Addelson & Stirratt, 1996; Waldron, 2008), power (Holman, 2004; Howard & England-Kennedy, 2006), efforts to discourage freeloaders (Cimino, 2011, 2013a), group socialization processes

(Bryshun & Young, 1999; Johnson, 2011), crime and deviance (Hollmann, 2002; Muir & Seitz, 2004), the desire for a rite of passage (Leemon, 1972), cult-like behavior (Nuwer, 2004), conformity to group norms (McCreary & Schutts, 2013; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990), status building (Ramey, 1982), and hazing as violence or aggression (Malszecki, 2004). Researchers have also identified individual features that support hazing tolerance, such as addiction to the organization (Arnold, 2004), athletic identity (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Bryshun, 1997), self-esteem (Ehrlich, 2013), cognitive dissonance (Hinkle, 2006; Kirby & Wintrup, 2002); attraction to the group (Keating et al., 2005; van Raalte, Cornelius, Linder, & Brewer, 2007), moral disengagement (McCreary, 2012), desire for respect or social approval (Scott, 2006; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009), sense of belonging (McCreary & Schutts, 2015), and identity development (Sweet, 2004). Unfortunately, the body of research literature does not adequately explore an important concept: gender identity. Perhaps the reason hazing prevention efforts have been unsuccessful is because hazing is really the performance and testing of gender identity.

Statement of the Problem

Fraternalities and sororities, by virtue of their primarily single-gender nature, serve as organizational spaces where traditional gender identities are reinforced. One of the most powerful ways this gender socialization occurs is through orientation of newcomers. Numerous researchers have made statements that assert hazing is a performance of gender, yet no research studies have provided quantitative support for these claims. While there is support that women identify behaviors as hazing at a significantly higher rate than men do and that men are more likely to engage in dangerous levels of hazing (Gershel, Katz-Sidlow, Small, & Zandieh, 2003; Hamilton, 2011; Jensen, Poremba,

Nelson, & Schwarta, 1980; Kittle, 2012; Knutson, Akers, Ellis, & Bradley, 2011), most claims simply surmise or assume the connection between gender identity and hazing. Inferences about gender identity, however, have been prominent in the hazing discourse for decades. Even as early as 1928, the North American Interfraternity Conference (NIC) debated about hazing, with one proponent arguing that hazing helps groups “pick out the weak man, the lazy man, and very often the yellow man” (James, 1998, p. 143). The more recent literature has suggested that hazing in fraternities and men’s sport teams may serve as a tool to establish one’s masculine identity and align men with acceptable levels of group gender performance (Cokley et al., 2001; DeSantis, 2007; Hamilton, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Mechling, 2008; Robinson, 2004; Trota & Johnson, 2004). Huysamer and Lemmer (2013) adeptly suggested that hazing is a mechanism for transmission of “the masculine traits that the dominant heterosexual male wishes to pass down through the implementation of ‘ordeals’ designed to achieve an acceptable level of ‘manliness’ within the group” (p. 4). In a telling example, one participant in Kiesling’s (2005) study stated:

Why did I put up with hazing? For one thing, I was used to it. . . . My masculine identity was very much tied to not failing such challenges. . . . But my primary motivation was a wish for benign (I thought) masculine solidarity, which, when I was 18 I did not see could be easily found in other ways. (p. 705)

College-aged men are particularly susceptible to hazing in their quest for solidarity. College enrollment for traditional aged students occurs at an age during which students begin to view themselves as adults, and a time in the lives of boys when they can experiment with manhood (Bryshun & Young, 1999; Kimmel, 2008). College students explore their identity, navigate instability, experience immense transition, and learn to open themselves to new possibilities and ways of thinking (Arnett, 2004). During this time, young men explore their sense of gender identity and experiment with scripts for

manifesting multiple forms of makeshift masculinity (Mahalik, Good, & Englar-Carlson, 2010; Raphael, 1988). What is missing in the hazing dialogue among both researchers and practitioners is the role that gender identity plays in influencing fraternity members to support and continue a hazing culture.

Concepts and Background

While the interplay between hazing and the spectrum of gender identity is a prime assumption in much of the limited hazing literature, why has no one studied it quantitatively? Wirth (1963) suggests, “The most important thing. . . that we can know about a man is what he takes for granted and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those that are seldom debated and generally regarded as settled” (p. xxii). In this case, gender identity is taken for granted by students and the connection between hazing and gender identity is assumed in the research literature.

The connection seems clear to so many (Allan, 2004; Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Cokley et al., 2001; DeSantis, 2007; Hamilton, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Johnson & Holman, 2009; Mechling, 2008; Robinson, 2004; Trota & Johnson, 2004). For example, Allan (2004) even went as far as titling one of her articles, *Hazing and gender: Analyzing the obvious*, and Johnson and Holman (2009) titled their article, *Gender and hazing: The same but different*. Johnson (2011) suggested an analysis of gender identity and hazing is an essential next step in advancing the research agenda in hazing prevention. Given the numerous assertions about the connection between gender identity and hazing, this study explored the ways in which hazing and gender identity are quantitatively related.

Hazing

The many explanations for hazing are rooted in the socio-psychological research on students and their identity development through group interaction. Past studies (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005; Gershel et al., 2003; Hamilton, 2011; Jensen et al., 1980; Kittle, 2012; Knutson et al., 2011; Owen et al., 2008) have found gender and fraternity affiliation to be predictors that one has hazed or been hazed, with men hazing more often and more physically than women do. However, aligning behaviors with gender does not explain the range of hazing severity that occurs *within* genders.

The answer may lie in understanding gender identity, and specifically, for this study, the ways that students play with one another as they experiment with masculinity. The fact that many students do not identify their experiences as hazing indicates that something more is occurring in the sense-making process. Allan and Madden (2008) found that of every 10 students who had reported experiencing a hazing behavior, only one of those 10 students actually labeled their experience as hazing. Students also reported hazing-supportive attitudes, such as feeling more included in the group, a sense of accomplishment, and increased resilience from hazing activities (Allan & Madden, 2008). This disconnect is revealing. If students do not identify these behaviors as hazing, the behaviors and attitudes reported by fraternity members may instead demonstrate the performance of masculinity, something that is rote and subconscious for the average college male.

Individual Masculine Identity

While societally we have tended to define gender as binary—either male or female—gender identity is a spectrum (Bem, 1974; Smiler, 2004; West & Zimmerman,

1987). Men often are stereotypically depicted as strong, aggressive, capable, direct, sexually available, and independent. Women are stereotypically characterized as weak, passive, needy, demure, sexually unavailable, and dependent (Bem, 1993; David & Brannon, 1976). People map themselves on a spectrum that ranges from extreme femininity to extreme masculinity. Women often define gender identity on that spectrum by their physical appearance and the rite of passage that marks menstruation (van Genep, 1960). In contrast, there is no clear rite of passage for boys to become men in American society (Raphael, 1988). Just as the alpha dog competes in the dog pack, men must constantly perform gender for one another to demonstrate their position and status as men (Cohan, 2009; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Kimmel, 2008; Kivel, 1992). These performances assert powerful dominance toward other men by seeking to “unseat” them or emasculate them (Cohan, 2009; Kimmel, 2008). This happens through name calling (Anderson, 2008; Fink, 2010; Johnson, 2001; Messner, 1992; Stoudt, 2006), demonstrating athletic or sexual prowess (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; David & Brannon, 1976; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009), questioning a man’s sexual orientation (Kimmel, 2008; Kindlon & Thompson, 2000; Pascoe, 2007), and violence (Kivel, 1992; Pollack, 1998), among other behaviors.

Hegemonic masculinity, the form of masculinity that is highly desirable and socially acceptable, rigidly defines acceptable forms of behavior for men and traps men in the act-like-a-man box, a concept framed in the men’s violence literature (Kivel, 1992). This box defines what behaviors are acceptable and unacceptable. It constrains men, preventing them from demonstrating emotions or behaviors that fall outside the box for fear they will not be viewed as masculine (Donaldson, 1993). Men who map

themselves on the gender spectrum toward the extreme hegemonic forms of masculinity have a much smaller, much more rigid act-like-a-man box than the men who map themselves as more neutral in their identity (Kivel, 1992). These hegemonically masculine men have more to lose if they demonstrate a behavior outside their act-like-a-man box. This leads men to act out masculinity scripts—to perform masculinity that is acceptable to the group. Wirth noting, this performance of masculinity may be in and of itself play, a type of theatrical performance. Additionally, some fraternity men report positive attitudes toward hazing. This may be because by acceptably performing gender for one another through hazing activities, they demonstrate that they can handle the challenges put before them and can do so while still staying within the acceptably defined roles for a “real” man, thereby gaining group acceptance. This acceptance thereby generates positive feelings toward hazing.

For today’s college man, hegemonic masculinity is best exhibited by working out excessively, drinking to excess, and being violent or aggressive, anti-academic, and successful with women (Kimmel, 2008). However, most men will never achieve the true hegemonic ideal. This pressure to constantly demonstrate an idealized masculinity leads to gender role conflict (O’Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986), which is caused by the gap between a man’s true gender identity and the idealized identity of his preferred reference group. Men rely heavily upon the reference group and the ways they want others in the reference group to respond to them to determine their behaviors (Messerschmidt, 1996; Wade, 1998). Gender role strain is fueled by the fear of violating established gender expectations that might lead to social condemnation.

The fear of violating group norms then leads individuals to overconform to these norms by demonstrating behaviors that they may not demonstrate if not for the desire to establish their identity to the group. Those concerned about others' perceptions about and acceptance of them may behave in hegemonic ways as a tool to manage impressions. These behaviors may be damaging or dangerous (Martin Ginis & Leary, 2004) in the name of proving oneself to the reference group. Gender conflict is associated with several destructive behaviors, including poor self-esteem, depression, fear of intimacy, relationship dissatisfaction, homophobic attitudes, misogyny, rape-myth support, health problems, and substance abuse (Levant & Richmond, 2007; O'Neil, 2008). Many of these dangerous behaviors are acted out as a way to obtain status in the group, for example, allowing oneself to be paddled, which establishes that men are willing to prostrate themselves for the group and to be emasculated in order to achieve masculine acceptance (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; Waldron, Lynn, & Krane, 2011). The engagement in these risk-taking behaviors as a method to prove one's masculinity is alarming because it compels students to take unnecessary risks that can have long-term consequences (Kimmel, 1995) all in the name of achieving masculinity among men.

Hegemonic masculinity is fragile and in most cases, unachievable, yet it defines the world through which men must (sometimes dangerously) navigate. Masculine gender norms reach an extreme inside the patriarchy (Lenskyj, 2004; Loy, 1995), a male space that places heavy emphasis on group cohesiveness, hegemonic male beliefs and practices, heterosexist displays, and anti-woman attitudes. Given this environment, it is no wonder that in a showing of masculinity, established by demonstrating what masculinity is not—gay or feminine—many of the hazing activities reported by fraternity men across the

literature involve themes of homophobia or misogyny (Dundes & Dundes, 2002; Fink, 2010; James, 1998; Johnson, 2011; Mechling, 2008; Raphael, 1988; Syrett, 2009). The use of themes so intrinsically linked to masculine gender identity within hazing activities gives further support that hazing is a performance of gender. In their own eyes, students are not hazing. They are simply testing the gender identity of future members to ensure their behaviors align with the collective group gender identity.

It is likely there are other variables that make the connection between hazing and gender identity difficult to measure, one of the many challenges in studying the interrelationship between these constructs. For example, moral disengagement has links to both hazing and masculinity (McCreary, 2012). Additionally, because performance of gender is so ingrained in the everyday lives of men and boys, respondents may struggle to name their gender performance experiences as hazing. As Robinson (2004) stated, “Despite the terrible nature of these actions [hazing]. . . the men and boys who reported them to me did so with complete nonchalance. I believe such acts are seen as acceptable behavior in the never ending quest to prove masculinity” (p. 11). These men were simply performing the gender behaviors they began to learn the moment they headed outside to play as children.

The Organizational Play Frame

Play behaviors help students reconcile gender role conflict by constructing a reality where they can experiment with their idealized gender identity. This alternative reality is a space where boys and men can test and prove masculinity through play behaviors. Children use play to police gender behaviors starting at an early age. For example, envision how other boys might respond if they observed another boy playing

with dolls. He might experience teasing, name calling, and social ostracization and, in some cases, violence. With college men, we see this play in forms like competitions, video games, sexual conquests, joking, and horseplay. In this play space, boys and men learn conformity to peer group norms (Bond, 2005), demonstrate loyalty (Malszecki, 2004), build relationships (Pollack, 1998), and prove their masculine status (McCann, Plummer, & Minichiello, 2010).

The Construction of Play

The play frame is a liminal space (Turner, 1974; van Gennep, 1960), where identity is fluid. It is an alternate reality where players abstractly communicate and reinforce cultural meanings. It is a space where the rules constantly change, where good and evil and knowledge and truth are in flux. The play space does not represent real life (Caillois, 2001). Play is voluntary, has a finite time and space, has no pre-determined outcome, is established through rules either agreed upon by the players or pre-determined, and has some element of fantasy or make-believe (Caillois, 2001; Houseman, 2001; Huizinga, 1950).

The transition between reality and the play frame occurs through unconscious, implicit signals between players who communicate, “This is play” (Bateson, 1972; Mechling, 2009). Once the players agree that this is play and the play frame is established, the actions within the frame no longer represent the meanings those same actions might have outside the play frame. Participants understand what happens in the frame is not real and is distinct from other frames, such as everyday behavior (Mechling, 2009). Consider, for example, two boys playing army. In the play frame, it is perfectly acceptable for one boy to demonstrate stylized aggression: to pretend to shoot his friend

or to pretend to punch him. Outside the play frame, these behaviors would be seen as aggressive, but within the frame, the same actions are not aggressive and instead are seen as part of the make-believe game. At the same time, the play behaviors carry different and important meanings (Huizinga, 1950). To follow the same example of playing army, this play communicates messages that extend beyond the play frame about dominance, acceptance, and comradery.

Hazing as a Form of Gendered Play

The concept of play is a little studied structure in the research on hazing. Hazing in fraternities is best understood as an interaction between the individual desire for acceptance by a group of same-gender peers, and the performance of gender identity as a way to gain that acceptance, often demonstrated through play behaviors; as Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) suggested, both are embedded within the specific environment of the organization. In this case, the socialization goals of the individual fraternity influence the organizational and subsequent individual masculine behaviors of members (Anderson, 2008). One of the prime socialization techniques occurs through play behaviors that help men practice at masculinity.

In his review of the hazing literature, Cimino (2013a) suggested four common characteristics of hazing. He posited that hazing (a) occurs for a temporary, finite amount of time; (b) sends messages about dominance and power; (c) generates participation because hazingees perceive that they have no choice but to participate as a condition of belonging; and (d) generally occurs within groups who have a clearly delineated in- and out-group. Play has many of the same characteristics. Play is also (a) temporary for a finite amount of time in a frame distinct from reality; (b) a negotiation of dominance; (c)

a tool for navigating relationships; and (d) a mechanism to establish a shared sense of experience that fosters belonging with the group (Caillois, 2001; Houseman, 2001).

Hazing occurs and is acceptable in the play frame for several reasons. First, by consenting to participate in the play frame, students consent to the activities in the play frame (Houseman, 2001). Second, play is fun, and thus explains, if hazing is an activity within a play frame, why students would describe hazing as fun (Allan & Madden, 2008; Mechling, 2008). Third, the play frame is an alternate reality that is often not a true reality (Bond, 2005). Fourth, the meanings of the activities in the play frame are not the same as those same activities outside the play frame. Finally, within the play frame boys construct a desired rite of passage. I explore each of these concepts further in Chapter 2.

Hazing intersects with masculinity within the play frame using the following logic: Hazing is a performance of masculinity. It serves as way to define in and out-group membership, which in a single-gender group is defined by acceptability of gender behaviors. Hazing determines in- and out-group membership through tests that measure whether individuals are willing to abide by the gendered behavioral norms, rules, and expectations of the group. For example, hazing often involves humiliation of newcomers to test their willingness to sacrifice for the group (Mechling, 2008). These norms, rules, and expectations are often stretched and tested within a play frame through competition, games of chance, structured chaos, mimicry, theatre, and ritualized performance.

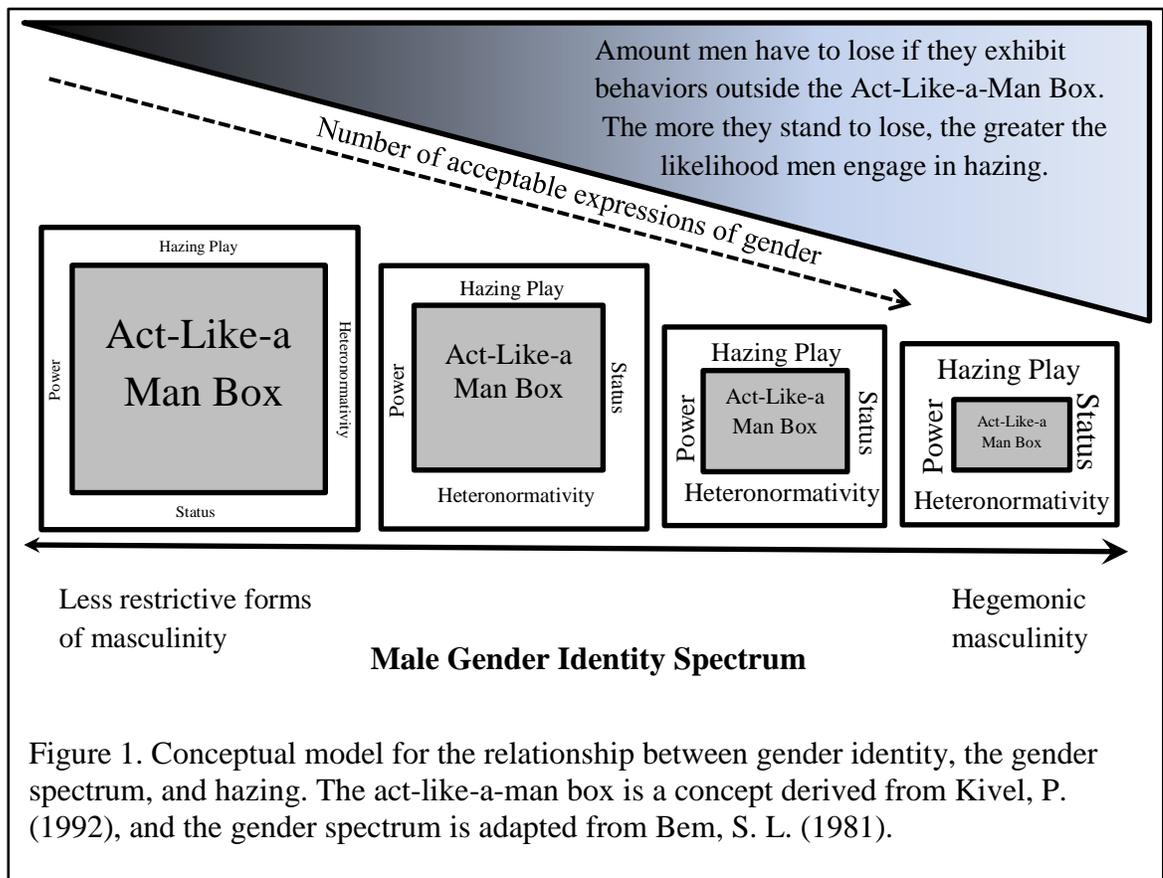
Conceptual Framework

I have worked with and advised fraternity men for more than a decade. When I questioned whether a chapter's new member socialization process included hazing, many of the men were quick to indicate they do not believe the activities that meet the

definition of hazing are actually hazing. They describe the desire for new members to show they are committed to the organization, understand organizational hierarchy, fit with chapter culture, and unite with their new member class. These men justify the steps to achieve these goals and do not problematize hazing experiences, echoing the findings of Allan and Madden (2008), who found most students did not identify having been hazed even if they reported experiencing commonly accepted hazing activities.

To understand the disconnect between hazing experiences and hazing attitudes, it is important to turn to social constructions of male gender identity and play behavior. Figure 1 shows the conceptual framework that informs the study. According to Kivel (1992), acceptable male behaviors are constrained by the act-like-a-man box. This box contains acceptable masculine behaviors and outside the box are unacceptable behaviors. The perimeter of the box restricts behaviors, as men exist either inside or outside the box.

The size of the act-like-a-man box is different for every man and is different within subcultures, for example, individual fraternities. On the gender identity spectrum, ranging from more accepting forms of masculinity to hegemonic masculinity, the act-like-a-man box shrinks in size as hegemonic masculine identity increases. The more aligned one is with hegemonic masculine ideals, the smaller the number of acceptable behaviors. The boundary of the box consists of play behaviors that police these behaviors. The act-like-a-man box effectively becomes smaller and more restrictive and the boundary less permeable. As the box shrinks, the pressure to reside in the box grows stronger, powered by the strength of the patriarchy (Lenskyj, 2004); this pressure takes the form of granted status, power, and heteronormativity.



In a fraternity setting, the group forms a culture of masculinity similar to other all-male cultures described in studies of police departments (Prokos & Padavic, 2002) or sports teams (Anderson, 2005). Within these cultures, masculinity is tested by other group members as a way to establish group belonging and demonstrate status. For example, in one ethnographic study of an all-boys high school (Stoudt, 2006), boys achieved dominance through perceived masculinity. One student stated, “In a coed school, if you’re dating the lead cheerleader, obviously [you’re]. . . the coolest guy ever, but. . . as there’s no girls that’s just one less way for guys to. . . prove themselves, so they have to find other ways” (p. 275). The same culture of masculinity that influences athletic teams, police departments, and all-boys high school students influences fraternity culture.

Fraternity men must perform gender to establish organizational belonging, which is a form of status (Kimmel, 2008; Rhoads, 1995). Many of these activities occur within a play frame where the players can create meanings through risky, power laden, or dangerous play activities that would otherwise be deemed unacceptable. While the activities are not acceptable in the real world, the masculine status achieved in the play frame extends into the real world. The existence of the play frame may explain why fraternity men may not identify activities as hazing: because they use these activities to demonstrate their ability to handle challenges as a tool to validate their masculine position within a frame separate from reality.

The amount of hazing experienced within individual chapters may be related to the size of the normative act-like-a-man-box within each chapter. The smaller the act-like-a-man box, the more a man, or the group, has to lose if he exhibits behaviors outside the box. This results in greater pressures to stay within the act-like-a-man box. One of the ways gender may be policed is through hazing play, which I shall call *plazing*. *Plazing* merges hazing with the characteristics of play, particularly play that establishes hierarchy and conformity. When new members step outside the box, plazing may serve to correctively remind new members where the boundary lies and push them back inside the box or to remind them they are not yet members with the privilege of residing in the box. Understanding the connections between masculine identity, play, and hazing attitudes and experiences is the goal of this study.

Research Purpose and Methods

The purpose of this study is to understand better the relationship between gender identity, gendered play, and hazing-supportive attitudes and experiences among fraternity

men. This study employs a survey research methodology to examine these relationships. Relying on the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-Short Form (CMNI-46) (Parent & Moradi, 2009) and a play measure along with a hazing experiences and attitudes instrument designed for the purpose of this study, I explored the relationship between hazing, play, and gender identity among 11 fraternity chapters at a public college in the Northeast. Better understanding of these relationships may offer insight into why some organizations haze and others do not and explain why students fail to identify hazing behaviors.

Research Hypotheses

This important gap in the research literature between hazing, play, and gender identity informs the primary research hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1: Hazing is performance of gender identity
- Hypothesis 2: Hazing is play
- Hypothesis 3: Hazing is gendered play

Significance

Gender identity as exhibited through the play frame is a strong component of the development of boys into men during the college years (Kimmel, 2008), yet gender identity differences have not been well researched in relation to hazing. The findings from this study aim to identify whether a relationship exists between an individual student's gender identity, perceived group gender identity, gendered play behaviors, hazing experiences, and hazing supportive attitudes. This study tests a newly developed survey instrument to measure hazing attitudes and behaviors, employs a new conceptual

model, and empirically identifies if a relationship exists between hazing, gender identity, and play behaviors.

Through this study, if researchers and practitioners are able to better understand the connection between gender identity, gendered play, and hazing in college fraternities, exploration of the same gender identity and hazing relationship may be provided for among other men's organizations, sports teams, and women's organizations. Better understanding this relationship between gender identity, play behaviors, affiliation with fraternities, and hazing attitudes and experiences also provides further opportunity for action research on hazing interventions, policy development, and improved advising strategies that incorporate study findings.

Assumptions and Delimitations

This study focused on primarily White fraternities on one college campus at one snapshot in time. The rationale for this was informed by four key assertions: (a) masculinity is culturally defined; (b) over time, masculinity is influenced by societal norms; (c) masculine identity can change over the course of a man's life and is particularly volatile among college men; and (d) masculine identity is constructed differently based on class, race, and sexual orientation (Cheng, 1996; Kiesling, 1998; Kimmel, 1992; Messerschmidt, 1993). For these reasons, while the phenomenon of gendered performance and play as hazing is not limited only to men's fraternities and could be applied to women's sororities as well as single-gender sports teams, this study was interested specifically in hazing as gendered play within fraternities only. Men's fraternal groups provide greater opportunities for access than sororities due to rules and limitations imposed by women's national organizations. Second, the performance of

gender is layered with men. For example, men define their masculinity through several lenses: power, stoicism, control, physical strength, and attractiveness to women (David & Brannon, 1976; Cohan, 2009; Kindlon & Thompson, 2000; McCarthy, 1994). In contrast, women tend to define their femininity based primarily on their physical attractiveness (Bem, 1993). This study also focused on primarily White fraternities. The intersection of race and gender further confounds an already complex construct because hegemonic masculinity is different depending upon racial identity (James, 1998; Kimmel, 1992; Pascoe, 2007).

The study of college fraternity hazing is complicated for several reasons. Kirby and Wintrup (2002) and Schnur (2007) identified several methodological challenges in studying hazing. First, the established boundary between members and non-members and the veil of secrecy around hazing makes it difficult to learn about the pervasiveness of hazing activities. Hazing is fundamentally centered on deception. This includes deceiving authority figures and newcomers themselves. As a result, the study of hazing has a strong likelihood of social desirability bias, leading to minimization of hazing severity and its escalation. Second, institutions and organizations are not often willing to allow researchers to study hazing for fear of reputational damage. Third, there is substantial disagreement among students, administrators, and researchers about what constitutes hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008; Ellsworth, 2006). Fourth, the inconsistent use of terms muddies discussion on the topic of hazing. For example, the terms hazing and initiation often are intertwined. Initiation and hazing, while not mutually exclusive, are distinctly different. An initiation is the process of being accepted formally as a member of an organization. The process is designed to be developmental and identity forming (Turner,

1974; van Gennep, 1960), marked by a transformative ceremony or ritual. Hazing occurs within some initiation rituals, but not all initiation rituals are hazing, and not all hazing is initiation. As Raphael (1988) stated, initiations

can and do facilitate the developmental process; on the other hand, when these rituals are ill conceived or poorly defined, male development is likely to become more problematic. The issue is not whether we should or should not have initiations, because in fact, we are going to have them one way or another. If they are not readily offered, many of us will simply make them up on our own; we will construct some sort of facsimile to help us prove our manhood. The real question is this: What kinds of initiation do we fabricate for ourselves? Do they do the job we ask of them? Where do they really lead us? (p. 192)

A final methodological challenge occurs because so many individuals within American society have experienced hazing, and thus, it has become societally tolerable and is often not problematized to the level it should be. The acceptance of hazing begs the question: Is hazing normative or deviant? This study assumed it is both. Fraternities have historically served as spaces to rebuke the expectations of authority figures (James, 1998; Syrett, 2009), and if administrators discourage hazing, hazing becomes one such way to challenge their authority. Additionally, deviant behavior along the edges of what is acceptable can help reinforce masculine status for the individual and the group (Cho et al., 2010; Workman, 2001). Societally, hazing is tolerable deviance (Stebbins, 1988). Tolerable deviance is deviant behavior that has become so normative that societally it is viewed as acceptable as long as it does not harm others. Tolerable deviance elicits a more lenient reaction from others with less agreement about whether the behavior is wrong. In addition, within fraternal organizations, group actions can establish group norms (Diener, 1980), including hazing scripts. These group norms establish a “common moral order” (Collins & Markowsky, 1989, p. 105) that is difficult to separate from the desire to belong to the group. As a result, hazing becomes so connected to belonging that it

becomes normative within the group as demonstrated by the fact that that many students expect to be hazed (Allan, 2004).

Another complicating challenge in studying hazing is, as assumed within cultural psychology, that the sociocultural environment cannot be divorced from the individual. Traditions, beliefs, cultures, and behavior cannot be distinctly separated (Shweder, 1991). As a result, there is a complex interaction between the group and the individual. The group often feels pressure to maintain a certain reputation to maintain group and subsequent individual status (Anderson, 2008; DeSantis, 2007; Hinkle, 2006; Kiesling, 2005; Tiger, 1984, 2004). The pursuit of status can lead to hazing tolerance organizationally (Hinkle, 2006; Nuwer, 2004; Ramey, 1982; Zimbardo, 2007) and individually (McCreary & Schutts, 2013; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009; Walker, 1968). The group's attitudes and behaviors may not always reflect individual attitudes and behaviors, but there is often an expectation that newcomers reflect a self that aligns with the group, and thus the individual often overconforms to the perceived group attitudes and behaviors (Addelson & Stirratt, 1996; Bryshun & Young, 1999; Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Sweet, 2004; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009; Zimbardo, 2007). This can lead individuals to exhibit behavior that serves as "proof of group membership or attachment to peers, often pushes limits, and comes in extreme forms; the more extreme the behavior, the more one is able to demonstrate commitment to group norms" (Hughes & Coakley, 1991, p. 320). To separate individual action from group action is thus difficult.

In that vein, many hazing researchers have chosen to study the individual rather than the group, the hazed as opposed to the hazers. While it is true that some of the hazed may become the hazers (Hamilton, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Owen et al., 2008), those who

are hazed are pawns in the game of social conformity. These men want desperately to be validated by their peers and to experience a sense of belonging. They want their peers to grant them the status that makes them feel like a man (Kiesling, 2005; Wade, 1998). This can compel a student to do almost anything to belong and manage the group's perception of him (Martin Ginis & Leary, 2004). If hazing is a form of gender performance, the hazed will do almost anything to prove their masculinity. They do not determine the activities. Instead, understanding the organizational gender ideals as perceived by the hazers better supports the claim that hazing is gender performance. The hazers create hazing experiences, defined by the hazers' desired masculinity, to test the manliness of new members (Huysamer & Lemmer, 2013). This is why organizational identity is an important component in this study.

Finally, and perhaps the most important assertion, this study did not attempt to explain away the other explanations for hazing offered in the next chapter. There are many sociological, psychological, and anthropological components to hazing, and one theoretical frame cannot dismiss the other components. Hazing occurs as part of a complex matrix that includes hierarchy, power, group identity, conformity to group norms, tradition, tolerable deviance, belonging, violence, status, rites of passage, symbolism, and ritual. The goal of this study is to complement existing explanations and empirically test the frequent assumptions in the literature that hazing is tied to masculinity (see for example, Cokley et al., 2001; DeSantis, 2007; Hamilton, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Mechling, 2008; Robinson, 2004; Trota & Johnson, 2004).

Definitions

The following terms are used throughout this study to explore the constructs of hazing, play, and gender.

Hazing

Hazing is a “social issue that has serious psychological and physical impacts rooted in the exertion of power and control over others” (Iverson & Allan, 2004, p. 272). Hazing occurs on a spectrum from less risky to risky/illegal behavior. Not all activities that are considered hazing are illegal (for example going by a degrading nickname), yet each of the activities, regardless of where they fall on the spectrum, is dogmatically rooted in power and compels individuals to willingly endure undesirable activities for the sake of belonging. For the purpose of this study, I use the following three-part definition: (a) Hazing is rooted in group members exerting *power over organization aspirants*; (b) This *power dynamic maintains control* over these individuals in compelling them to participate in certain activities; and (c) The exertion of *power results in physical and/or emotional stress* that can result in harm to aspirant members. Aspirants often perceive that they cannot opt out of these activities, however, in reality individuals can choose not to participate, but only at the risk of not reaping the rewards of group inclusion. That choice, while voluntary, often feels untenable to aspirants.

Fratriarchy

The fratriarchy is a modern tribal group exclusive to males where group cohesiveness is the primary emphasis. To achieve this cohesiveness, group members exhibit hegemonic male beliefs and practices, heterosexist displays, and anti-woman

attitudes (Lenskyj, 1995). While both social structures emphasize power, the patriarchy is distinct from a patriarchy in that brotherhood is an essential characteristic.

Gender Identity

Gender identity is a sense of self that begins to form the moment the nurse wraps a newborn in pink or blue. This sense of identity determines how individuals relate to other individuals with similar and different self-concepts (Blumer, 1969; Geertz, 1973). For the purpose of this study, gender identity is a portion of self-concept that relates to the degree to which an individual demonstrates beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes that are subculturally defined as masculine or feminine. For example, someone with a strong masculine gender identity may exhibit characteristics such as aggression, confidence, athleticism, and stoicism (Bem, 1993; David & Brannon, 1976; Kivel, 1992).

Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is the nearly impossible to achieve, societally defined, idealized masculinity in which a man is strong, physically fit, stoic, wealthy, attractive, and successful. To make achieving masculinity even more difficult for men, hegemonic gender identity is never fully established (David & Brannon, 1976; Kimmel, 2008). It must be “performed” over and over (Edwards & Jones, 2009), constantly being tested by other men.

In-Group

An in-group is a social group to which an individual belongs. Individuals tend to feel greater affinity to in-group members (Wells & Corts, 2008) and are less likely to challenge the status quo (Crano & Chen, 1998; Levine, Cassidy, Brazier, & Reicher,

2002). The desire for belonging often results in overconformity to group norms (Hughes & Coakley, 1991) and a willingness to risk themselves for the group (Pollack, 1998).

Out-Group

An out-group is a social group to which an individual does not belong. In-groups use the out-group to justify their behavior in contrast to the out-group. In-group members often prefer for the in-group to be dominant over the out-group (Cimino, 2013a; Tiger, 1984) and define the in-group as what the out-group is not. For example, in some men's groups, the in-group is defined as not feminine and not gay.

Play

Play is one of four forms of human interaction. It is a cognitive space often somewhat separate from reality and loosely structured. It constitutes an activity that is voluntary, has a finite time and space, has an uncertain outcome, is established through rules either agreed upon by the players or pre-determined, is fun, and has some element of fantasy or make-believe (Caillois, 2001; Houseman, 2001; Huizinga 1950).

Play Frame

The play frame is the implicit space where play occurs (Caillois, 2001). It is an alternate reality where meaning is negotiated between the players. While the activities in the play space do not have the same meanings as they would outside the frame, the meanings they do have communicate significance about the relationships between the players. These meanings carry outside the play frame.

Plazing

A term I have coined to describe hazing behaviors that occur within a play frame as perceived by the *players*. While hazing is identified by an outsider examining the

behavior, plazing speaks to the perceptions of those in the play frame who perceive these hazing activities as play. This type of play serves to establish hierarchy and conformity within the group and occurs without regard for the risks associated with the activity. The meanings and relationships constructed through plazing extend into interactions with the players outside the play frame. Players often do not interpret activities that are violent or harmful as risky. While all plazing is a form of hazing, not all hazing may meet the characteristics of play as in the case of some of the most egregious forms of hazing.

Reference Group

A reference group is a social group that an individual uses as a gauge for determining norms and acceptable behaviors. The man subsequently identifies with that group and aspires to emulate group behaviors, even if they are deviant (Muir & Seitz, 2004; Wade, 1998). Individuals often choose a reference group that can grant status through association with the group. The degree of dependence a man has on the reference group can vary and explains why some men conform to certain masculine standards and others do not.

Subculture

Subcultures have identifiable characteristics, such as values, mannerisms, attitudes, norms, dress, and speech that are different and at times deviant from the dominant culture (Donnelly, 1981; Muir & Seitz, 2004). Being accepted by a subculture requires acceptance by the members of the subculture and identification by those outside the subculture as a member of the subculture (Donnelly & Young, 1988). Traditional male subcultures, such as male sports teams and fraternities, place strong emphasis on demonstration of hegemonic masculine behaviors, which influences behavior of

individuals who are part of the subculture. The subculture is reflected in the norms, values, beliefs, and behaviors of the group.

Overview

As outlined in this chapter, I conceptually establish that hazing is a tool to test an aspirant's ability to perform acceptable forms of masculine behavior. Participation in these behaviors determines whether individuals are willing to adhere to gendered group norms, rules, and expectations. The more strongly the group subscribes to hegemonic masculine ideals, the smaller the act-like-a-man-box, and thus, there are fewer permissible behaviors to demonstrate masculinity. Because the acceptable demonstration of masculinity is required to gain access to the organization, those organizations with restrictive definitions of masculinity are likely to engage in more placating activities to test acceptable gender performance. While many of these activities would fulfill the definition of hazing, few students identify them as hazing because they are performing gender within a play frame where they consent to the play behaviors. This play frame is an alternate reality where hazing activities do not carry the same meanings that they do in actual reality. Instead, they see the activities as a way to demonstrate masculine identity and in-group conformity.

Chapter 2 delves more deeply into each of the concepts outlined in Chapter 1, while paying particular attention to processes of socialization and belonging. Through an extensive review of the literature on masculinity, hazing, and play, I establish the ways in which each of these concepts connect and align as young men seek to develop identity and attain organizational inclusion. I draw upon research that explores the performance of masculinity, particularly in single-gender organizations, such as fraternities, military

subcultures, all-boys high schools, and sports teams. The exploration of hazing also draws heavily on the literature for fraternities and athletic subcultures. I examine the mechanism of play using an anthropological lens that aligns the definitions and processes of play and hazing. I describe the characteristics and types of plazing as well as the role of constructed and metaphorical spaces for play. Finally, I examine the powerful influence the play frame can have on individual gendered behavior in the name of attaining in-group acceptance.

Chapter 3 details the conceptual rationale for a methodological approach that uses both the individual and the organization as units of analysis. Using a survey research methodology that employs strategies to reduce social desirability bias and overcome the challenges of studying such a sensitive topic, hazing, and such a culturally embedded concept, gender, I describe methods used to survey undergraduate fraternity members at a college located in the Northeast. The survey employed the Conformity of Masculine Norms Inventory-Short Form (CMNI-46) (Parent & Moradi, 2009), a hazing instrument developed for the purpose of this study, and a measure to determine whether each identified hazing behavior meets the definition of play. The chapter concludes by outlining the data analysis plan.

Chapter 4 details descriptive statistics and findings from the study. Each hypothesis was tested through the sub-questions outlined in Chapter 3 using a series of statistical tests, and findings are presented within Chapter 4. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the study findings in light of the literature and conceptual frame, limitations to the findings, and implications for future research. I also suggest several recommendations for policy and practice.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

"What are we? Humans? Or animals? Or savages? What's grownups going to think?"

—William Golding, *Lord of the Flies* (1954)

The study of humans, cultures, organizations, norms, and beliefs are deeply intertwined. The individual cannot be understood without understanding the organization, and the organization cannot be defined without understanding the individuals who make up the organization (Collins & Markowsky, 1989; Shweder, 1991). A study of hazing as gendered play must account for the individual, the expectations and dynamics of the organization, and the societal norms and assumptions that inform the interaction between layers. The interaction between individual, organization, and social presses informs a series of discourses that are difficult to interrogate because we too are situated within the culture and socialized by the organizing principles that inform our understanding of each of these layers (Alvesson & Billings, 1997). While the concepts in their real form are impossible to disjoin, this chapter unpacks the discourses that surround the individual and organizational performance of gender, the organizational pressures within fraternal organizations, the role of hazing as a gender socialization tool, and the ways adult play behaviors create a permeable membrane within which hazing occurs. This is accomplished by examining processes rather than phenomena (Parker & White, 1999) because the processes are what result in the observed phenomena.

The Construction of Masculinity

Gender is a symbolic tool for organizing the world (Gilmore, 1990; Shaw & Hoerber, 1999). The minute a child is dressed in pink or blue, he or she begins to receive messages about appropriate gendered behavior. Boys learn from a young age that they have to adopt a “mask of masculinity” (Pollack, 1998, p. 5) through which exhibiting toughness, stoicism, athletic prowess, risk-taking, and as adolescents, objectification of women, are rewarded by other men and boys (Laberge & Albert, 1999; Kindlon & Thompson, 2000; Messerschmidt, 1993; Pascoe, 2007; Pollack, 1998). They are taught to compare themselves to other men, conform to the socially supported norms and behaviors for boys and men, and avoid unmasculine behaviors for fear of social sanction, being labeled with feminine or homophobic epithets, or ostracization from peers (Levant & Richmond, 2007; Pascoe, 2007; Pleck, 1981). The challenge for these boys is that they are constantly being tested “in the classroom and the playground [through] a series of ritualized tests of manhood. . . . Through these tests, masculinity can be won or lost” (McCann et al., 2010, p. 512). Their primary focus is to pass these tests.

The process of establishing masculinity is informed by five primary assertions.

- Assertion 1: Masculinity is a performance designed to manage self-identity.
- Assertion 2: There are multiple, contextually situated, forms of masculine performance, though hegemonic masculinity influences all other performances.
- Assertion 3: Group identity shapes the lens an individual within or seeking entry to a group uses to manage identity and measure masculine performance.
- Assertion 4: Performing masculinity unsuccessfully has individual consequences.
- Assertion 5: Fear of not measuring up to the group results in conformity.

Each of these assertions are explored further in the next sections.

Assertion 1: Masculinity is a Performance

Gender at one time was thought to be a static, immutable characteristic (Smiler, 2004). Today we understand masculinity as a socially constructed action (Gilmore, 1990; Kimmel, 2006; Syrett, 2009; Thompson, Pleck, & Ferrera, 1992) that is shaped by history, culture, norms, and assumptions. The social construction of ideal masculinity for the college man has changed over time. From the image of the war hero, to the cowboy, to the 1950s breadwinner, to the modern metrosexual, masculinity is socially constructed to fit with the times (Kimmel, 2006). Situated in the historical context, men also construct masculinity to fit within the social environment. Masculinity is “not something done to men or something settled beforehand. And masculinity is never static, never a finished product. Rather, men construct masculinities in specific social situations” (Messerschmidt, 1993, p. 80).

Because of its ever-changing nature, masculinity is not given or earned but is instead continually proven through a convincingly imitative performance of desirable traits and rejection of undesirable traits (Cohan, 2009; Kimmel, 1994; Levant & Richmond, 2007; McCreary, 1990; Syrett, 2009), something West and Zimmerman (1987) referred to as “doing gender” (p. 126). These desirable traits include positioning oneself in opposition to anything feminine or gay and demonstrating stoicism, physical strength, competitiveness, loyalty, risk-taking, winning, prowess with women, excessive alcohol consumption, and acceptable levels of violence, among other behaviors (Bird, 1996; Curry, 1991; Kimmel, 1994, 2008; McCarthy, 1994; O’Neil, 1981; Pascoe, 2007; Sabo, 1987; Schacht, 1996). David and Brannon (1976) condensed these traits into four

rules for achieving masculine status: (a) show no emotions other than anger and sexual attraction; (b) be successful physically and fiscally; (c) take risks; and (d) never demonstrate any feminine-associated behaviors. The performance of these traits is, in effect, a constant act of theatre in pursuit of the perfect hegemonic performance. Men, in effect, wear a mask of masculinity—a “man face” (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 214).

In support of the masculinity as performance claim, men often navigate masculine behaviors based on the needs determined by the current environment—a form of situated gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Gender is communicated through body language, posturing, interactions with others, and speech (Kiesling, 1998; Peralta, 2007; Wong et al., 2011). As a result, hegemonic masculinity is not a type of person or role but is instead a way that men position themselves for other men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messerschmidt, 1993, 1996). Masculinity thus functions as a “discriminative” lens (Addis, Mansfield, & Syzdek, 2010, p. 84) that cues certain relationships or behaviors. Unfortunately, the difficulty lies in that in different contexts, the lens constantly changes, requiring negotiation and an understanding that is constantly shifting (Parker & White, 1999). That lens, however, is always colored by hegemonic masculinity as the way things should be (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Teleford, 1996).

As a result of the contextual nature of masculinity, built precariously on the limiting construct of hegemonic masculinity, men must constantly engage in identity negotiation processes. Men engage in a process of verifying their self-identity by comparing their identities with other men, aligning their sense of identity with the situation, and acting in a manner that elicits the type of response desired (Swann, 1983). Teleford (1996) described a process of identity negotiation that works as follows:

1. Men give signals to show others what types of masculinities they value.
2. Men try to get others to act out the masculinities they value.
3. Organization members agree to certain masculine performances.
4. Men adjust their gender performance until they achieve confirmation of their masculinity from others.
5. Men internally cope with competing multiple self-definitions.

In effect, for men, “Prestige comes not necessarily from being a good man in some abstract moral sense but from being good at being a man” (Gilmore, 1990, p. 82).

Assertion 2: There are Multiple Forms of Situated Masculine Performance

The ways one is good at being a man is dependent on the social situation. As a result, there are multiple manifestations of masculinity (Atkinson, 1999; Cheng, 1996; Connell, 1995; Kimmel & Davis, 2011; Wade 1998). Depending on the context, some expressions of gender may be more or less acceptable and may carry different meanings to different men depending upon culture, age, class, race, and sexuality (Allan, 2004; Kimmel, 1992, 1994; McCreary, 1990). The context specific process of establishing masculinity means that “hegemonic masculinity is not. . . always and everywhere the same. It is. . . the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable” (Connell, 1995, p. 76).

Each male subgroup may differently define acceptable masculine behaviors, in effect constructing their own masculine subculture (Anderson, 2008; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). What is acceptable in one group may be rejected as feminine or gay in another group. The preferred manifestations of masculinity can be a tool to measure acceptable gender performance by men in that social context. As a result, the pursuit of the dominant form of masculinity can create anxiety, determine status

differentials among men, exclude those who fail to meet the standard, and reinforce certain behaviors (Donaldson, 1993). Kivel's (1992) act-like-a-man box, which is the core of the framework presented in Chapter 1, establishes a fragile yet extremely influential frame for acceptable and unacceptable forms of masculine performance. Those who perform behaviors that are acceptable reside within the box, and those who exhibit unacceptable behaviors reside outside the box. When an individual does not assert the ideal masculinity desired in the social context, he may be excluded, ridiculed, or harassed into submission (Fink, 2010; Johnson, 2002b; Pascoe, 2007; Segal, 1990; Stoudt, 2006).

Status and power within a subculture arise from an individual's ability to achieve the defined masculine performance determined by the social group or organization (DeSantis, 2007) and is benchmarked against peers or groups (Wade, 1998). Starting as early as kindergarten, boys police gender on the playground (Allan, 1996; Kimmel, 1994; Messner, 2002). In the case of fraternities, if a member does not demonstrate the desired organizational descriptors, organizational pressures align this person more closely to the preferred behaviors (Hollmann, 2002). It is for this reason that each fraternity chapter may exhibit different forms of masculine performance and explains why certain behaviors within groups may be rewarded differently.

Assertion 3: Groups Serve as a Yardstick of Masculine Performance

Male identity is developed in reference to other men and in view of those men who will reinforce that performance (Kiesling, 2005). Starting with the first organized sports team or play group, boys learn to identify themselves as members of the team or group. Thus, no exploration of gender is complete without an exploration of gendered organizations and the degree to which individuals choose to conform to group norming

pressures. Organizations serve as mechanisms to regulate behavior, reinforce hegemonic norms, gain status, and determine in- and out-group hierarchy.

Reinforcement of Behavior

In male groups, such as those seen in athletic cultures, men are expected to behave in ways that are consistent with group norms to gain approval from the group (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Bryshun & Young, 1999; Johnson, 2002b). This process is iterative in that one must acceptably perform gender to be accepted, and one must then expect the same performance from other men seeking entry to the group. Men seek reinforcement of their acceptable masculine performance from other valued peers, known as their reference group (Wade, 1998). The group helps an individual formulate his norms, attitudes, and values, and the more aligned the individual is with the group's positioning, the stronger his preference for the organization (Tom, 1971). When those valued peers give positive reinforcement for behavior, this communicates to the man that he is an accepted member of the group. The pursuit of this affinity and validation of masculinity then leads to a reinforcement of subculturally acceptable gender performances as part of the regulation of gender in organizational culture (Tiger, 1984; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Degree of reliance on reference group identity can explain why some men adhere more closely to organizationally-defined masculine standards, even if these standards are misaligned with their own self-concept.

Establishment of Sub-Culturally Defined Hegemonic Norms

In the process of reinforcing behavior, all-male groups, particularly young adult groups, tend to adopt an oppositional or protest masculinity in resistance to authority (Broude, 1990; Messerschmidt, 1993). Oppositional or protest masculinity is an effort to

establish a visible masculine group identity that defies the greater pressures to conform to school or adult expectations and aids the organization and individuals within the organization in gaining status and “a valued masculinity identity by exhibiting those hegemonic masculine ideals the school denies—independence, dominance, daring, and control” (Messerschmidt, 1993, p. 95). In the case of fraternities and sports teams, this may include talking about sex, breaking the rules, making dangerous choices, drinking alcohol to excess, and playing pranks (DeSantis, 2007; Hughes & Coakley, 1991). For example, drinking became (and still is) a symbol of masculinity in the Prohibition era in defiance of authority (Syrett, 2009). This non-conformity to adult-defined gender norms also creates group cohesiveness and a shared understanding of acceptable gender performance (Muir & Seitz, 2004).

Determination of Status

Power, privilege, and status for the individual and the organization are established through dominance within the organization and in relation to other groups. Boys and men desire high status and seek affiliation with high-status masculine individuals and groups with the hope of taking advantage of status transitivity, whereby the status of high-status members becomes the status of all group members (Kiesling, 2005). A man’s status is then determined by his ability to influence others to follow his masculinity model, his subsequent position within the group hierarchy, and the group’s overall status in comparison to other groups (Kiesling, 1998; Sabo, 1987).

To belong to the group, boys and men demonstrate a willingness to abide by organizational expectations for gender performance. The more closely the individual’s (a) behavior aligns with group expectations; (b) defers to organizational authority; and (c)

conforms to organizational gender norms, the more he is met with acceptance (Connell, 1995; Muir & Seitz, 2004; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990). The stronger the alignment with group expectations, the greater the status the individual gains in the group. This feedback loop in which individuals within the group receive reinforcement for appropriate gender performance also breeds competition between members as each member jockey for status and seeks to unseat others within the organization (Bird, 1996; Waldron et al., 2011).

In young-adult groups in particular, use and abuse of alcohol create a sense of masculine power and allow for greater sense of bonding (Peralta, 2007; West, 2001; Workman, 2001). The ability to drink large quantities of alcohol and to tell drinking stories is a form of masculine power that can increase individual status within the group (Curry, 2000; Peralta, 2007; Warin & Dempster, 2007). Simultaneously, alcohol excuses failure to adhere to group gender norms. The use of alcohol creates a space for intimate conversation and physical contact that would result in loss of individual status within the group if exhibited when sober (DeSantis, 2007; West, 2001). This status differential may be why alcohol features so prominently in hazing activities.

Demarcation of the In-Group and the Out-Group

Because status is important, groups must protect their gendered status by clearly delineating the in-group and the out-group. Masculinity is often defined in opposition to femininity or heterosexuality (Messner, 1992). The in-group is masculine, and the out-group is not. Thus, the ability to create clear in-group, out-group demarcation is essential to establishing both internal and external hegemonic prestige (Addelson & Stirratt, 1996;

Yeung, Stompler, & Wharton, 2006) and is why establishing an other, a role often played by new members, has been part of the fraternity experience from the start (Syrett, 2009).

Group membership fundamentally creates exclusion of others. Through exclusion comes prestige. Individuals within the group strive not to violate dominant group norms for fear of exclusion as an other and loss of status (Bird, 1996; Curry, 1991; Muir & Seitz, 2004). When the in-group is determined by oppositional masculine norms that support culturally deviant behaviors, such as hazing, the ability to stoically accept cruel teasing or excessive alcohol consumption can breed a code of silence among members of the group out of fear of social ostracization (Bird, 1996; Johnson, 2002b; Messner, 2002; Peralta, 2007; Waldron et al., 2011). It can also lead individuals to tolerate and support behaviors that are in conflict with their own preferred gender behaviors, such as derogatory comments about women, using drugs, or engaging in crime out of fear of exclusion (Curry, 1991).

Assertion 4: Failure to Perform Masculinity Has Consequences

The fear that one might operate outside the acceptable reference group gender norms, resulting in social condemnation, teasing, and sometimes violence inflicted by other men (Segal, 1990), causes lower self-worth (Seidler, 1992), gender strain (Pleck, 1981), psychological challenges (Mahalik et al., 2003), shame (Levant, 1992), feelings of inadequacy (Kimmel, 1994, 2010), and anxiety (O'Neil, 1981). When men step outside of the act-like-a-man box, they experience peer pressure, teasing, and name calling (Kimmel, 2008; McCann et al., 2010; Pascoe, 2007; Rhoads, 1995; Stoudt, 2006), which reinforces the “years and years of enforcement, name calling, fights, threats, abuse, and fear to turn us into men who live in this [act-like-a-man] box” (Kivel, 1992, p. 26). This

occurs among both peers and male role models. In a study of an all-boys high school in the suburban Northeast, teachers reinforced masculinity by teasing students about being feminine (Stoudt, 2006). To live in this box means hazing may be an expected part of the male experience. Through hazing, men can test, teach, and police acceptable gender performance for other men.

Because the ideal masculinity is virtually unachievable for any man, men pretend to fit the archetype, even if they do not, to achieve masculine status. Many men see masculinity as a mask (Edwards & Jones, 2010), leading individuals to perform gender for one another as a constant exercise. This results in gender-role conflict caused by negative consequences resulting from pursuit of the archetypal gender identity, causing a “discrepancy between the real self and the gender role” (O’Neil, 1981, p. 25). These negative feelings compel men to distance themselves from anything that could be feminine and to establish masculine identity constantly (Kimmel, 1994). As one of the boys interviewed by Kindlon and Thompson (2000) stated, “Everybody thinks you’ve got it so easy when you’re on top, but being on top just means that you have to worry all the time about slipping or somebody gaining on you. . . people are waiting to take you down” (p. 75). The drive to stay on top subsequently results in a strong press toward conformity to the dominant masculine identity of the organization. As fragile as the hegemonic masculinity of the group may be, it shapes and defines the choices every man makes within the organization.

Assertion 5: Fear Results in Group Gender Conformity

Out of fear of reference group penalization, men are “constantly riding those gender boundaries, checking the fences we have constructed on the perimeter, making

sure that nothing even remotely feminine might show through” (Kimmel, 1994, p. 143). In a group setting, this means that individuals within the group may willingly conform to norms. These men may also tolerate behaviors that may not align with their own sense of identity.

Conformity occurs when the majority of a group uses normative pressures to get individuals to accept an organizationally accepted version of the world (Bond, 2005). The desire for acceptance by a group creates pressure to live up to the social order constructed by that organization, even when the expectations do not align with a man’s own sense of self. Both positive and negative normative expectations help contribute to a sense of group solidarity. To refuse to participate in in-group behaviors sacrifices solidarity and jeopardizes acceptance by the group (Collins & Markowsky, 1989). In the name of conformity, this desire for acceptance along with fear of being rejected by the group is a large reason why college students engage in destructive or dangerous group behaviors in the name of establishing masculinity (Canepa, 2011; Messner, 2002; Zacharda, 2009). For example, McCreary and Schutts (2013) found significant correlations among conformity, social status, and hazing tolerance. In a group of men, often this conformity is achieved through fear or feminizing insults, gay slurs, or loss of social approval (McCann et al., 2010; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990; Walker, 1968).

Overconformity, which has been studied extensively among athletes, occurs when individuals use extreme manifestations of gender identity to attempt to fit into a group (Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009; Waldron & Krane, 2005). For example, in the case of athletes, the normative emphasis on winning at all costs can cause newcomers to a group, in fear they might look weak to the team members, to choose to

play when injured, causing even further injury. This overconformity can lead individuals to participate in risky behaviors, such as excessive drinking, high levels of risk-taking, or tolerance of hazing in the name of proving oneself to the organization by adopting extreme performances of hegemonic gender ideals. Conformity is also highly valued in organizations because it establishes that the individual is less likely to be a threat to the internal organizational structure of the group because the individual incurred risks or costs for the benefit of the organization (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Bryshun, 1997; Cimino, 2013a). In the name of overconformity to masculine norms, individuals consume dangerous amounts of alcohol, engage in risky pranks, commit crimes, and, as is the focus of this study, endure risky, painful, or deadly hazing activities, all in the name of belonging to groups like a fraternity.

The College Fraternity

Young men join a college fraternity during a time of burgeoning adulthood. That sense of adulthood, however, looks vastly different from 50 years ago. Today, college students see the traditional marks of adulthood, such as marriage, children, and building assets, “not as achievements to be pursued, but as perils to be avoided” (Arnett, 2004, p. 6). This is achieved by establishing “a world that is not only sealed off to adults, but beyond that, that thwarts adults, and beyond that, that actively derives a good measure of its efficacy by defining itself in opposition to adults” (Schnur, 2007, p. 77).

In college, students explore their identities, mature, develop self-efficacy, and come to understand themselves as creators of knowledge (Arnett, 2004; Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2009). During this time, young men pursue the independence of adulthood and at the same time make choices in opposition to adult responsibilities. They

seek love, acceptance, guidance, and inclusion among peers, demonstrated through their loyalty, supportiveness, and selfless commitment to their peer group (DeSantis, 2007). Unfortunately, this loyalty and commitment can manifest as conformity to derelict, delinquent, and at times destructive or dangerous behaviors.

These men live in a liminal space that Kimmel (2008), who interviewed more than 400 men, calls “Guyland.” Guyland consists of spaces, like the fraternity house, created by men aged 16 to 26, where hegemonic masculinity rules in the form of heavy drinking, pornography addictions, video games, and abdication of adult responsibility. As Kimmel (2008) stated:

Guyland is the arena in which young men so relentlessly seem to act out, seem to take the greatest risks and do some of the stupidest things. Directionless and often clueless, they rely increasingly on their peers to usher them into adulthood and validate their masculinity. And their peers often have some interesting plans for what they will have to endure to prove they are real men. (p. 43)

College-aged men are more likely than women to commit sexual assault (Kilmartin, 2001), violence (Hong, 2010), and engage with the campus judicial process as offenders (Harper, Harris, & Mmeje, 2005). Demonstrating hegemonic manhood among college men means watching sports, playing video games, working out, partying hard, earning decent grades (but not too good) with minimal effort, and engaging in risky behaviors like excessive alcohol use, sleeping with many partners, smoking marijuana, and other illegal activities (DeSantis, 2007; DeSantis et al., 2010; Edwards & Jones, 2009; Kimmel, 2008). Today, the iconic fraternity man represents this ideal college masculinity.

The demonstration of hegemonic masculinity on college campuses, particularly in single-gender groups like sports teams and fraternities, where “traditional ideas of

masculinity and femininity are reaffirmed” (DeSantis, 2007, p. 19), provide an ideal setting for research on masculinity (Peralta, 2007). The college fraternity is a space where masculinity has been challenged and expressed in opposition to femininity both among groups and within groups throughout history (Syrett, 2009; Yeung et al., 2006). Despite the changing definition of dominant masculinity, fraternity men since the 1880s have often represented the dominant form. For example, the 1950s archetypal fraternity man was popular, a varsity athlete, wholesome, and career focused (Syrett, 2009). Today, the definition of masculinity for college men has shifted again to a masculinity that is welcome and accepted in Guyland: a heavy-drinking, highly sexed, violent masculinity that is exalted as the ideal toward which every man should strive.

Fraternity Outcomes

There are both positive benefits and negative consequences to membership in a fraternity. On the positive front, fraternity and sorority members show advantages over their peers in academic and personal development (Pike, 2003). They demonstrate greater gains in communication skills, interpersonal skills, and critical thinking. They are comparable to their peers in course integration, interaction with peers, and extracurricular integration (Pike, 2000). They have higher levels of engagement on campus (Hayek, Carini, O’Day, & Kuh, 2002; Pike, 2000, 2003; Routon & Walker, 2014) and, subsequently, demonstrate significant gains in leadership development and self-efficacy related to leadership (Astin, 1993; Kezar & Moriarty, 2000). Fraternity and sorority members scored higher on four of five dimensions measuring social responsibility (Barnhardt, 2014) and are more likely to have participated in volunteer work (Routon & Walker, 2014).

Fraternity and sorority members have greater desire to pursue advanced degrees than their unaffiliated peers (Routon & Walker, 2014), demonstrate higher rates of persistence (Astin, 1977; DeBard & Sacks, 2011; Nelson, Halperin, Wasserman, Smith, & Graham, 2006; Severtis & Christie-Mizell, 2007), and satisfaction (Pennington et al., 1989). After graduation, fraternity and sorority members are more engaged in their workplace, have higher wellbeing socially, are engaged in their community, feel more financially sound, experienced deep learning in college, and feel better prepared for life after college than unaffiliated adults (Gallup, 2014). Worth noting, in numerous studies fraternity and sorority members were not found to be any different than their college peers in college outcomes achievement (see, for example, Hevel, Martin, & Pascarella, 2014; Pascarella, Flowers, & Whitt, 2009). These findings are often not given great attention but are important. Fraternity and sorority members are not performing any better or worse than their peers on numerous measures.

Unfortunately, the negative outcomes of fraternity life often outweigh the positives. Fraternity men tend to behave in negative ways that align with the expectations of Guyland. First-year fraternity men have lower reading comprehension and lower appreciation of the arts (Pascarella et al., 2009) and are more likely to commit academic dishonesty (Whitley, 1998). Fraternity men are more likely to exhibit homophobia (Hall & La France, 2007), demonstrate less open-mindedness (Williams & Johnson, 2011), engage in heavy alcohol consumption before and during college (Arnold, Kuh, & Center for the Study of the College Fraternity, 1992; Capone et al., 2007; Cho et al., 2010; Kuh et al., 1996; Martinez, Johnson, & Jones, 2015; McCabe et al., 2005; Wechsler, Kuh, & Davenport, 2009; West, 2001), abuse drugs (DeSantis et al., 2010; McCabe, et al., 2005),

be impulsive (Park, Sher, Wood, & Krull, 2009), and engage in heavy levels of teasing (Kiesling, 2005). This teasing may lead fraternity men to report lower self-confidence (Kilgannon & Erwin, 1992) and exhibit more disordered eating than their peers (Piquero, Fox, Piquero, Capowich, & Mazerolle, 2010).

While some early gains occur related to leadership in the first year, overall the fraternity does not increase socially responsible leadership among members (Hevel et al., 2014). Fraternity men have lower moral judgment and greater moral disengagement (McCreary, 2012) and are also less likely to have interracial friendships, which can further delay moral development (Derryberry & Thoma, 2000; Park, 2014). Given the characteristics of Guyland and that the positioning of an all-male group is often in contrast to other all-male groups and women, it is not surprising that fraternity men hold more stereotypical views of gender roles (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Robinson, Gibson-Beverly, & Schwartz, 2004), demonstrate hostility toward women (Fink, 2010; Sanday, 1990), are more likely to view pornography (Foubert, Brosi, & Bannon, 2011), and are more likely to use alcohol and drugs to coerce partners into having sex (Boeringer, 1996).

While there is compelling data that both supports and condemns the fraternity experience, there are numerous differences among fraternity chapters. It is important not to characterize all fraternities as the same, but instead to seek to understand norms, cultures, and assumptions within individual fraternity chapters. The culture of each organization plays a powerful role in establishing group and individual behavior.

The Fratriarchy

Culture is built upon shared beliefs, values, norms, and assumptions that drive organizational and individual behavior (Alvesson & Billings, 1997; Kuh, Whitt, &

Associates, 1988). While there are hundreds of definitions of culture, for the purpose of this study, culture has three important characteristics: (a) it is shared; (b) it is reflected in both behaviors and attitudes; and (c) these behaviors and attitudes, driven by cultural expectations, are not always rational (Alvesson & Billings, 1997).

Within the overarching culture are several subcultures. Subcultures form often when the subgroup has different beliefs or norms from the parent culture (Muir & Seitz, 2004). Subcultures are established on two levels: within the subculture, through enactment of certain beliefs and behaviors, and in opposition to the parent culture, through distinct dress and language (Donnelly, 1981). To become part of a subculture means taking on behaviors and attitudes that align with the subcultural identity (Donnelly & Young, 1988; Sweet, 2004). The more distance between the dominant cultural norms and the subcultural norms, the more likely the subculture is to engage in culturally subversive behaviors (Donnelly, 1981). A subculturally normalized resistance to authority subsequently helps to create group cohesiveness (Muir & Seitz, 2004; Workman, 2001). In the fraternity context, resistance occurs in rule breaking and risk-taking, as through hazing.

Each fraternity chapter is its own distinct mini-culture with its own set of norms, behaviors, and assumptions. Fraternity subcultures are both reflective of the larger institutional subculture (Fink, 2010; Hesp & Brooks, 2009; McCreary, 2012) and at the same time deviant from the dominant culture (Morinis, 1985). This subculture is often expressed through the use of nicknames, matching shirts, chants and songs, and signage.

Many fraternity subcultures, similar to traditional athletic cultures and military cultures, value hegemonically masculine behaviors and attitudes (Bryshun & Young,

1999; Malszecki, 2004; Messner, 2002; West, 2001). These subcultures are fratriarchies (Lenskyj, 2004; Loy, 1995), male-only spaces that require members to endorse five gender themes: “heterosexual promiscuity,” “toughness and assertiveness,” an “imposing physical type,” “relational independence,” and a “professional orientation” (DeSantis, 2007, p. 32-33). The expression of these themes establishes intimacy and cohesiveness among in-group members and a clear boundary that excludes out-group members.

Described as the “athlete ethic” within athletic culture (Hughes & Coakley, 1991), but also pervasive in fraternity subcultures, the fratriarchal subculture transmits important messages about what it takes to be part of the organization. These messages are that (a) sacrifice for the group is expected; (b) subculture members must always be striving to be the best; (c) taking risks and tolerating pain are required; and (d) pushing one’s limits is expected. To belong to the organization means a member “chooses suffering without cowardice or crying, chooses to endure his own fears rather than surrender to them, chooses obedience to the group over his sense of self-preservation, and chooses death before dishonor or cowardice” (Malszecki, 2004, p. 35).

Fratrarchies are spaces where male friendships are intensely intimate (DeSantis, 2007; Kiesling, 2005), which supports the finding that male friendships were strongest in cultures where men were separate from women (Spain, 1992). These deep friendships are often built around a strong culture of hedonism (Schnur, 2007), where heavy drinking (Arnold et al., 1992; Muir & Seitz, 2004; West, 2001), pursuit of heterosexual sex (Boeringer, 1996; Kimmel, 2008), and drug use (McCabe et al., 2005) are prevalent. Arnold (2004) goes so far as to suggest that some fraternity subcultures are addictive

organizations, which exhibit the same characteristics of an addict—denial, dishonesty, control, secret keeping, and forgetfulness.

Establishing Shared Fraternity Subculture

In the case of the fraternity, subcultural norms are also transmitted to new members through a number of functions. Fraternity norms, assumptions, and beliefs are a form of folklore (Fink, 2010). Folklore is the practice of transmitting tradition orally and through demonstration. The telling of stories and myths, the use of nicknames, use of speech, and the drama of the organization all serve as powerful transmitters of organizational culture. For example, drinking stories communicate powerful socialization messages and models of behavior (Rhoads, 1995; Workman, 2001).

To encourage adoption of subcultural identity, the organization strives to make sense of the conflicts that may arise between the dominant culture and subcultural messages through reinforcement of behaviors that communicate important explicit and implicit subcultural norms, acted out by older members for new members. However, at the same time, “the values are also continually emphasized in the gossip and in the repeated stories that become the myth and legend of the subculture” (Donnelly & Young, 1988, p. 231).

The fraternity subcultural press also functions as a panopticon (Foucault, 1977) in that it is ever present and serves as a continuing guiding force to maintain acceptable in-group member behavior. Behavior is often regulated through teasing. Joking, teasing, and name-calling are powerful in that “men continue to partake in. . . [the] controlling mechanism to remain in humour’s embrace” (McCann et al., 2010, p. 51.5). To fail to

accept this teasing may result in the worst punishment an adolescent looking for social approval could encounter: social ostracization.

Socialization of New Members

The socialization of new members into the fraternal subculture is well aligned with anthropological studies of transitions or rites of passage (Leemon, 1972; Turner, 1974; van Gennep, 1960). Similar to other rites of passage, new members first detach from the dominant culture and the culture of their parents, a process called separation. During this time, the new members begin to model the norms of the fraternity subculture, observing and adopting the habits and behaviors of the group outwardly, so that others will begin to associate the individual with the group. Next, the transition or liminal phase occurs when one is not yet an accepted full member but has adopted the characteristics and habits of the subculture. It is a period where one is neither a member of one's past subcultures nor a member of the fraternity subculture. It is a period of uncertainty and ambiguity, during which young men may overconform to masculine behaviors that align with fraternal ideals in an effort to establish their in-group membership. Finally, in the incorporation phase, the individual is accepted as a member of the subculture through some implicit or explicit acknowledgement of membership and cementation of group cohesiveness formed through shared experience and feelings of intimacy (Johnson, 2011), called brotherhood. In the case of the fraternity, this could be the formal initiation ceremony. The process of transitioning identities within fraternities is adeptly described by Raphael (1988),

Fraternities, in their own inimical manner. . . offer a true initiation in its classical form, where the power of the tribe is paramount and personal growth is carefully engineered. The ancestors...gaze down upon the neophytes, encouraging them to shape up and belong. The members sleep together, eat together, sing together, and

suffer together, as they learn what it means to be a man among men. As with primitives, these modern-day novitiates must deny and transcend their prior and separate identities before they are allowed to join the tribe. To accomplish this monumental task, the fraternity barrages and assaults their individual egos until they acquiesce. (p. 90)

Fueled by a desire to belong (Donnelly & Young, 1988; Lee & Robbins, 1995) and to win social approval (Waldron & Krane, 2005; Walker, 1968), demonstrating allegiance to the subculture is instrumental to become a member of the subculture (Kindlon & Thompson, 2000; Muir & Seitz, 2004). Individuals demonstrate commitment to the fraternal subculture through a variety of means. This can include overconformity to group norms through extreme or stereotypical behaviors (Donnelly & Young, 1988; Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Jones, 1999; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009), endurance of discomfort, pain, or hardship (DeSantis, 2007; Morinis, 1985; Walker, 1968), and edgework or risk-taking (Cho et al., 2010). This desire for group inclusion can lead to deindividuation or a loss of individual identity and conformity (Diener, 1980), through which “pledges literally lose their ‘old self’ during the pledging process as they are given new identity kits and new social relations and definitions of self and shift to a new reference group” (Sweet, 2004, p. 12). This deep desire for acceptance into the fraternity leads to the willingness to engage in culturally deviant behaviors and endure great hardship, including hazing, all in the name of male solidarity and belonging.

Hazing

Until recently, the research literature has not interrogated fraternity and sorority hazing. There is limited knowledge about hazing in the context of fraternity and sorority members, as demonstrated in a recent monograph by Biddix, Matney, Norman, and Martin (2014). In reviewing over 1,500 possible studies between 1996 and 2013, Biddix et al.

identified 300 methodologically sound, peer-reviewed studies to synthesize. Of those 300 studies, only seven studies address fraternity and sorority hazing experiences.

One of the challenges in looking at college hazing research within fraternities and sororities, athletics, marching bands, and ROTC is that many studies merely report statistics about who is hazing and what behaviors students are experiencing (see, for example, Allan & Madden, 2008; Hoover, 1999). While qualitative studies theorize about the socio-psychological factors that influence college student participation in and justification for hazing, these studies lack generalizable explanatory power (see, for example, Addelson & Stirratt, 1996; Arnold, 2004; Bryshun, 1997; Canepa, 2011; Fink, 2010; Johnson, 2011; Malszecki, 2004; Mechling, 2008; Sweet, 2004; Zacharda, 2009). There is a need for greater exploration of hazing among fraternities and sororities. In the absence of this information, I have included hazing studies of athletics, the military, and high schools.

Who Is Hazing and Where Does It Occur?

In one of the most comprehensive studies of hazing, a mixed methods study that surveyed over 11,000 college students from 53 higher education institutions, Allan and Madden (2008) sought to learn the extent to which hazing occurred among college populations. The researchers asked students to identify whether they had experienced a specific hazing act. While hazing behaviors were reported across student groups ranging from honor societies to ROTC, a startling 73% of fraternity and sorority members experienced hazing, consistent with findings in other studies (Campo et al., 2005; Owen et al., 2008). At the same time, when those who indicated they had experienced a hazing behavior were asked if they had ever experienced hazing, only one in 10 indicated that they believed they were hazed (Allen & Madden, 2008).

Numerous studies (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005; Cimino, 2011; Cokley et al., 2001; Gershel et al., 2003; Hamilton, 2011; Hinkle, 2006; Hoover, 1999; Jensen et al., 1980; Knutson et al., 2011; Kittle, 2012; Owen et al., 2008) have found gender, athlete status, and fraternity affiliation to be predictors that one has hazed or been hazed, with men hazing more often and more physically than women did and with men wanting more control of new members in initiation practices. This desire for control, enforced conformity, and rules governing the new member and member interaction is consistent with traditional manifestations of masculinity. The hazing experience serves as a mechanism to “forge and perpetuate a hierarchal and patriarchal structure” (Trota & Johnson, 2004, p. x). Additionally, the more strongly one identifies with the group, the more willing an individual is to participate in hazing activities (Hinkle, 2006). This may be due to a high social approval goal orientation among students. Seeking approval from peers, these individuals might be more likely to tolerate hazing (Hamilton, 2011; Keating et al., 2005; Silveira & Hudson, 2015; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009).

Perceived Outcomes of Hazing

Though many students participate in hazing, students have mixed views about hazing outcomes. Students argue their hazing experiences positively mold them, help them gain valued skills, contribute to feelings of pride, are an important tradition, are fun, contribute to the bonding of group members, and establish the commitment of potential members (Allan & Madden, 2008; Baier & Williams, 1983; Campo et al., 2005; Hinkle, 2006; Jones, 1999, 2000; Mechling, 2008; Montague, Zohara, Love, McGee, & Tsamis, 2008; Muir & Seitz, 2004). These student claims support Nuwer’s (1999) assertion that “hazing is an extraordinary activity that, when it occurs often enough, becomes perversely ordinary as

those who engage in it grow desensitized to its inhumanity” (p. 31). In support of Nuwer’s claim, as the number of hazing acts experienced by students increased (as victims and perpetrators), the belief that hazing is positive also increased among students (Campo et al., 2005). This is particularly true of fraternity and sorority members, who are more likely to report that hazing was fun, made them feel more included, generated a sense of accomplishment, and made those who experienced hazing feel a greater sense of resilience compared to non-members (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005).

In contrast, Owen, Burke, and Vichesky (2008) found that most students did not feel that hazing contributed to the positive health of an organization, which was supported by Rogers, Rogers, and Anderson (2012), who found that involvement and organizational commitment were not correlated to having been hazed. Students also believed hazing is a serious issue, yet reported that hazing was commonplace and that many new members expected to experience some form of hazing. The real question though is not whether hazing is occurring. That question is clearly answered by the sheer number of fraternity and sorority members who report experiencing hazing in the aforementioned studies. The real question at hand is: Why it is occurring?

Current Explanations for Hazing

There are numerous explanations for hazing. Cimino (2013b) suggested that hazing can be explained as an effort to achieve three goals: “solidarity, dominance, and commitment” (p. 446). While the achievement of these organizational goals is certainly part of the explanation, these three processes fail to account for the psycho-social reasons why individuals choose to endure hazing. Taking into account both organizational and individual motivations, hazing serves five functions.

First, hazing functions as a rite of passage through group socialization processes and identity development manipulation mechanisms. Second, hazing is a way to align individual and group identity. The desire for group solidarity and sense of belonging leads to alignment of individual and group identity, and efforts to maintain group norms as a clear in-group and out-group are established. Third, hazing is about power and dominance. This power is demonstrated within the group as an effort to establish a clear hierarchy and to establish status as an organization among other chapters, something that is often achieved through tolerably deviant behaviors such as hazing. The desire for power is reinforced based on both organizational and individual social dominance orientation. Fourth, hazing tests the willingness of individuals to sacrifice toward group goals. Individuals experiencing hazing tolerate loss of autonomy, discomfort, restriction, aggression, and sometimes pain. This leads individuals to develop a greater attraction to the group because “for these freshmen, any number of sacrifices seemed warranted for the chance to be a brother” (Syrett, 2009, p. 153). The high level of sacrifice serves to discourage freeloaders (Cimino, 2011). Finally, hazing serves as a tool to build group cohesion and commitment. Through generating conformity to group norms, often through the giving of respect or social approval, organizations enact cult-like behaviors that inculcate a deep sense of belonging for members. Each of these explanations is explored further here.

Hazing as a Rite of Passage

Some hazing experts have argued that hazing serves as a rite of passage (Hollmann, 2002; Kimmel, 2008; Nuwer, 1999; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009). For many cultures, there is a demarcation between youth and adulthood marked by initiation rites.

These rites communicate member status, define gender roles, establish a power hierarchy, and instruct novitiates on important history and traditions (Brain, 1997). With the rise of industrialized society, rites of passage have become ordinary rather than special ritualized occurrences (Turner, 1974), yet there still exists a desire for demarcation between those who have encountered some difficult challenge and those who have not (Leemon, 1972; Nuwer, 1999) because

Traditional rites of passage, however inane and sadistic, still hold a definite fascination and appeal, for they seem to provide straightforward solutions to complex and difficult problems. They could make us into men, and there's certainly an attraction to that. (Raphael, 1988, p. 22)

However, without a formalized rite of passage in American society, "Boys have had to 'invent' initiation practices, sometimes in informal friendship groups, at other times in more formal organizations, like fraternities and athletic teams" (Mechling, 2008, p. 72). Often these invented rites are hazing.

Activities that humiliate participants involving "food, alcohol, paddling, nudity, or some combination of the four" have become common "rites of passage" since the mid-1900s (Syrett, 2009, p. 245). An excellent example was an incident of sexual harassment at a private high school in the Midwest in which a freshman football player was harassed by the senior quarterback. After the incident occurred, before anyone else knew it had happened, the freshman student became a member of the in-group. Having experienced the harassment, he was considered part of the team (Howard & England-Kennedy, 2006). The hazing served as tool for new members to become accepted members of the team and established a dominance hierarchy intermingled with acceptance (Bryshun & Young, 1999; Johnson, 2011).

Rites of passage in many cultures demarcate children from adults. In the case of fraternity members, the pursuit of membership traditionally occurs in the first or second year of college, when students are 18 or 19 years old. This is also when students are transitioning from childhood to adulthood, and when they experiment with their image, attitudes, decision-making and leadership skills, alcohol use, compliance, and sexuality. At this time, students forge the frame, their metaphorical act-like-a-man box that will shape their adult selves (Arnett, 2004; Kimmel, 2008). For young men, establishing the ways in which they express masculinity is part of their expression of adulthood. How men dress, speak, and act and the emotions they show all play a role in how masculine others see them (Edwards & Jones, 2009). These same behaviors are also part of the rite of passage in establishing fraternity membership—the wearing of the clothing that signifies membership, the nicknames one is given, and the bonding through shared new member experiences—all distinguish members from non-members (Donnelly, 1981; Nuwer, 1999; Sweet, 2004). Because the process of establishing one’s adult masculine self happens concurrently with the fraternity membership rite of passage, masculinity and fraternity identity become intertwined.

Hazing as a Way to Align Individual and Group Identity

Hazing also generates intense loyalty to the group and the development of group identity that dominates individual identity (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Bryshun, 1997; Hollmann, 2002). Sweet (2004) applied the symbolic interactionist framework (Blumer, 1969; Geertz, 1973) to understand hazing; within the framework, humans create their own realities and see themselves and others as objects that interact within that reality. Sweet posited that individuals respond in certain ways based upon the meaning they

assign to people and objects. For example, on a college campus, a team mascot has a meaning for students that evokes school spirit.

Joining a fraternity causes new members to redefine their senses of self to align with the group (Sweet, 2004) at a time when new members are highly impressionable and the group has the power to manipulate their sense of identity. This increase in affiliation has important implications when considering gender identity, as one's gender identity may come to align with the group's identity as well. During the new member experience, new members receive t-shirts, pins, manuals, decorative paddles, and other items to cement the new member's sense of group identification. Through these shared experiences, students develop greater affiliation. Once this identity is cemented, students will do whatever it takes to preserve group norms and protect the group as an extension of their own identity, including supporting unpopular ideas or engaging in destructive behaviors (Addelson & Stirratt, 1996; Arnold, 2004; McCreary, 2012; Waldron, 2008; Zacharda, 2009; Zimbardo, 2007).

Once the fraternity and individual identities align, fraternity activities and the meanings assigned to these activities become the normative model for what is acceptable, which is how both fraternity-defined acceptable gender performances and hazing behaviors continue to persist. Hazing engrains meaning of the self as a fraternity member. This process consists of "reducing the pledge's self-centered and independent behavior and replacing it with a more humble, cooperative, and disciplined type of behavior which is directed toward fulfilling goals of the group and one's fellow group members as well as himself" (Walker, 1968, p. 162). Proposing a change to the process through which this meaning derives would require those who experienced hazing to redefine their sense of

self, including their gender identity, because their gendered self was partly defined by their hazing experiences. Thus, students replicate these experiences and reinforce hazing supportive attitudes because to change their attitudes or behaviors would mean the masculine status they achieved through hazing would need to be reestablished. It is for this reason that this study explored both group and individual gender identity.

Hazing as Power and Dominance

The exertion of power over others is a central concept to the working definition of hazing for the purpose of this study and is a fundamental hinge in the efforts to understand hazing (Iverson & Allan, 2004). Societally, there are groups who have power over others, and those with less power may be subject to discrimination, violence, and less access to resources (Kivel, 1992). Social dominance orientation is an individual's desire for his group to be hierarchically dominant over other groups. Individuals who are oriented toward hierarchal structures tend to favor activities that reinforce the hierarchy and roles that "increase or maintain social inequality" (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994, p. 742). Men generally have a higher orientation toward social dominance than women (Arteta-Garcia, 2015, Pratto et al., 1994). Men's socialization toward hegemonic masculinity may thus contribute toward a preference for establishing a power differential.

The exertion of power over new members reinforces this desire for hierarchy in fraternities (Holman, 2004). This power arises from varying levels of information disclosure allowed within and outside the group, social isolation, the use of intimidation, controlling aspirant access to basic needs like food, sleep, and hygiene, as well as the ability to coerce individuals to engage in activities that may be embarrassing, distasteful,

or dangerous. The power difference between leaders and followers was greatest among men who perceived hazing to be fun and socially deviant (Keating et al., 2005). Activities of social deviance, as is the case for most hazing activities, reinforce the power difference between leaders and aspirants because

Rookies who are hazed are less likely to pose any threat to the power structure because they have conformed to the group by following orders and placing themselves in compromising positions for the perceived good of the group. In the eyes of the veterans, the rookies have participated in male solidarity, and have thus earned “their place” on the team (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004, p.73).

Exhibiting the dominant group identity (including gender performance) also establishes power for individuals (Howard & England-Kennedy, 2006). Those individuals who come the closest to hegemonic masculinity gain power because they possess what other men aspire to achieve (Kivel, 1992). Hazing behaviors are a way to exert power over other men and to test whether aspirants can exhibit the same acceptable gendered responses to hazing experiences. For example, when fraternity members command an aspirant to do 200 push-ups for failing to memorize fraternity history, the members exert power to garner individual member compliance. If he effortlessly completes the push-ups, something a physically fit, masculine man can do, he gains respect, which is a form of power. In contrast, if an aspirant completes some push-ups and then starts crying, he behaves antithetically to hegemonic masculinity. This reinforces initiated member power and further distances the aspirant from the accepted group gender identity, far outside the organizationally defined act-like-a-man box.

Power is also achieved by establishing dominance over out-group members. As observed in the culture of athletics, power comes from winning, a form of dominance over others (Muir & Seitz, 2004). The identification and domination of an out-group, whether it is competing fraternities, new members, or women in the fraternal context, is

an important method of establishing organizational power (Cimino, 2013a). The perceived toughness of a new member program and recruitment of the most masculine members determines organizational power (DeSantis, 2007; Nuwer, 1999; Ramey, 1982). Hazing of new members is a way to establish status among other organizations. Interestingly, there is a “paradox to membership in the fraternity, in which each member must first be entirely dominated and powerless before he can be accepted into what the fraternity sees as a privileged and select group of men” (Kiesling, 2005, p. 708).

Hazing as Sacrifice

Another psychosocial explanation for the perpetuation of hazing is that it requires sacrifice through loss of autonomy, discomfort, embarrassment, social or physical restriction, and sometimes pain (Addelson & Stirratt, 1996; Jones, 2000; Malszecki, 2004; Martin & Hummer, 1989). Fraternities also exhibit cult-like behaviors that require member sacrifice (Hollmann, 2002; Nuwer, 1999), such as social isolation, the use of fear to intimidate aspiring members, indoctrination of beliefs, and the use of power as a form of control and compliance. These power-driven expectations require individuals to sacrifice relational and educational pursuits, thereby fostering greater psychological commitment and discouraging freeloaders (Cimino, 2013a).

Morinis (1985), in exploring the concept of pain in tribal initiation rituals, identified that pain serves four functions in the socialization process. It (a) juxtaposes the pain with what the individual will experience upon enduring the pain; (b) provides access to the group; (c) demonstrates the individual’s willingness to place the group above their own instinctual needs; and (d) makes the in-group more desirable because of the difficulty one must endure to achieve in-group status. These same phenomena are at play

in the fraternity setting. There is a strong desire among members and new members for the new member experience to be “tough work or it’s a waste. People only take pride in the things they work for. . . . You have to feel like you accomplished something others didn’t” (DeSantis, 2007, p. 174). While many fraternity hazing activities may not cause actual physical pain, the sense of sacrifice serves the same functions.

Additionally, the more sacrifice the hazed endure and the harder the experience, the higher the collective group’s power and masculine status within the campus community (DeSantis, 2007; Nuwer, 1999; Ramey, 1982). Types of behavior demonstrated may depend on subcultural norms, for example, athletes tend to engage in higher levels of physical hazing and painful activities compared to fraternity and sorority members, and fraternity and sorority members tended to engage in higher levels of embarrassment and deviance than non-Greek students (Campo et al., 2005). In both cases, these situations require risk-taking and sacrifice of the body or reputation (Keating et al., 2005; Peralta, 2007; Wellard, 2002). Sacrifice, in addition to explaining hazing tolerance, is also an expression of gender identity because being unaffected in the face of loss is a normative masculine ideal (David & Brannon, 1976).

The manufactured threat of possible failure balanced with the expectation that a new member will be able to join the group requires careful balance between adversity and reward (Malszecki, 2004). This creates an addictive environment (Arnold, 2004) through the giving and taking away of privileges and rewards. The organization engages in dishonesty, control, and lying in an effort to increase the sense of sacrifice among aspirants for three reasons. First, the organization desires for all members to have sacrificed equally (Jones, 2000; Walker, 1968). Second, the more the initiated members

sacrificed as new members, the more likely the group is to haze as a tool to prevent freeloaders from reaping the status and benefits of membership in the organization (Cimino, 2011, 2013a, 2013b). Third, it inspires greater attraction and loyalty to the group (Keating et al., 2005; van Raalte et al., 2007).

Additionally, as discussed earlier, the concept of the athlete ethic (Hughes & Coakley, 1991), which also plays out in the fraternity setting, places a high value on sacrificing for the good of the organization, striving for high status, continuing through difficulty, and refusing to accept barriers to success. The stronger one's athletic identity, the more willing an individual was to participate in hazing (Hinkle, 2006). Organizations instill these values in new members through hazing. As one of DeSantis' (2007) interviewees stated, "We teach them how to be tougher. . . . I don't care what anyone says, hazing is a must. . . if you can get through pledging, you can get through anything You are man when you get through—if you get through" (p. 93).

Hazing as a Tool to Build Group Cohesion

The final explanation for hazing stems from the beliefs that one of the key pillars to a fraternity is cohesiveness and also that the more challenging the new member experience, the more cohesive the in-group membership (DeSantis, 2007; Hollmann, 2002; Morinis, 1985; Scott, 2006). This phenomenon, called maltreatment effect or the severity-attraction effect (Aronson & Mills, 1959; Keating et al., 2005), posited that individuals who are mistreated sometimes demonstrate greater loyalty than those who are treated well. Keating et al.'s (2005) study found that those who underwent greater mental duress in a laboratory setting and perceived themselves to have more fun, felt a greater sense of attachment to the abuser and a greater perception of the abuser's power in

comparison to those who engaged in commonplace activities. Participants also agreed more often with the viewpoints of the individual they perceived to be in power.

The maltreatment effect may also link to gender identity. Fraternity members feel loyalty toward individuals who treated them poorly during hazing activities because acceptance by and affiliation with these individuals can establish the masculine identity of the aspirant. Hazing activities compel new members to demonstrate masculinity by remaining stoic and resolved to succeed in the face of adversity. If the abused succeeds, he establishes himself as like the abuser, someone with masculine power. Thus, the abused want to be masculine like the abusers and feel loyalty and desired affiliation with those who abuse them.

This shared pursuit of and conformity to masculine identity creates a sense of unity among members (McCreary & Schutts, 2013; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990), as hazing experiences force the hazed to bond together in shared experience. For men, friendships and solidarity are often built around enduring shared hardship (Messner, 1992; Morinis, 1985). In DeSantis' (2007) interviews with fraternity men, they “identified hazing as the *key to brotherhood*” (p. 173).

This sense of group identity then leads to other outcomes—a sense of solidarity, respect for patriarchal hierarchy, and adherence to group-defined standards (Nuwer, 1999; Sabo, 1987). In one study, solidarity was significantly correlated with tolerance of hazing (McCreary & Schutts, 2015). The desire for social acceptance results in pressure for members to adhere to group-defined norms (including gender norms) and not consider other more preferable courses of action. For example, when an NFL rookie, Dez Bryant, refused to carry pads for a fellow player, other players criticized his masculinity (Keown,

2010). Refusing to be hazed may lead to being ostracized for challenging the hierarchy and for violating group norms (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004).

Within male athletic teams, there is a “considerable amount of pressure on participants to conform to masculinist values and beliefs. Hazing is one of the processes through which this is achieved” (Johnson & Holman, 2009, p. 6). Incorporation into the team is intimately tied to participation in hazing. Men who chose to not fully participate in hazing are labeled by teammates as an outsider (Bryshun, 1997; Hinkle, 2006; Sabo, 1987). Hazing teams strongly believe that rookies “must experience hazing to become accepted into manhood” (Holman, 2004, p. 53). Not surprisingly, this same phenomenon also plays out in the fraternity setting.

The uncritical acceptance of group norms and the complicit silence that accompanies this acceptance in order to obtain group inclusion can lead to moral disengagement (Bandura, 1986, 1999). This occurs through many phenomena, such as dehumanization, attribution of blame to organization aspirants, and diffusion of responsibility for ensuring good treatment. Men and boys tend to show higher levels of moral disengagement (Hamilton, 2011; McCreary, 2012; Paciello, Fida, Tramontano, Lupinetti, & Carpara, 2008). Additionally, a strong correlation has been shown between the likelihood of hazing and moral disengagement (Hamilton, 2011; McCreary, 2012).

The acceptance of subcultural norms and behaviors like hazing often generates group cohesion through non-conformity to dominant cultural norms (Hollmann, 2002; Muir & Seitz, 2004; Ramey, 1982). In order for subcultural group norms to be salient, they must be distinct from the dominant culture. Adolescent men and by extension the organizations and teams to which they belong, in opposition to the expectations of

authority figures who govern them, engage in tolerably deviant behaviors (Messerschmidt, 1993; Snyder, 1994), such as drinking, rule-breaking, and petty crime. This deviance may not always arise from rejection of societal norms but is instead unhesitating acceptance of group norms (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). For example, students with a higher desire for social connectedness were more likely to engage in dangerous hazing (Canepa, 2011). In the case of the fraternity, behaviors such as hazing are tolerably deviant.

The Untested Explanation: Hazing As an Expression of Gender Identity

Each of the explanations for hazing as outlined above has explanatory power, and the purpose of this study was not to discount those explanations but was instead to argue that each claim is insufficient as the explanations fail to consider the role that gender identity plays in supporting hazing attitudes and behaviors. There is a clear intersection between masculinity and hazing and “one need not look very far to find examples of how hazing behaviors in male groups serve as a test of masculinity or as an opportunity to prove one’s masculinity” (Allan, 2004, p. 283).

This pursuit of the masculine ideal by members may elucidate why fraternity hazing is so endemic on college campuses. Despite the frequency of hazing, many students did not see hazing as problematic or chose not to report its occurrence (Allan & Madden, 2008). For men, each of the explanations for hazing—a rite of passage, an affinity for power, a desire for group cohesion to the exclusion of authorities, loyalty, intimacy, and sacrifice—points to the socialization of men, yet gender identity is not the explicit focus of any quantitative studies in the hazing literature. This may be because masculine status is not ever fully granted. Instead, masculine identity is constantly tested

and perpetually performed. This constant performance causes men to feel ubiquitous social stresses to be masculine. For example, Edwards and Jones (2010) found that men could not identify a time when they learned how to be a man and that the pressures of achieving masculinity always seemed pervasively present. These masculine expectations are the same pressures that compel college men to value hierarchy, create power differentials, seek unemotional intimacy, and demonstrate commitment through physical and emotional sacrifice (DeSantis, 2007), all hallmarks of masculinity and simultaneously explanations for hazing.

While the research literature has established that men are less likely to believe hazing was harmful compared to women (Arteta-Garcia, 2015; Campo et al., 2005; Jensen et al., 1980; Knutson, et al., 2011), these findings do not explain the range of subcultural difference within genders. In other words, why do some single-gender groups haze and others do not? The link between performance of masculine gender identity and hazing in fraternity life is often assumed, but it has not been expressly examined (Allan, 2004; Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Cokley et al., 2001; DeSantis, 2007; Hamilton, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Johnson & Holman, 2009; Mechling, 2008; Robinson, 2004; Trota & Johnson, 2004). Researchers have separated survey responses about hazing behaviors by gender, but simply checking a box to indicate gender does not communicate the degree to which one identifies with hegemonic gender norms. Researchers have not assessed the degree to which affinity to these gender norms is predictive of willingness to participate in hazing as either the hazer or the hazed. Data from the National Survey of Adolescent Males showed that boys who align with traditional definitions of masculine behavior are more likely to engage in high-risk activities like drinking, drug use, and unprotected sex (Kindlon & Thompson, 2000). Those in

alignment with traditional masculine behaviors may also be willing to engage in hazing. For example, Waldron, Lynn, and Krane (2011) found that “running away from or avoiding being paddled, for example, was perceived as weakness, which is antithesis to hegemonic masculinity, or as inconsistent with team expectations” (p. 121).

Kimmel (2008), Rhoads (1995), and Syrett (2009) all suggested that hazing in men’s fraternities was born of the need to exert masculinity as a form of status. In an ethnographic study, the fraternity members valued athleticism, risk-taking, strength, fearlessness, and physical fitness, all expressions of masculinity (Rhoads, 1995). Boys or men who subscribe to dominant masculinity attitudes believe men are brave, aggressive, in control, and tough. These men have more to lose if they choose not to engage in hazing behaviors (Allan, 2004; Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Kimmel, 2008; Tran & Chang, 2013). This assertion is reinforced by a survey of men and women who attended the U.S. Naval Academy. In the study, both men and women were likely to have experienced hazing, but men were significantly less likely to indicate that physically abusive hazing and verbal abuse should not be allowed (Pershing, 2006). This is also why efforts to eliminate hazing behaviors by authority figures are ubiquitously rejected because hazing serves as a measure of masculinity. Groups and individuals within the groups who subscribe to restricted masculine ideals might struggle to demonstrate their masculinity in other ways if hazing were to be eliminated (Allan, 2004). For this reason, this study proposed to determine the degree to which group and individual gender identity aligns with hazing attitudes and behaviors.

Men fear emasculation if they are not able to “handle” the hazing. Throughout the history of fraternities, “The most exulted masculinity was that of a fraternity man. Many

were willing to make sacrifices to be counted among them” (Syrett, 2009, p. 247). This dominant view of masculinity manifests in the hazing behaviors one might observe on campuses today. Men are often compelled to dress as women or babies, engage in homoerotic behaviors, or provide manual servitude (Allan, 2004; Kimmel, 2008), all with the hope of future inclusion in the group.

Masculinity is constantly performed in an attempt to establish one is not feminine or gay and to demonstrate the failure of others (especially new members and out-group members) to achieve that standard. The strongest support for hazing as a performance of masculinity are the regular messages and activities in hazing that reinforce the marginalization of women and gay men (Holman, 2004). Overt heterosexuality is an important status indicator for fraternities (DeSantis, 2007; Hall & LaFrance, 2007). This is established by subordinating women and gay men. As early as 1930, there were homoerotic elements of hazing (Syrett, 2009) that juxtapose the masculine brother and the feminine, gay new member (James, 1998). Homoerotic hazing “served to dismiss the possibility of same-sex desires (even if they paradoxically acted them out in the process)” (Anderson, McCormack, & Lee, 2012, p. 431).

The use of homoerotic hazing, such as making new members touch, hug, or kiss, or dress in drag, demonizes homosexuality and asserts the group’s heterosexuality over new members who are marginalized for engaging in homoerotic hazing (James, 1998; Johnson, 2002a, 2011; Johnson & Holman, 2009). Interchangeably, hazing also is the rejection of the feminine (Curry, 1991; Dundes & Dundes, 2002). Compelling new members to behave femininely embarrasses and marginalizes new members (Dundes &

Dundes, 2002; James, 1998) and asserts the dominance of members who represent the ideal masculinity toward which new members aspire.

Similarly, teasing is another way to demonstrate dominance and to police gender performance (Anderson, 2008; Fink, 2010; Johnson, 2001, 2002b; Kindlon & Thompson, 2000; Messner, 1992; Nuwer, 2004; Pascoe, 2007). By calling men names that are often feminizing or gay-oriented, individuals exert power over other individuals in an attempt to exclude them from the group. As Robinson (2004) observed, “Someone had to be the cunt, the bitch, the girl. . . . At the end of the initiation, any soft, empathetic, or slightly female side of the male has been cleansed through this theatre of violent masculinity” (p. 4). If the individual refuses to go along with the joking or becomes upset, he shows he is not part of the in-group. Interestingly, men do not like the teasing. In Stoudt’s (2006) study of an all-boys high school, 73% of respondents felt that a friend’s teasing, joking, and ridiculing can be hurtful, and 66% felt it prevented them from expressing their emotions. These students justified hazing behaviors and did not report them to authorities to develop a sense of belonging and sense of intimacy with other boys. Refusal to participate would mean they acted outside the act-like-a-man box and were not part of the in-group, something they valued.

Like Stoudt’s (2006) high school locker room harassment, the name-calling, the drama of hazing, the horsing around, the all-in-good-fun behaviors seem benign to these men. This is because they are part of the everyday script of maleness that they must enact daily inside the fraternal frame. The fraternal frame is where play becomes hazing, danger and risk-taking is applauded, drunkenness is funny, sexual conquests are celebrated, and dominance, homophobia, and rejection of the feminine are defining

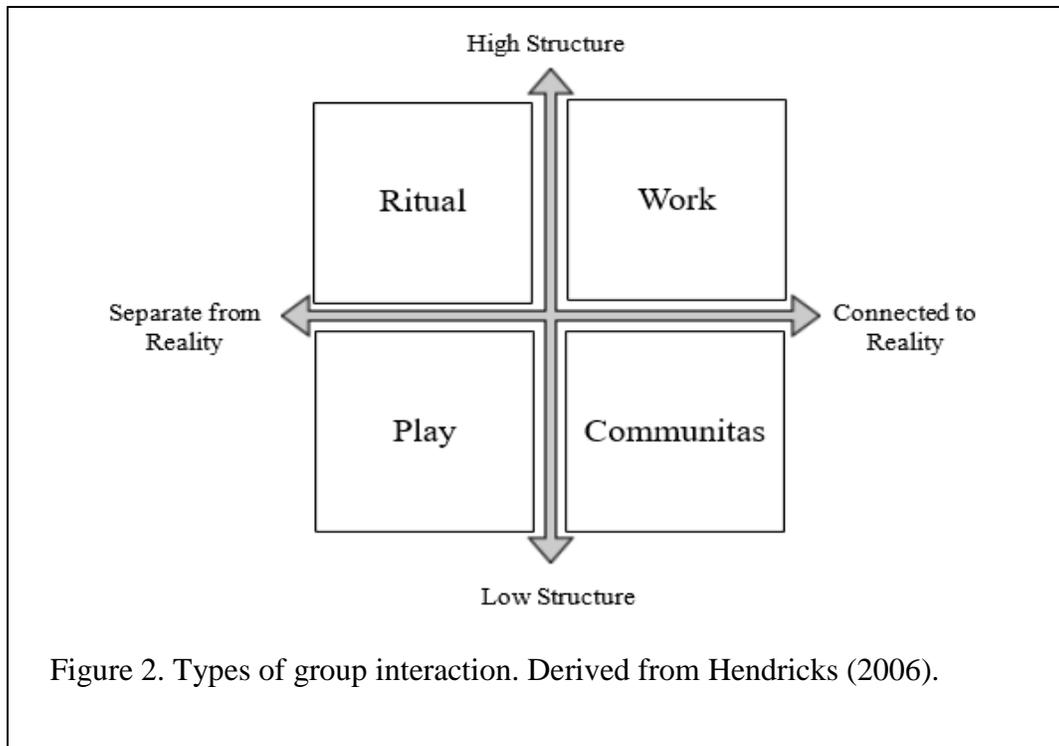
features. It is in this frame where college men seek belonging and intimacy with other men. Within the frat frame, boys, hungry for a rite of passage and desperate for peer-group approval, challenge other boys to experiment with manhood, sometimes with dangerous consequences. They are playing at masculinity in the name of group acceptance. It is in these adult play behaviors where the true meanings of hazing are learned. The play frame is where we turn our attention now.

The Mechanism of Play

In cultural anthropology, group interactions can be divided into four types: work, *communitas*, ritual, and play (Hendricks, 2006). Each of these characteristics can be best understood along two continuums: the degree of structure associated with the characteristic and the connection or separation from reality (see Figure 2). Work occurs when individuals join together in a common goal in a structured, productive manner within a connected reality, for example, a community of people working to plan an event.

Rituals are serious, structured activities that are separate from reality. The separation from reality involves forms of behavior not regularly enacted in everyday life and the use of symbols and metaphors to create a transition from one state of being to another or to mark an important transition or event, such as a graduation ceremony or other rite of passage. They have a distinct purpose and are performed the same way every time they occur as a method of imparting social meaning and building cohesiveness through shared experience (Collins & Markowsky, 1989; Schwartzman, 1982).

Communitas is the coming together of individuals on equal ground to engage in a shared experience and group identity. This experience is grounded in reality (Hendricks,



2006; Turner, 1974), for example, through participation in a community festival or celebration. In a state of communitas, participation can be observational.

In contrast, play requires active participation. Play, like ritual, occurs in a liminal space separate from reality where meaning is constructed (Caillois, 2001; Mechling, 2009). Unlike ritual, play is less structured and less serious (Huizinga, 1950; Schwartzman, 1982). Play is a voluntary activity that generates social groupings built around shared cultural meanings. Within play, the rules are adaptable and what is real and imagined along with what is good and evil are ever changing. Play has a finite time and space, has no pre-determined outcome, is rule governed, and has some element of fantasy or make-believe (Caillois, 2001; Houseman, 2001; Huizinga, 1950). Play occurs across a spectrum from unstructured, such as free form make-believe among friends, to structured, such as organized sports (Coakley, 1978).

Is Hazing Work, Ritual, Communitas, or Play?

The entire new member experience in the fraternity likely has elements of each type of group interaction. For example, individuals may attend meetings or participate in a project, both forms of work. However, hazing does not occur in an effort to build shared productive outputs and is not grounded in reality, determined by acting out regular activities one might normally do. Therefore, it is not work. New members may participate in events, such as a football tailgate, Greek Week, or Homecoming, which is a form of communitas. Hazing, however, is not communitas. While it might build shared community among individuals who have experienced hazing in the same groups (Johnson, 2011), hazing does not place individuals on equal footing, a key characteristic of communitas, but instead uses power and divisiveness to manipulate new members.

Hazing is often described as a ritual in the literature (see, for example, Holman, 2004; Jones, 2000); however, hazing behaviors are distinct from the actual formal initiation or ritual ceremony in which an individual transitions from a new member to a member. There are, however, many similarities between ritual and play, which may explain why hazing is often labeled as ritual. First, there is a distinction between the profane and sacred in both ritual and play (Johnson, 2011). Second, in both cases, what happens in a ritual frame and a play frame are not grounded in everyday behaviors (Mechling, 2009). Third, in both cases, the individuals within the frames are in a state of liminality where their identities are in flux (Handelman, 1977).

However, in the ritual frame, individuals are the object of the ritual. In contrast, in the play frame individuals are both the subjects and objects (Schwartzman, 1982). Additionally, in play there are very flexible, ever-changing boundaries that create a

negotiated meaning between individuals, whereas ritual is more rigidly defined and imparts a specific behavioral or organizational message. As a result, there is a distinction between messages that communicate entry into a play frame and entry into a ritual frame (Bateson, 1972). Houseman (2001) suggested that in some cases individuals can be playing a ritual and that “certain ritual performances can thus be understood as a variety of meta-play: a conventionalized embedding of play within itself” (p. 1). Hazing explained as a ritual actually represents this kind of meta-play where individuals pretend that situations are important and serious but are actually taking place in the play frame.

If Hazing Is Not Work, Communitas, or Ritual, Is It Play?

Play is a space that players enter into voluntarily through often unconscious, implicit signals that communicate, “This is play” (Bateson, 1972; Mechling, 2009). Once the play frame is enacted (consider it like a permeable membrane), the actions within the frame no longer represent the meanings those same actions might have outside the play frame. Participants understand what happens in the frame is not real and is distinct from other frames, such as work, communitas, and ritual. These play behaviors carry different and important meanings than an outside viewer may identify (Huizinga, 1950; Mechling, 2008). Consider, for example, two college-aged men horsing around, wrestling with one another. Within the play frame, the wrestling communicates fun, intimacy, trust, and friendship, along with establishing dominance. If individuals demonstrated the same behavior outside the play frame, this could be viewed as aggression and result in a fight.

The similarities between play behaviors and hazing behaviors are compelling. Play is (a) temporary for a finite amount of time in a frame distinct from the reality of everyday life; (b) a negotiation of dominance; (c) a tool for navigating relationships; and

(d) a mechanism to establish a shared sense of experience that fosters belonging with the group (Bateson, 1972; Huizinga, 1950; Manning, 1983). Hazing has many of the same characteristics. Hazing (a) occurs for a temporary amount of time in a frame separated from everyday life; (b) establishes clear messages about dominance and power; (c) requires voluntary participation as a condition of belonging; and (d) occurs within groups with in- and out-group delineations (Cimino, 2013a). Both hazing and play share nearly identical characteristics. They occur in defined spaces and times, establish power and dominance, engage participants willingly, and establish group identity. Consider a chapter in which initiated members bring new members down to the basement one night. The initiated members yell profanities at the new members, throw rotten eggs at them, and tell them they will never demonstrate characteristics necessary to be initiated. The next day, the initiated members invite these same new members over for pizza as if the night before never occurred. This is possible because the basement activity occurred in a play frame, distinct from the reality of the pizza activity, a form of *communitas*. As Malszecki (2004) wrote:

Hazing is presented as “games” that educate the initiate into the grammar of violence by playing out ritualized roles of submission and success. In hazing, the confusing mix of play and violence, pain and encouragement, fear and joy, ordeal and acceptance, and the hyper-exaggerated sense of brutality fueled by the mental disorientation of alcohol abuse (hazing is almost always accompanied by massive dosages of alcohol), works to prove that honourable loyalty to the group is the highest good. (p. 35-36)

Hazing activities may be a type of play designed to inculcate members of an organization. This form of play, which I call *plazing*, merges the characteristics of play, particularly play that establishes hierarchy and conformity, with the characteristics of hazing to form a dangerous environment where young men long for and will do whatever it takes to achieve belonging.

Characteristics of Plazing

The basement hazing is accepted in the play frame for several reasons. First, by consenting to participate in the play frame, students consent to the activities and rules in the play frame (Houseman, 2001; Reizler, 1941). This is why “they agreed to participate” is a common excuse offered for hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008). To refuse to consent to play might mean exclusion from the group (Johnson, 2002b; Sutton-Smith, 1983). This consent is important because it results in greater willingness to engage in behaviors that are not always desirable. Participants “agree to the play frame and take some pleasure from the experience, even if that pleasure seems like pain” (Mechling, 2008, p. 63).

Second, the play frame is “the laboratory of the possible. To play fully and imaginatively is to step sideways into another reality, between the cracks of ordinary life” (Hendricks, 2006, p. 1). It creates an alternate reality where participants can reinvent themselves, behave in ways they normally would not, or be deviant together and then return to their real selves once the play concludes (Goffman, 1961; Hendricks, 2006). Because play feels unserious and temporary to the players, the play frame allows for experimentation with behaviors that might not be acceptable or are viewed as deviant in other settings (Grayzel, 1978; Sato, 1989), a kind of deep play (Geertz, 1973) where high stakes and risk-taking lead to greater cohesiveness and commitment.

Third, powerful meanings of self and group identity are generated in the play frame. Play creates a “shared awareness that participants have separated themselves voluntarily from the normal course of events. To play together is to commit to one another” (Hendricks, 2006, p. 14). New members engage in behaviors within the play frame they ordinarily would not do because of the meanings they assign to these

experiences (Sweet, 2004). For example, showing resolve in the face of abusive hazing demonstrates willingness to sacrifice for the group and strength, not weakness or submission. The meanings generated in the play frame often extend outside the frame into reality (Manning, 1983). The frame serves as a kind of permeable membrane that transmits the play frame meanings of activities and not the meanings generated by the activities outside the play frame. Those who have experienced hazing often speak with fondness about their hazing experiences. They reflect on the intimacy built around shared experience. This is in alignment with the role of play among boys, where “underneath the rough-and-tumble games where boys are seeking to feel part of the action and striving for excellence in the company of their buddies, they are building relationships” (Pollack, 1998, p. 190). However, the meanings generated from the experiences are not the same meanings that these behaviors might generate outside the play frame.

Fourth, the play frame allows the ritualized meta-play necessary to create a rite of passage. As discussed earlier, in pursuit of a rite of passage to establish masculinity, peer groups, like fraternities, often construct ritualized hardships in a play frame as a way for members to prove their manhood (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Mechling, 2008; Raphael, 1988). The rite of passage activities in the play frame thus create important meanings and statuses that carry across the permeable membrane into the real world of the organization. Van Gennep (1960) identified common themes among the many rites of passage he observed that have many parallels to the fraternity-joining process. First, the individual is separated from others, which occurs in the fraternity setting through social isolation of new members and an emphasis on not being distracted from the work of the fraternity. Next, the novitiate is secluded from his previous life. Fraternities often ask new members

to do activities only with the fraternity or make tasks so time consuming there is not time to socialize with others. In addition, there are dietary taboos. In fraternities, often new members are restricted from alcohol or from accessing their meal plans, or they are asked to eat disgusting concoctions. Additionally, novitiates may modify their bodies. New members may be branded, get a tattoo, or have their heads shaved, all as a rite of passage.

Finally, play is fun. If hazing occurs in the play frame, it too must be fun, or it would break the frame, and the members would no longer be at play. Subsequently, the person who breaks the frame might also be excluded from the group (Bowman, 1978; Goffman, 1974; Mechling, 2009). In support, Campo, Poulos, and Sipple (2005) and Johnson (2002b) found that many students described hazing as fun. Hazing in the play frame creates a Mardi-Gras effect, a phenomenon that allows individuals to behave in ways outside of normal behavior as long as everyone is having fun and no one is visibly hurt (Zimbardo, 2007). Even branding or paddling, while the source of pain or injury, can be perceived as fun if it leads to connection, acceptance, comradery, and celebration. To show that one is hurt would thrust one outside the play frame. Within the play frame, norms, rules, and expectations are often stretched and tested through competition, games of chance, structured chaos, mimicry, theatre, and ritualized performance (Huizinga, 1950), which Mechling (2009) ponders when he asks, “Is hazing play?” Do these hazing activities “richly enhance the play frame and give hazing its meanings in the construction of a mature, heterosexual member of the group” (Mechling, 2009, p. 57)?

Types of Play

Play manifests in several ways across a spectrum of play structures (Coakley, 1978). At one extreme is spontaneous play. In this type of play, meanings and norms are

constructed organically. Social control and sanctioning occur through informal actions within the group. Individuals have a high degree of freedom and are free to enter and leave the grouping at their choosing. Rewards arise in enjoyment of the play behavior itself. At the other end of the spectrum is competitive play. In competitive play, such as organized sports, actions within the group are determined by pre-established rules and meanings. Social control, norms, and sanctioning are externally determined and often very formalized. Individual freedom is limited to the expectations as articulated within the member's role, and the stability of the group is not dictated by the presence of certain members. Rewards are given to group members by external entities.

In the case of fraternities, each chapter may map the organization in a different location on the play continuum based upon cultural norms and expectations of the group. In alignment with the conceptual model in Chapter 1, the level of hazing increases with a more competitive orientation on the spectrum. The more rigid the expectations for behavior, the more rules that are in place, and the more status as an external reward is valued, the more likely the group is to use placating behaviors to police the members' gender performances. This policing is conducted within multiple types of play, each of which has its own features and characteristics: competition, games of chance, structured chaos, and mimicry, theatre, and ritualized performance (Caillois, 2001; Huizinga, 1950).

Competition

Competition between the new members and initiates is commonplace. Through wrestling, drinking contests, pranks, video game tournaments, sexual conquests, sporting events, and other risk-taking activities, new members compete against the members of the chapter or against one another to prove their masculinity. In support of this claim, one of

DeSantis' (2007) interviewees stated, "A lot of those guys leave high school, and they're pussies. Making them play football or wrestle or whatever makes them tougher—into men" (p. 93). The competitions serve as a masculine space for demonstrating gender (Messner, 1990; Parker & White, 1999). There are two primary ways competitions are constructed: as a war or as a game.

Hazing as War

In many cases, these competition activities are framed as faux war between the new members and members (DeSantis, 2007; Fink, 2010). Men are socialized from some of their first group-play experiences to think of play as an us-versus-them experience, a battle between good and evil. This concept of war turns a new member into a warrior willing to suffer stoically, choose the success of the group over his own needs, and risk his own wellbeing over the potential of losing organization or individual status (Malszecki, 2004; McCarthy, 1994). The view of hazing as war also sanctions the use of violence in the name of play, domination, submission, and success. Aggression becomes acceptable as long it occurs within the rules (Mechling, 2009; Messner, 1990). Competition with other fraternal groups also proves loyalty to the group (Malszecki, 2004) and is why physical fights between fraternities escalate.

Hazing as a Game

Whether it be through an organized sporting event, drinking game, raids of the chapter house, or wrestling, many of the hazing behaviors experienced by students are presented in the form of a game (Malszecki, 2004; Pascoe, 2007; West, 2001). Drinking games are a common form of hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008). Games serve as a way to manifest acceptable gender performance (Parker & White, 1999; West, 2001) and

become a contest for representing the ideal masculinity of the group. First, many fraternity hazing activities include rules for new members about where they can sit, the doors through which they can enter the house, greetings toward members, what to wear, what they can talk about with outsiders, and more (Arnold, 2004; Kimmel, 2008; Leemon, 1972; Raphael, 1988). To score the game-winning touchdown, to get the date with the pretty woman at the party, or to outdrink the others, all serve as a mechanism to reinforce masculine status over others. It is little wonder why hazing is often structured as a game. Games are generally structured to have a clear winner, and hazing is about establishing dominance. Thus, the games are often unfairly stacked in the favor of the members because for the new members to win is a threat to the masculine hierarchy of the group and often results in retribution from the members (Leemon, 1972).

Games of Chance

Another form of play is the game of chance. A game of chance is a game in which the player has no control over the outcome and winning is a result of fate rather than dominating an opponent. In the case of fraternity hazing, this manifests in several forms. One common form is through the completion of tasks determined by the members. These tasks can be anything from spending time with the member, to cleaning his room, to doing his homework. The task type and the satisfactory completion of these tasks are outside the control of the initiate and often change frequently. The initiated members determine the privileges, power, and rewards for the new member.

A second type of a game of chance is the presence of physical or mental tests or activities that are designed for the new members to fail (Fink, 2010), for example, administering a test based upon material that was not provided or a scavenger hunt with

impossible-to-obtain items. In both cases, being willing to submit to ever-changing rules or endure tests increases the induction costs (Cimino, 2013b), demonstrates one's commitment to the organization, establishes willingness to conform to group gender norms, and at the same time establishes a clear in-group/out-group dichotomy. Being willing to endure these hardships "proves one's manhood as well as one's worthiness to belong to the organization" (Mechling, 2008, p. 61).

Mimicry

The third type of play is mimicry, which is an exaggerated form of real life (Goffman, 1974). Hazing and performance of masculinity are both in large part theatre (Nuwer, 2004). Initiated members act disappointed in new members to encourage their greater conformity, give compelling speeches about the value of loyalty, and yell and scream during line-ups as a form of intimidation. The Stanford prison experiment (Zimbardo, 2007) is an excellent example of hazing as mimicry type of play. The guards and prisoners played their adopted roles in an overconforming fashion. Mimicry occurs through the creation of informal rituals, the granting of nicknames, homoerotic imitation, and manipulation of appearance through the wearing of certain attire as group identification (Johnson, 2002b), such as a uniform, an embarrassing costume, or nudity as a form of dress different than what one might wear outside the play frame.

Rituals

As a form of meta-play where organizations play at ritual, fraternities often concoct semi-official rituals designed to measure the new member's stoicism, loyalty, and willingness to sacrifice for the group as a type of mimicry or theatre (Raphael, 1988; Walker, 1968). For example, members might turn down the lights, light candles, and

wear robes to make new members believe they are participating in a serious ritual. Upon being called into the room, the new member is quizzed by the chapter president. First, he asks a serious question, and another serious question, then an inappropriate or funny question. As the members hold back their laughter in an attempt to maintain the theatrical nature of the event, the new member learns that the ritual is not serious.

Nicknames

The use of names and granting of nicknames is a form of theatre, as it represents taking on an alternate role. Naming is an important element of societal inclusion, as it constitutes acceptance into a given grouping (Sweet, 2004; van Gennepe, 1960). Many organizations refuse to call new members by their given names and instead refer to them as “pledge” only. New members may also need to address members with the salutation brother followed by last name, such as Brother Santos. This formality among same-aged peers creates a sense of hierarchy and status differential. The granting of a nickname to new members, no matter how humiliating or inappropriate, is often a source of pride as it indicates inclusion into the organization (Arnold, 2004).

Homoerotic Imitation

The use of sexualized, homoerotic, or feminizing hazing is also a form of mimicry play and asserts dominance. By requiring the new members to dress as women, act out feminine or gay stereotypes, engage in mock sex with one another, and perform homoerotic songs or dances in front of women establishes that the new members are not as masculine as the members. Additionally, it also serves as a tool for new members to assert their heterosexuality by demonstrating they are not very good at the homoerotic behavior (Anderson et al., 2012; Curry, 1991; Dundes & Dundes, 2002; Mechling, 2008).

Many hazing activities between 1845 and 1980 depict the new member as feminine or gay (James, 1998; Syrett, 2009). Sadly, the sexualization of hazing through the enactment of faux rape or actual rape has populated many news headlines in recent years (Macur, 2016). Several recent high school hazing events have resulted in the violent sexual assault of teammates as a form of dominance.

Manipulation of Appearance

Finally, the manipulation of appearance is an important part of hazing play. It can serve as a technique to other the new member and establish a distinction between the in-group and the out-group and, when aligned with the group, create a sense of shared group identity. This includes the cutting or the shaving of the new member's hair (Bryshun, 1997; Johnson, 2002) to build cohesiveness and demonstrate loyalty. In the same vein, the use of a uniform, an embarrassing costume, or a tattoo or a brand serves the same function of aligning the individual with the organization while also othering him. Nudity (which is in effect a type of costume) is both manipulation of appearance and homoerotic. Nudity is humiliating to new members and serves as a way to assert organizational power and separate new members and members.

Structured Chaos

The final form of play is structured chaos or inhibiting the full cognition or mental control of the players. Structured chaos features prominently in fraternity hazing through alcohol, deprivation of sleep, placing new members in unknown spaces, and practical jokes. Waking new members in the middle of night or giving the new members so much work they cannot possibly get a full night's sleep reduces a new member's sense of control and capacity for decision-making. Another common form of structured chaos is

placing new members in unknown spaces, such as dropping them off in an unknown location or using blindfolds to prevent the new member from knowing their location. The use of practical jokes also manipulates reality and creates a type of “rule governed aggression” (Lyman, 1998, p. 175) that “suspend[s] the rules of everyday life” (Lyman, 1998, p. 170), and creates a play frame where status is determined by the ways in which individuals respond to the jokes. Frequently, jokes are designed to embarrasses, emasculate, or feminize (Pascoe, 2007). To not be able to respond appropriately to a joke emasculates men, reduces their status, and breaks the frame.

One of the greatest ways to remove player control is through alcohol. Since the ability to consume large amounts of alcohol is a measure of masculinity, and if hazing is performance of gender, then the logic follows that alcohol will serve as a prime hazing tool. The ability to drink a lot or to “puke-and-rally” is an important measure of a man’s status among his peer group (DeSantis, 2007; Kimmel, 2008; Peralta, 2007). For example, in one fraternity, if men were not drinking enough they were told to “man the fuck up” (Anderson et al., 2012, p. 442). Alcohol consumption is a frequent form of hazing, as cited by Hoover (1999), and factored heavily in studies by Anderson, McCormack, and Lee (2012), Malszecki (2004), and Arnold (2004). The interplay between alcohol and hazing further supports that hazing is a performance of gender with alcohol as a tool to conduct the tests of gender. Additionally, once drunk, new members tend to roughly play (Workman, 2001), which further reinforces hegemonic masculine status and bonding with one another (Bird, 1996; Kiesling, 2005; West, 2001).

The drinking culture in fraternities supports engagement in dangerous or deviant behaviors as funny, heroic, and intimacy forming (Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Kiesling,

2005; Snyder, 1994; Workman, 2001). It is endorsed by the subculture and therefore required for belonging (Sato, 1989). The engagement in alcohol-fueled play is “rowdy, macho, and dangerous—the more danger the better. Rather than recalling dangerous behavior critically, the discourse is told as a humorous anecdote” (Workman, 2001, p. 432). Drunk play creates a sense of adventure and risk-taking, a form of edgework that helps individuals gain status within the group (Cho et al., 2010). Those who cannot drink an acceptable level or engage in deviance break the play frame and are othered.

The Role of the Fraternity House

No discussion of gender and fraternity is complete without an exploration of the role of fraternity houses as spaces for plazing. The house or suite serves as a gendered center of male power, where men control access to the space, the alcohol within it, and the privilege associated with inclusion in the space (Syrett, 2009). Similar to the tribal ceremonial hut, men establish intimacy with one another in the space.

Just as with the bar and the locker room for athletes (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Curry, 2000), the fraternity house is a space free from the eyes of authority figures. It is a space where secrecy reigns supreme and where within its walls there is ultimate freedom. The fraternity house often serves the same functions as the locker room:

...a haven where veterans are the rulers and rookies must pledge their allegiance in addition to proving their worth...masculinity is held in the highest regard and anyone straying from that standard will...be put in his place by being labeled a girl or homosexual....a social pecking order emerges among the athletes where the strongest are placed at the top and weakest are placed at the bottom. The young man...learns the climate calls for him to exhibit a sort of hypermasculinity that will leave no room for questions. (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004, p. 70)

The use of the fraternity house for plazing serves three functions. First, authority figures will not observe the behaviors and discipline the organization. Second, it serves as a locus of power, a space to control the play behaviors. Finally, if unseen by outsiders,

the gendered space allows for testing and negotiation of masculine performances without fear of losing status if the group deviates from idealized campus gender norms.

Breaking the Play Frame

Each hazing-qualified element of play is a test of masculinity. These tests compel men and boys to gain or lose status within the group through their actions. What happens when the play frame breaks? Or when one of the players no longer agrees that “this is play?” The play frame is incredibly fragile (Mechling, 2009). One misstep and the frame crumbles. The play frame breaks when someone in the frame does not follow the rules of the play frame (Huizinga, 1950). This occurs when an in-group member of the fraternity, who wields more power, uses the play frame to fuel their selfish needs or where their action in the play frame actually means what it is intended to mean, for example, aggression or behaviors that seriously injure someone.

The frame also breaks when new members seeking in-group status fail to demonstrate the organizational values of strength, competitiveness, control, and emotional stoicism (Johnson, 2001) by following the rules of the play frame. For example, a new member can break the play frame by talking to outsiders about what happens inside the play frame, thus breaking the code of silence in the patriarchy (Kimmel, 2008). New members may opt not to participate in hazing activities, which breaks the frame. The play frame can also break when individuals seeking membership fail to behave in appropriately gendered ways in alignment with the play frame rules. For example, a new member breaks the frame by refusing to clean the house, play an assigned prank, or drink the requisite amount. Refusing to follow the play frame rules means an individual is unwilling to conform to group norms and is rejecting the intimacy

of the fraternity. By failing to demonstrate the appropriate gendered behaviors, the new member may experience greater plazing in an effort to bring the new member back into alignment, or he may be rejected from the organization (Collins & Markowsky, 1989; Johnson, 2002b, 2011).

A Gendered Form of Plazing

Hegemonic masculinity is always tested, never certain, and nearly always won through struggle. To be granted masculine status, if only for a split second, is a hard-won battle. As college-aged men explore their identities, one of the ways they seek to maintain a masculine identity is by constructing a reality where they can perform their idealized gender identity. The play frame is a space where men can act out and confirm these idealized gender performances. As soon as boys step onto the playground for the first time, they use play as a way to police gender. Why would this behavior stop upon adulthood? Through video games, sporting events, fighting, working out together, and sexual conquests, the college men who live in the fratriarchy act out gender in an effort to conform to subgroup norms (Donnelly & Young, 1988), develop intimacy with other men, often termed brotherhood (DeSantis, 2007), form friendships (Kiesling, 2005), and demonstrate loyalty (Malszecki, 2004).

Plazing is a performance of masculinity. It functions to establish members of the in-group and those in the out-group. In a single-gender group, this membership is measured by acceptability of gender behaviors. Plazing measures whether individuals are willing to abide by the gendered behavioral norms, rules, and expectations of the group, which are often stretched and tested within a play frame through competition, games of chance, structured chaos, and mimicry (Caillois, 2001).

The play frame feels safe. Free from the eyes of adults and disconnected with reality, it is a space where anything goes as long as everyone keeps pretending they are having fun and no one gets hurt so badly that authority figures find out. And pretend the new members do. This performance is essential. To not do so is to break the frame, to risk one's masculinity, and to chance exclusion from the group, so these young men complicity play along. The acceptable performance of gender within the play frame creates meanings that extend to reality, enabling entry into a coveted experience: the college fraternity.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

*“[The boys] found themselves eager to take a place in this demented but partly secure society. They were glad to touch the brown backs of the fence that hemmed in the terror and made it governable.”—William Golding, *Lord of the Flies* (1954)*

Conceptual Rationale for Methodological Approach

Human behavior is the complex interaction of the person, behavior, and the environment (Lewin, 1935). The cultures in which we engage, the norms, structures, and assumptions in our culture, the people with whom we associate, and the psychosocial processes through which we make sense of the world all play a role in our individual and collective behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes. This study takes a socio-constructivist approach (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) to understand the ways in which meaning is constructed around gender and hazing using play behaviors in fraternities. It assumes that all meanings and subsequent behaviors are subculturally created and maintained.

In this context, the fraternity serves as the vehicle through which gender is policed and behaviors are controlled using play. This study assumes that gender is societally produced through a complex interaction between cultural norms, individual behaviors, and socialization processes. However, in each fraternity subculture, the cultural gender norms and expressions of these norms through gendered behaviors vary (Donnelly, 1981; Donnelly & Young, 1988; Hesp & Brooks, 2009). Especially given that peer culture can compete with or overwhelm influence from parents in establishing gender performance

ideals (Risman & Myers, 1997), the fraternity setting is an important environment through which to understand subcultural gender construction. Hazing serves as a powerful socialization process to police gender expressions and see the same behavior policed in subsequent new member socialization processes, as participants transition and reconfigure their identities as members of the group (Turner, 1974; van Gennep, 1960). This process of gender identity formation is a process of aligning the self with situation (Teleford, 1996), which occurs by modeling, through which “new members of subcultures begin to deliberately adopt mannerisms and attitudes, and styles of dress, speech and behavior that they perceive to be characteristic of established members of the ‘achieved’ subculture” (Donnelly & Young, 1988, p. 224).

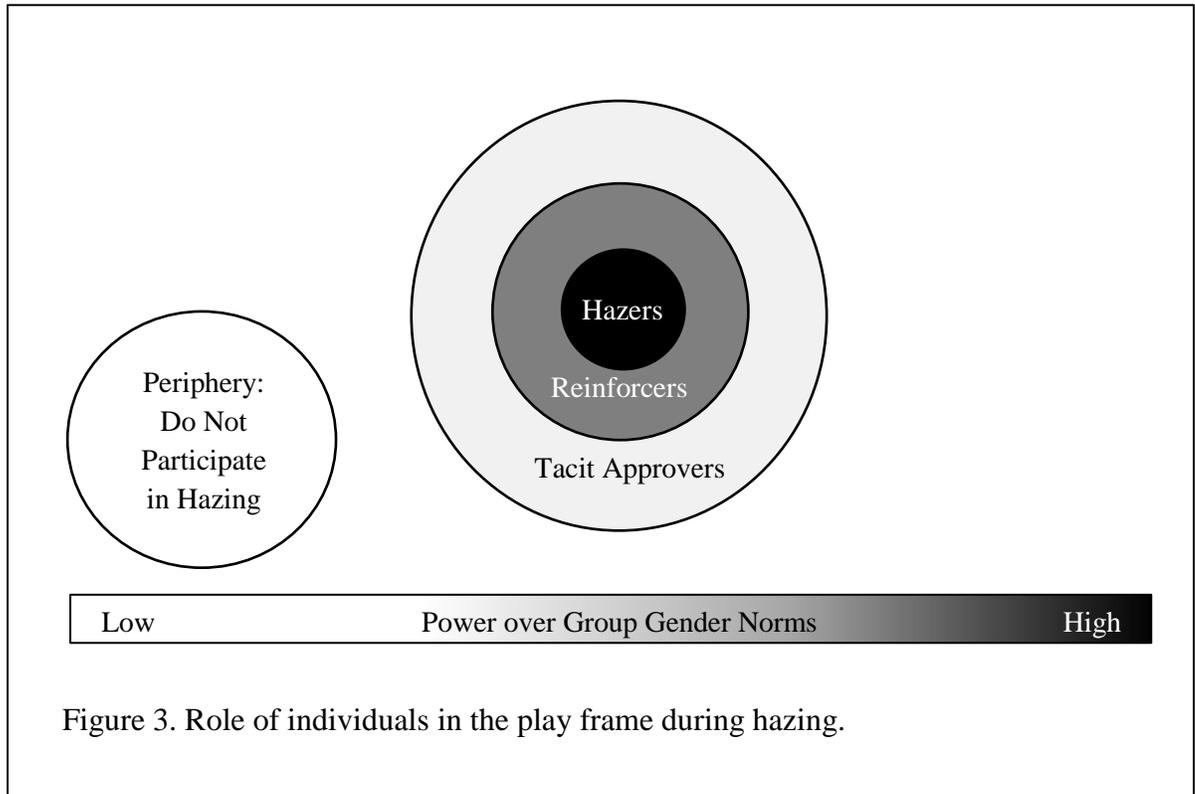
It is in the subcultural play frame where much of the gender policing occurs. The play frame has both constructed meaning and is a place where construction of meaning occurs. It is itself sub-culturally constructed, fluid, and ever changing. Within the play frame, social and relational meanings are made that carry outside the play frame into everyday behavior, while the true meanings of the play behaviors do not. These constructed meanings then define interactions, determine hierarchies, and establish relationships between the players outside the play frame. For boys, the play frame has been the primary space to learn gender-appropriate play behaviors (Messner, 2002).

Because gender identity and relational meanings are subculturally constructed, this study examined both the individual and the group as units of analysis. There are three ways to better understand groups (Carron, Widmeyer, & Brawley, 1985). First, one must understand the individual group members and their characteristics. Second, the interactions between group members are important to study, and finally, the group as an

entity is an important unit of analysis. One cannot understand hazing fully without looking at group identity, but individuals within the group help to shape these group processes, and thus they must also be studied. It is important to note, however, that the collective group gender identity is not simply the average of all subculture members. Instead, some individuals have more influence on the content and constructs of the play frame, and thus they control gender norms.

Similar to the bullying literature, where the desire for conformity is a strong predictor of willingness to support bullying (Kuntsche, Knibbe, Engels, & Gmel, 2007), it is valuable to conceptualize the organization as a set of concentric rings of power over organizational gender norms. In studying bullying, researchers often distinguish between those who bully, those who assist the bully, the reinforcer who provides the audience, those who take the side of the victim, and those who do nothing (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996; Sutton & Smith, 1999). Similarly, in a discussion of athletic male peer groups, whose relationships are centered on play behaviors, Messner (2002) identified four groups: the leaders, the audience, the marginals, and the target. The leaders direct their attention and energy toward the target, the audience supports and does not intervene, and the marginals lack the organizational power to intervene. Applying this concept to hazing in the play frame, as shown in Figure 3, the hazers, who are the primary policers of new member behavior, reside in the center of the circle with each subsequent ring of participation having less power and control over the play frame where gender norms are established. The reinforcers participate in the play-like hazing at the direction of the hazers, and the tacit approvers observe and allow the plazing to happen and say nothing. Those in the periphery refuse to participate in the

frame but lack the willingness or power to stop it. It is essential to consider this dynamic when evaluating group gender identity formation. Those with the power over socialization processes may construct the meaning for the organization.



The various roles of group members in hazing have been rarely explored. There are a fair number of studies that used qualitative methods, such as case studies, to look at an individual fraternity culture or a few chapters as comparison (Anderson, 2008; Arnold, 2004; DeSantis, 2007; Rhoads, 1995; Sweet, 2004) as well as studies that used vignettes followed by surveying to measure attitudes or predict behaviors in response to the vignette (Cimino, 2013b; Drout, 1993; McCreary, 2012; Richardson, Wang, & Hall, 2012). These studies, while they contribute to our understanding of hazing phenomena, did not fully explore the true experiences of a representative sample of those who

experience hazing. They also fail to help us understand why some groups haze and others do not. Few studies (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005; Owen et al., 2008) surveyed students directly about their fraternity hazing experiences, and in most cases, these surveys simply measured frequency of hazing or reasons for tolerating hazing. Additionally, only the studies conducted by Campo et al. (2005), Owen et al. (2008), and Ehrlich (2013) asked students about the hazing members do to others. If we are to understand why hazing occurs in groups, we need to understand the characteristics of groups who haze and those within those groups who are the hazers rather than the characteristics only of those who are hazed.

There are three interconnected layers in this study: (a) the individual; (b) the group; and (c) a cohesive level between the individual and group layers determined by the individual's alignment with the group. At the individual level, I sought to understand the individual's gender identity, the individual's hazing experiences, and his role in hazing others. At the group level, I sought to understand the perceived gender identity of the group because this can determine the behavior of individuals within the group as they seek to conform to group norms. Finally, the degree to which an individual's identity is aligned with group identity may help determine whether individuals will make choices to support and maintain hazing that they believe strengthens the group or, at minimum, allow some latitude of acceptance. For example, McCreary and Schutts (2013) found significant correlations among conformity to group norms and hazing tolerance.

Research Hypotheses Expanded with Specific Research Questions

To expand on the questions offered in Chapter 1, the research questions and sub-questions for the study are as follows:

- Hypothesis 1: Hazing is performance of gender identity.
 - To what extent is there a relationship between individual gender identity and the identification of masculinity constructs as desirable outcomes of new member education?
 - To what extent is there a relationship between group gender identity and the identification of masculinity constructs as outcomes of new member education?
 - To what extent is there a relationship between the gap between individual and group gender identity and identification of masculinity constructs as outcomes of new member education?
 - To what extent does the role an individual plays in new member education have a relationship with his gender identity?
 - To what extent is there a relationship between perceived group gender identity and the role an individual plays in new member socialization?
 - To what extent is there a relationship between new member socialization role and the gap between individual and group gender identity?
 - To what extent is there a relationship between hazing frequency and either individual adherence to gender norms or perceived group adherence to gender norms?
 - To what extent is there a relationship between individual gender identity and participation in specific hazing activities?
 - To what extent is there a relationship between group gender identity and chapter participation in specific hazing activities?
- Hypothesis 2: Hazing is play.
 - What hazing activities meet play criteria?
 - Do the hazing activities reported fall more strongly into one type of play category than another?
 - Does the frequency of hazing vary by play category?

- To what extent is the role an individual plays in new member socialization associated with the number of play characteristics?
- Hypothesis 3: Hazing is gendered play.
 - To what extent is there a relationship between individual gender identity and the likelihood of identifying hazing activities as play?
 - To what extent is there a relationship between group gender identity and likelihood of identifying hazing activities as play?
 - To what extent is there a relationship between group gender identity and the presence of hazing in each play category?

Overall Challenges in Studying Hazing

Hazing is a beast that is difficult to study due to several methodological challenges. Schnur (2007) detailed several reasons why hazing is so infrequently studied. One of those challenges includes the code of silence within fraternity cultures that restricts access to information for outsiders, especially those members perceived as authority figures. Just as the boys built walls in *Lord of the Flies* (Golding, 1954) to keep out the beast, the fraternity is constructed as a space free from the rigors of adult life, often in opposition to those who govern their existence. Colleges and universities and fraternal organizations also, at times, create access barriers in fear that a hazing study will reveal concerning behaviors that increase institutional or organizational liability. Finally, obtaining true reports of the scope of hazing is also challenging. Schnur (2007) suggested that this occurs because hazing is “itself rooted, primally and doggedly, in deception” (p. 78). Thus, in a study of hazing, participants may lie about the severity of hazing, who participates, who knows, and who approves of it for fear of organizational reprimand. This phenomenon is exacerbated by the fact, as established in Chapter 2, that students do not identify behaviors as hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008), perhaps because they are

simply engaging in gendered play. While some of these challenges are unavoidable, identifying these difficulties informs the methodological approach for this study.

There are three specific methodological issues that must be addressed: the best ways to ask questions about sensitive topics, the survey mode that will elicit the most accurate responses, and the decision on the part of the respondent about whether to report honestly. Specifically, the ways in which questions are worded can influence responses, and the sensitive nature of hazing may lead respondents to lie for fear of reputational issues for themselves or their organization, thus triggering a social desirability bias (Paulhus, 2002). Additionally, different survey modes can elicit different levels of response when surveying about sensitive topics.

Social Desirability Bias

Social desirability bias is the tendency for participants to answer questions in a way that makes them or their organization appear in a more favorable light. Socially desirable responding occurs most often around topics of a sensitive nature, such as drug or alcohol abuse, racism, or sexual deviance. Respondents often respond both consciously and unconsciously in socially desirable ways as a mode of self-preservation, to avoid possible negative consequences should their true answers become known, to maintain an image they wish to project, and to please interviewers (Paulhus, 2002). There are two characteristics of social desirability: the desire for social approval from others and the desire to have traits that are viewed as socially desirable (Preissendorfer & Wolter, 2014). These two characteristics lead participants to skew their answers, particularly in surveys about sensitive topics. For example, in a survey of 3,400 Germans who had committed a criminal offense in the three years prior to the survey, only 63% of respondents gave a

valid answer to the question about whether they were convicted of a crime (Preisendorfer & Wolter, 2014). Additionally, groups have been shown to lie more often than individuals do when they felt they would be believed and have higher levels of self-preservation interest (Cohen, Gunia, Kim-Jun, & Murnighan, 2009). Data collection methods can have a larger impact on social desirability as survey questions increase in sensitivity (Richman, Kiesler, Weisband, & Drasgow, 1999). It is for this reason, I turn my attention to these two features: sensitive questions and survey mode.

Sensitive Questions

There are three ways a question can be sensitive. Questions can pose a threat to the respondent or others if the honest answer to the question were known, the question asks respondents to report socially deviant behaviors, or the question can be viewed as intrusive to privacy (Tourangeau & Yan, 2007). The use of sensitive questions affects response rate and response accuracy. While non-response rate does not seem to increase with more sensitive questions, sensitive questions can result in missing item data or, more likely, misreporting of data (Tourangeau, Rips, & Rasinski, 2000).

To better understand the best methods to elicit honest responses in studying sensitive topics, there is value in examining the approaches used in studies of rape proclivity and aggression, two topics with a high likelihood of socially desirable responding. Tourangeau and Yan (2007) and Catania et al. (1996) suggested using forgiving wording (e.g., We all have engaged in some pranks in our new member programs...) or to assume the behavior (e.g., How many times did you do dishes as a new member?). Interviewers or proctors who are viewed as sympathetic also increase the likelihood of respondents choosing to answer questions honestly. Malamuth (1981)

examined the proclivity to commit rape and used hypothetical questions to gauge likelihood of participation using a Likert scale. Similarly, Porter and Critelli (1992) separated the actual acts of sexual violence from tactics used to commit sexual violence and found individuals were more likely to report about tactics. Conroy, Silva, Newcomer, Walker, and Johnson (2001) asked about the legitimacy of violent behavior in their study of aggression rather than asking individuals to report about their own behaviors. Similarly, Bradburn and Sudman (1979) suggested that asking questions about a friend's behavior is a good way to lower the likelihood of inaccurate response. Men are more influenced by question wording than women (Catania et al., 1996), thus for this study, the wording of the instrument assumed participation in activities to encourage more honest reporting. Additionally, through the introduction of the survey, I, as proctor, introduced myself as sympathetic of the fraternity experience to reduce fear of penalty for honest reporting about fraternity activities. Additionally, the survey did not specifically use the term hazing to avoid the stigma associated with its problematic definition.

Survey Mode

The mode of survey also influences the likelihood of honest reporting. There are benefits to both paper-and-pencil, self-administered questionnaires, and computer-assisted surveying in minimizing social desirability bias. Paper-and-pencil, self-administered questionnaires allow for privacy, as they reduce the fear that a student's IP address is being tracked (Leeuw & Hox, 2008). However, in a group-administered setting, paper-and-pencil questionnaires may still make respondents suspicious about responding truthfully if others can see their response. This results in socially desirable responses (Bates & Cox, 2008; Turner et al., 1998; Vereecken & Maes, 2006).

Computer-assisted surveys are more effective for sensitive topics (Lensvelt-Mulders, 2008) like hazing. In a meta-analysis of 61 studies that compared data collection methods and honest reporting of sensitive information, the more sensitive the question, the greater the impact data collection methods had on honest reporting, with computer-based administration resulting in lesser socially desirable responding (Richman et al., 1999). For example, in a study of adolescent sexual behaviors and drug and alcohol use, mode of administration made little difference with low-risk questions, but higher-risk questions resulted in more honest answers with computer-assisted self-interviewing (Turner et al., 1998). Taking a computer-based survey also allows some level of anonymity. While Turner et al. (1998) found no difference in reporting of male-female sexual contact between the two survey modes, the computer-administered survey had significant positive effects on the reported male-male sexual contact, violence, and drug use during sexual contact.

This finding is supported by a study of child maltreatment among college-aged women. There was no difference in reporting sexual and physical abuse based upon survey method, but child abuse, mood change, and distress was reported more often in the computer-based method (DiLillo, DeGue, Kras, Di Loreto-Colgan, & Nash, 2006). Participants are also more likely to answer honestly and are less likely to skip a question in a web administration of the survey (Kreuter, Presser, & Tourangeau, 2008; Sonenstein, 1998; Turner et al., 1998). Finally, as an additional benefit, computer-aided surveys also allow for branching and allow the computer to control the sequence in which questions are answered (Dillman, 2008; Turner et al., 1998).

Adolescents in particular are more sensitive to method than adults. In studies surveying drug use, running away, and vandalism, adolescents were generally more likely to report marijuana and other drug use, vandalism, and likelihood of running away using computer-assisted self-interviewing as opposed to a self-administered, paper-and-pencil questionnaire (Beebe, Harrison, & McRae, 1998; Wright, Aquilino, & Supple, 1998). Thus computer-assisted self-interviewing is the preferred method for sensitive topics, particularly for the young adult population in fraternity culture. However, because fraternity culture also has a high degree of mistrust for authority, it was important to implement techniques that ensure anonymity.

Anonymity has been correlated with response accuracy (Bates & Cox, 2008). In the seminal study on athletics hazing frequency, Hoover (1999) guaranteed anonymity as a way to increase response frequency. Additionally, in a study of young men's substance use, Moore and Ames (2002) found anonymous reporting inspired the same confidence as confidential reporting. When respondents can look back at previously answered questions and anonymity is assured, it appears that social desirability is lower (Richman et al., 1999).

A commonly used hybrid model of computer-assisted self-interviewing is often used in educational environments (Leeuw & Hox, 2008). In the hybrid format, a proctor is present during the survey administration. This can be beneficial because the proctor can answer questions, help if there is a technical issue, and convince potential respondents to participate. It can, however, result in interviewer effects if the proctor does not establish trust with respondents. Interviewer or proctor presence does not appear to

have an impact on responses if the survey administrator does not know what is being reported (Tourangeau, Couper, & Steiger, 2003; Tourangeau & Yan, 2007).

The presence of others in addition to the proctor is also an important consideration. Social desirability is higher when individuals fear that a bystander may see their responses (Aquilino, Wright, & Supple, 2000; Tourangeau & Yan, 2007). For this reason, to minimize the likelihood that someone in the group administration of this study saw responses, the fraternity was encouraged, if possible, to meet in a space large enough to allow seats between participants or to permit participants to move around the room to allow space between them.

The challenge in survey-based research lies in balancing the rewards of survey mode with the costs. Based on the research literature, it appears that using a computer-assisted survey administration with proctor presence is the best way to gain respondent participation, set the tone for the survey, and minimize social desirability distortion on a very sensitive topic. Each of these features was part of the many considerations in the research design approach for this study.

Research Design Approach

This study attempted to better understand the ways gender identity relates to play behaviors that are hazing using survey research methods. Through surveying, researchers collect information about attitudes, behaviors, opinions, and demographics. The goal is then to employ statistical tests on the data, assuming that by surveying a strategically selected sample of the population, researchers can generalize about the population (Fowler, 2009). Every decision about survey development and implementation affects whether the survey has validity and reliability and provides data that accurately reflects

the larger population. Employing a strategy called Tailored Design Method (TDM) (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2009), researchers determine how research literature informs question creation, whether to use probability sampling, the number and ways the population will be sampled, and the acceptable response rate—all with the intent to reduce error.

Survey Construction

The survey, located in Appendix C, began with verbally given friendly and explicit instructions that conveyed inside knowledge of fraternity life in order to establish that I was sympathetic to organizational goals and processes (see Appendix A). These were followed by instructions on how to complete the survey and a statement of informed consent, located in Appendix B, discussing confidentiality and anonymity. Because the computer-based survey was administered with a proctor present and the sample consisted of college-aged men, who are unlikely to read detailed instructions, the survey instructions were intentionally brief.

To reduce risk and increase rewards for responding, I implemented several strategies suggested by Lensvelt-Mulders (2008). I established trust through support for group ideals and goals in the opening letter and in introducing the survey and emphasized the importance of participation in supporting positive perceptions of fraternity, something most members care about deeply. I also used existing time in a chapter meeting that respondents had already allocated so as not to take them away from other work with the expectation that this increased survey length tolerance. Additionally, I offered a financial incentive to individuals and organizations for participation.

The appearance of the survey is important (Dillman, 2008; Leeuw & Hox, 2008). The survey was formatted in University of Massachusetts colors to demonstrate that the survey is not tied to the participant's institution. Survey questions were broken up so that participants did not have scroll pages. Additionally, similar items were placed together (Peytchev, Couper, McCabe, & Crawford, 2006). This also reduced survey administration time (Couper, Traugott, & Lamias, 2001).

In formatting the survey questions, I constructed items that students were able to remember and easily answer. To reduce recall error (Fowler, 2009; Groves et al., 2009), the survey drew upon respondent's memory of the most recent new member socialization process, which would have been in the last year most likely. The survey began with some gate questions to assist with recall (Koss, 1993). Additionally, because the new member experience is generally consistent from year to year within chapters and is such a defining experience for so many fraternity men, recall error should have been small.

I made efforts to reduce the cognitive complexity of the survey as much as possible by using language respondents would understand and by simplifying questions (Fowler & Cosenza, 2008). By formatting the survey with closed questions that have ordered choices in a grid format, the survey appeared as if it had fewer questions using a range of responses. All but one section of the survey were single-response items.

Particularly, when surveying about socially desirable topics, participants are more likely to respond when they can use a Likert scale. Additionally, wording questions in a way that assumes participation in activities can help increase the likelihood of reporting (Lensvelt-Mulders, 2008). Also worth noting, respondents are more consistent in their

ratings when word labels are used on Likert scales as opposed to numbers (Fowler & Cosenza, 2008). As a result, all scales were labeled using word descriptors.

Instrumentation

The goal was to create a survey instrument that maximized data collection and had a reasonable length, as college students do not complete surveys that are too long (Kypri, Gallagher, & Cashel-Smith, 2004). In the computer-assisted method in particular, there is a high pressure to keep the survey short, as many web-surveys are not completed to the end (Dillman, 2008). As a result, this study attempted to keep the survey administration time to 20 minutes or less. Among the 11 groups surveyed, survey administration length ranged from 15 to 23 minutes with an average time spent administering the survey of 18.5 minutes.

The computer-based survey had four sections. First, there were introductory questions to warm up students to the survey, followed by three sections that explored a different variable: gender, hazing, and play, followed by a fourth demographics section. The instrument was ordered “like a parabola” (Lensvelt-Mulders, 2008, p. 469), with less sensitive questions to begin, followed by more sensitive questions about hazing experiences and behaviors, and ending with a simple, demographic question. The first section explored gender using a well-used and tested gender instrument.

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-Short Form

Initially, measures of masculinity positioned masculine traits as immutable, natural, and culture free. The first instrument to measure masculinity was by Terman and Miles in 1936 (Smiler, 2004). The 1970s saw the birth of the androgyny movement (see, for example, Bem, 1974), followed by the development of an instrument by David and

Brannon (1976), who made extreme masculinity negative and positioned masculinity as opposite of femininity. The 1980s led to a focus on the strain caused by not meeting standards of masculinity (see, for example, O'Neil et al., 1986). Gender role conflict and gender role stress became an important ideological frame for understanding gender. The 1990s saw the acceptance of multiple masculinities, but this is something researchers still struggle to measure (Smiler, 2004).

Currently, most gender assessments generally measure what men *should* be like or what men *are* like (Thompson & Pleck, 1995). For example, the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986) assumes that men have a mismatch between what they are and what they seek to be. Applying a socio-constructivist frame, it is important to assume that individuals must assign meaning to certain gendered behaviors for them to be incorporated into gender identity. For example, even if a man exhibits behavior that is stereotypically masculine, if he does not believe it is relevant to his gender experience, it may not be a salient part of his identity formation (Wong et al., 2011).

The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) (Mahalik et al., 2003) is different from many of the previous instruments that measure endorsement of masculine norms. Instead, the CMNI measures how much respondents adhere to masculine norms through 11 factors, which were developed through focus groups and reviews of the literature: Winning, Emotional Control, Risk-taking, Violence, Power over Women, Dominance, Playboy, Self-reliance, Primacy of Work, Disdain for Homosexuals, and Pursuit of Status. The value of the CMNI is that it incorporates multiple instrument scales, reflects multiple masculine norms rather than a single masculine ideal, and focuses on gender role adherence rather than gender stress or strain.

The instrument uses a 4-point scale to measure conformity levels (extreme conformity, moderate conformity, moderate non-conformity, extreme non-conformity), and the statements are in the first person. The CMNI has good internal consistency (.94 for the total CMNI scale and for the subscales ranging from .72 to .91, which was generally supported by Smiler, 2006) and good validity; The CMNI subscales were significantly and positively related to other masculinity instruments (Levant, Rankin, Williams, Hasan, & Smalley, 2010; Mahalik et al., 2003), men scored higher on nine of the 11 scales (Mahalik et al., 2003; Smiler, 2006), and the CMNI showed high test-retest consistency (Mahalik et al., 2003). The instrument has been shown to be related to a number of hegemonic masculine behaviors, for example, rape myth acceptance and aggressive behavior (Locke & Mahalik, 2005), muscularity (Steinfeldt, Gilchrist, Halterman, Gomory, & Steinfeldt, 2011), and moral decision-making in a sporting environment (Steinfeldt, Rutkowski, Orr, & Steinfeldt, 2012).

The original 94-item instrument has a high response burden, and some of the factors are weaker than others. As a result, using confirmatory factor analysis, a 46-item instrument was developed that utilized only the highest-loading items (all over .60), resulting in the elimination of the Dominance and Pursuit of Status subscales (Parent & Moradi, 2009). The shortened instrument, CMNI-46, which has nine subscales, showed large correlations with the CMNI (.89 to .98 for the subscales) and acceptable Cronbach alphas from .77 to .91 (Parent & Moradi, 2009) to .78 to .89 for the subscales (Parent & Moradi, 2011) and .88 for the overall instrument (Parent & Moradi, 2009). The instrument demonstrated good face validity in comparison with other masculinity instruments (Parent & Moradi, 2011) and clear sex differences, particularly with

undergraduate students (Parent & Smiler, 2013), who are the subject of this study. The benefit of the shorter instrument is that it retains the multi-dimensionality of the original instrument, appears to fit more strongly to the initial conceptual model (Parent & Moradi, 2009), and takes less survey administration time.

One of the criticisms of masculinity instruments is that simply because a man subscribes to a gender norm does not mean that this norm is salient in his identity in relation to his reference group. For example, one man's peer group may value muscularity, and thus demonstrating muscularity may be more valuable to him in comparison to another man whose peer group does not prioritize muscularity as highly. To better understand both individual and group gender identity, I was interested in examining respondent views on their own gender ascriptions and what they perceive are their fraternity's dominant gender beliefs. For example, in a study where men completed a gender instrument as they believed they were, as they thought they should be, and as others thought they should be, there were statistically significant discrepancies for what they thought they should be and what they felt they were. Men who experienced a greater difference in their actual score and the more masculine behaviors they thought they ought to demonstrate were more aggressive (Weisbuch, Beal, & O'Neal, 1999). It is possible this same finding may occur with hazing as well. This study asked participants to complete the CMNI-46 for themselves and report the masculinity norms to which they think the majority of their brothers adhere. While it is possible there are some priming effects in asking individuals to first report their own gender norm conformity and then the group's norm conformity, the discrepancy between these scores provided insight into group conformity pressures and hazing attitudes and behaviors.

Hazing Measure

The second survey component, which examined hazing behaviors, is located in Appendix C. It included measures that are designed to assess the occurrence of hazing activities within chapters, the role individuals play in hazing activities as initiated members, and the intended outcomes of hazing activities. However, efforts were made not to use the term hazing for several reasons. First, Allan and Madden (2008) have established that students do not often agree that hazing behaviors meet the definition of hazing. Second, to use the term hazing requires defining hazing, which can be problematic and lead to underreporting. Kolivas and Gross (2007) asked about rape in behavioral terms rather than using the terms rape or sexual assault, which they found led to better responses and lessened the likelihood of misinterpretation among respondents. Similarly, Ireland and Power (2004) did not use the term bully in a study of bullying due to its problematic definition. Third, some respondents may answer in a more socially desirable way in order to avoid the stigma associated with hazing, a phenomenon also observed by Koss (1993) in sexual violence research.

Participants were first asked to indicate whether they initiated or not. Next, participants were asked an attitudinal measure. They were asked to indicate their level of desirability for their chapter's new member socialization process to achieve specific outcomes. Embedded in this framework is the belief that since individuals report on high-stakes behaviors that could potentially have negative consequences if their identities were known, anonymously surveying about attitudes increased the likelihood that individuals reported honestly. This strategy also lessens social desirability bias caused by students reporting attitudes that they believe to be socially acceptable (Dillman et al., 2009). The

list of new member experience outcomes was generated from the literature (Allan & Madden, 2008; DeSantis, 2007; Hinkle, 2006; Jensen et al., 1980; Scott, 2006) and was reviewed with a group of college students who are all members of fraternities and sororities. The 12 items also were tested in a pilot study with 96 fraternity men. These items used a balanced, four-category scale to avoid directional bias (Patten, 2009) that measures the extent certain goals of new member education are essential to the new member experience in the opinions of respondents.

The hazing activities in the instrument were modeled after the listing of activities used by Hoover (1999), Campo et al. (2005), Allan and Madden (2008), and Owen et al. (2008), for which there was substantial overlap. As recommended by Lensvelt-Mulders (2008), when surveying about sensitive topics, the survey was phrased in such a way that it assumed that the hazing behaviors were occurring. The resulting list included 15 items, such as sleep deprivation, manual servitude, eating, wearing or carrying items one would not normally carry, or activities that were embarrassing.

Additionally in alignment with Figure 3, which shows the role of members in hazing activities, participants were asked to indicate their role in participating as members by indicating whether (a) they asked new members to do any of the 15 activities (the hazer role); (b) they helped others do the activity to new members (the reinforcer role); (c) they watched others do the activity to new members (the tacit approver role); or (d) they knew others were doing it to new members but did not participate (the periphery member role). This is similar to the frame used by Owen et al. (2008).

One of the challenges with this approach is that the hazers may not identify themselves as hazers and instead respond in socially desirable ways. For example, in a

study on bullying, four of five children who were identified as having participated in bullying behavior did not identify themselves as bullies (Sutton & Smith, 1999). By asking individuals to not only describe their role in hazing but also report on the frequency with which they experienced hazing, this should help clarify the degree to which individuals are underreporting their activities and better capture the actual extent of hazing happening within the organization. I expected that individuals would possibly choose a lesser level of involvement slightly lower than their actual level of involvement.

Play Measure

Measures of adult play are largely non-existent. There are measures of adult playfulness for which construct and face validity are questioned in the literature (Shen, Chick, & Zinn, 2014). However, a measure of playfulness is a measure of a person's attributes rather than a measure that examines the presence of play behaviors in groups. I was specifically interested in exploring whether hazing behaviors in a fraternity setting meet the definition of play as defined in the literature (see, for example, Bateson, 1972; Caillois, 2001; Huizinga, 1950). Thus, the instrument asked participants to identify whether the 15 hazing behaviors meet four of the five characteristics of play behavior:

- was fun,
- was voluntary,
- had a set of rules, and
- had some form of drama or theatre.

The other rule of play is that it occurs for a finite space and time. Given the new member period is in and of itself a finite time, this criterion was met.

To determine the type of play behavior each activity could potentially fulfill, I consulted with a group of 30 fraternity and sorority advisors who attended the 2016 Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors (AFA) Annual Meeting, a meeting that draws fraternity and sorority advising professionals from across the United States and Canada, and a group of 15 advisors who attended a drive-in conference sponsored by AFA for professionals in the Northeast in the summer of 2017. As individuals from across the country who have experience working with fraternities and sororities, they were equipped to categorize the hazing activities used in the instrument by play type due to their professional experience. Their years of experience ranged from 0 years to 20 years with a mean experience of 5.5 years. This is higher than the average tenure for professionals in the field of fraternity/sorority advising, which is 3.3 years (Koepsell & Stillman, 2016).

I provided them with the list of the 15 hazing activities intended for use in the survey and the following definitions (Caillois, 2001; Huizinga, 1950):

- Competition—A contest or game in which one side is an established winner based on skill or power. Rules govern the interaction.
- Games of Chance—A game in which the player has no control over the outcome, and winning is a result of fate rather than dominating an opponent.
- Structured Chaos—Inhibiting the full cognition or mental control of the players.
- Mimicry—An exaggerated form of real life involving some form of drama or theatre.

I asked them to identify whether each activity met the definition of one of these forms of play. The results were tabulated, and each activity was placed in the prevailing category.

Their work resulted in the following categorizations:

- Competition
 - Following a set of pledge rules
 - Carrying a certain item at all times
 - Participating in a competition between new members and initiated members
 - Playing a prank or raid on initiated members
- Game of Chance
 - Doing tasks for other members
 - Taking a test where the results are rigged
 - Consuming spicy/bad-tasting concoctions
- Structured Chaos
 - Being asked to come to a location with little to no notice
 - Being awakened or prevented from sleeping during the night by other members
 - Being kidnapped or dropped off in an unfamiliar location
 - Being encouraged to drink large amounts of alcohol
- Mimicry
 - Being called by a label or nickname other than your given name
 - Participating in a skit, song night, or roast
 - Being yelled at by organization members
 - Wearing silly or embarrassing attire

These categories serve as a frame through which to better understand the types of play behaviors experienced most often by fraternity men in a new member program.

Demographics

The final section of the instrument asked participants to indicate their academic standing.

Validity

A validity argument uses multiple pieces of evidence to establish a claim that an instrument measures what it is intended to measure (Porter, 2011). The validity of the CMNI-46 has been previously established and is explained in the instrumentation section. Because of the subjective and personal nature of the hazing and play measures and that these constructs are not regularly measured or disclosed in other ways, validity was established in the following ways.

Content validity of the hazing and play measures were established through the close correlation with the body of research literature outlined in Chapter 2. The play measures relied on widely adopted criteria for defining play (see Caillois, 2001; Huizinga, 1950). The hazing activities supported the definition of hazing and were developed based upon a thorough review of numerous hazing activity measures (see Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005; Hoover, 1999; Owen et al., 2008). The new member program outcomes were drawn from the literature (see Allan & Madden, 2008; DeSantis, 2007; Hinkle, 2006; Jensen et al., 1980; Scott, 2006) and supported by interviews with fraternity men. In a pilot study I conducted in 2014, numerous respondents selected each of the identified outcomes as goals for new member education.

In the fraternity, hypermasculine behaviors are rewarded and desired. Often the preferred new member outcomes represent the masculine-norm-aligned views of the organization and replicate desirable member behaviors. What the organization hopes to

achieve through new member activities helps inform the socialization activities they select. Hypermasculine organizations value activities that compel new members to demonstrate loyalty (DeSantis, 2007), establish willingness to sacrifice for the group (Malszecki, 2004), take risks (Cho et al., 2010), bond over shared difficulty (Jones, 2000; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009), maintain the image of the organization as masculine (DeSantis, 2007; Kimmel, 2008), and demonstrate willingness to do what it takes to earn respect from other men (Hinkle, 2006; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990). For this reason, I expected the following new member program outcomes to

align more strongly with higher masculine norm conformity: breaking new members down psychologically and rebuilding them, new members proving they can handle challenges, earning the privilege of initiation through hard work and willingness to endure difficulty, maintaining the social image of the organization, which often involved adhering to behaviors in the organization's act-like-a-man box, and also maintaining the chapter house, which demonstrates the willingness to be prostrate to the members and sacrifice time and effort for the group. Finally, I expected that developing intense friendships, often done through overcoming adversity, would be a valued outcome among hypermasculine members and groups. In contrast, succeeding academically and developing leadership skills are often valued across all forms of masculinity as long as one does not try too hard, in which case this achievement can be devalued in more masculine norm conforming situations (Kimmel, 2008).

To confirm the face validity of the hazing measures and play measure, I used cognitive interview techniques with fraternity men who reviewed and provided feedback about question order and format, the ways in which they interpreted each item, how they

envisioned their fraternity brothers answering the survey, and what barriers to completion might exist (Beatty, 2004; Campanelli, 2008; Dillman et al., 2009; Presser et al., 2004). Question wording was adjusted to reflect intended meaning. A change was made to question wording on the play measure, and the CMNI-46 questions were separated onto different screens so that subscales did not correlate with question order on each screen.

Upon making the recommended changes, I piloted the instrument with 92 members of a fraternity chapter to determine whether individuals would tolerate the length of the survey. Of the 91 students who agreed to the informed consent statement, 85 completed the survey in its entirety (92% of those present). The pilot also sought to verify whether chapter members, who likely had similar joining experiences, were answering the survey items consistently, an indicator that individual respondents interpreted the questions in similar ways and were answering with minimal social desirability bias. The pilot survey showed a range of responses but consistent majority trending in reporting of participation in hazing activities. It is possible some of the differences were the result of differences from new member class to new member class as well as individual treatment of specific individuals.

Site Selection

Because both the group and individual serve as a unit of analysis, I selected a site that had enough chapters to allow for comparison between groups. I was specifically interested in studying one campus because the campus culture can play a large role in gender expression, tolerance for hazing, as well as student characteristics. So as not to need to control for these characteristics, keeping the campus culture constant for all participants was valuable. I recruited a campus participant by sourcing leads through the

Association for Fraternity/Sorority Advisors (AFA) and the Northeast Greek Leadership Association (NGLA).

The campus is a large, state institution in the Northeast with an enrollment of over 16,000 students. Approximately 2,700 students belong to a fraternity or sorority, comprising 17% of the student population. At the time of survey, there were 12 recognized men's groups on the campus. According to a fall 2016 academic report, the average chapter size was 70.

Participants

The participants included members of 11 primarily White, single-gender fraternities at a college or university in the Northeast. I used a census approach to sampling for a few reasons. First, the total population I sought to survey is generally not large on most campuses. On this campus, the fraternity population was approximately 1,000 members. Additionally, because I was interested in analyzing each fraternity as a unit of analysis, it was important to obtain a sample that was sizeable enough to describe accurately the fraternity chapter without a large sample error. Therefore, a significant portion of the membership should be surveyed, and the best way to do this was at the weekly chapter meeting that each member is required to attend. The best way for me to contact the chapters was to obtain a contact listing of chapter presidents from the campus professional who serves as the fraternity/sorority life advisor. I also spoke to the fraternity presidents at an Interfraternity Council meeting, which all chapter presidents are required to attend, where I used the recruitment script to introduce the survey, distribute a recruitment letter, both located in Appendix A, and indicated that I would be contacting them to come to their chapter facility to administer the survey.

As an incentive for the chapter president to take time away from a chapter meeting to participate in the survey, I donated \$150 to the charity of the chapter's choosing and entered the chapter into a drawing to win a flat screen TV. Because each fraternity raises money for charitable causes and most chapters on this campus have houses, these incentives are attractive, but they did not directly benefit an individual in the chapter. Thus, neither incentive created a large enough economic exchange (Dillman, 2008) to unduly pressure an individual to participate, as many groups raise thousands of dollars annually, nor was it a condition of individual participation. However, because the sample of interest, the individual fraternity man, learned that the donation was already going to be made at the time he was asked to participate in the survey, this applied social exchange theory (Dillman, 2008; Laguilles, Williams, & Saunders, 2010) as a way to encourage his participation. Additionally, because the chapter president, usually a trusted leader in the chapter, supported having me come into the chapter, this also encouraged participation among members.

There were some risks in using this method, as it can produce coverage error because men who did not attend the chapter meeting were not be able to take the assessment (Groves et al., 2009). This caused some unavoidable nonresponse error. However, efforts were made to encourage presidents to encourage their members to be present to minimize this risk as much as possible. Additionally, the strategy of surveying at chapter meetings most likely generated less non-response than if the survey were distributed via email. For this sample, the average participation rate of chapter members in each group, which was dependent upon who was present at the meeting where the survey was administered, ranged from 47% to 89% of members, with an average

participation rate of 63% of each chapter. For those present at the meetings where the survey was administered, 96.8% of participants completed the survey.

Cover Letter Administration Protocol

The three versions of the survey cover letter, one for the pilot chapter members, one for the fraternity presidents, and one for the chapter members for the full study, found in Appendix A, capitalized on several key design features to maximize receptivity (Dillman et al., 2009; Fowler, 2009; Groves, Singer, & Corning, 2000). The letters were written in standard business letter format on University of Massachusetts letterhead to demonstrate to respondents the study was not sponsored by their institution thereby engendering trust (Fowler, 2009). The letters outlined the way the data would be used, the reasons why the study was beneficial, the incentive chapters were receiving, and steps that I would take to prevent survey responses from being connected with survey respondents to encourage honest participation. One additional and important feature of the letters was the set of beginning questions. I chose to start with these questions because, similar to Dillman's (2008) suggestion about making sure the first question in the survey is engaging, the first few lines of the cover letter needed to engage the reader. Particularly in dealing with college-aged men, they needed to feel a connection to the survey, and the three initial questions in the cover letters were designed to draw them in and encourage them to participate. Because of in-group effects, anyone from the out-group asking for information about the fraternity is often met with distrust (Nuwer, 1999). These questions communicated to potential respondents that the intent of the study was not to present fraternities in a negative light, but to explore new member experiences.

Survey Administration

I used an in-person, self-administered, computer-based survey mode with proctor presence. Once chapter presidents agreed for their chapter to participate in the survey, I made arrangements to visit the chapter house or designated meeting space at a time when the entire group met for their weekly meeting. This ensured participation from the majority of fraternity members. Additionally, the survey could be quickly administered and collected, lessening the data collection window (Dillman, 2008; Groves et al., 2009). Steinfeldt et al. (2012) conducted a survey on moral decision-making among football players by distributing a survey packet given to players at a team meeting. They assured anonymity and provided participants time to complete the survey. Participants could turn in a blank survey at the end if they did not wish to participate.

Following that strategy, I summarized the cover letter to the group, provided meeting attendees a copy of the letter to read on their own, discussed informed consent, answered questions, and then administered the survey instrument. The goal of the communication was to reframe the purpose of the survey so that it appeared less threatening, relayed the importance of participation, and reminded participants about the incentive to improve response rate (Lensvelt-Mulders, 2008). Each survey respondent received a copy of the cover letter (see Appendix A), was read information about informed consent, and provided a link to the informed consent statement and survey (see Appendix B and C). For those students who did not have their own tablet or computer, I provided tablets for them to use.

While this survey administration method allowed for rapid data collection, kept survey responses time stamped in organization clusters, thereby allowing organizational

analysis of data, and helped encourage participation since the chapter president authorized the chapter's participation in the survey, there are some disadvantages to this survey administration method. For example, it is possible participants could have been coached by other members or chapter leaders on how to answer questions in the instrument; however, the presence of the non-member proctor eliminated the likelihood this occurred.

In addition, with close quarters in chapter meetings, there was some possibility that members could look at other individuals' responses. This is why the font was small on the survey: so if this occurred, it would be difficult for participants to read one another's responses. Individuals were also encouraged to sit as far apart from each other as possible during survey administration and to limit talking during the survey.

Data Analysis Methods

The data from the surveys was downloaded from the survey tool and imported into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 24 (IBM Corp., 2016). Table 1 describes each of the variables that were analyzed for each construct. Play was measured through three variables: (a) play category frequency, or the percentage of activities a chapter does within each category of play; (b) play criteria sum by category; and (c) overall play criteria sum, both of which are the mean of play criteria individuals identify either within a specific play category or overall. Hazing was measured with five variables: (a) presence of hazing reported by respondents; (b) extremity of that hazing broken into levels; (c) the presence or absence of hazing in each group; (d) the role they played in the hazing; and (e) the outcomes they believed are achieved through new member education. Gender was measured through (a) an individual CMNI-46 score; (b) a

group CNMI-46 score reported by individuals; (c) the difference between individual and group CMNI-46 scores; (d) the categorical conformity to masculine norms of the normalized individual CMNI-46 scores; and (e) the categorical conformity to masculine norms of the normalized group CMNI-46 scores.

Table 1
Study Variables

Play	Hazing	Gender
<p>Play Category Frequency (numerical) Percent of play activities in the category in which a chapter participates. Categories were decided by an expert panel from list of hazing activities. Four possible options: competition, chance, structured chaos, mimicry</p>	<p>Hazing Activity (numerical) Measured by presence of hazing activities in the organization; Resulted in a numerical score</p> <p>Hazing Extremity (categorical) Measured by breaking the hazing activity score into categories of low, moderate, high, and very high</p>	<p>Individual Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46 (numerical) Included overall score and nine subscales</p> <p>Group CMNI-46 (numerical) Included overall score and nine subscales</p> <p>Gap CMNI-46 Score (numerical) Difference between individual CMNI-46 and group CMNI-46 score</p>
<p>Play Criteria Sum by Category (numerical) The number of criteria of play met within a play category averaged by the number of criteria in the category</p>	<p>New Member Socialization Role (nominal) Measured by asking individual what role he played in new member socialization activities</p>	<p>Individual Norm Conformity (categorical) Normalized individual CMNI-46 scores on a scale of extreme conformity, moderate conformity, moderate nonconformity, and extreme nonconformity</p>
<p>Overall Play Criteria Sum (numerical) The number of criteria of play met within each of the four play categories averaged by the number of criteria in the category summed together to give an overall score</p>	<p>Hazing Activity Presence (nominal) Measured by whether more than 40% of the group indicated they participated in an activity. If so, the activity is present. If not, the activity is absent</p> <p>Hazing Outcomes (ordinal) Measured by asking about desirability of certain new member program outcomes on a scale of four choices: very undesirable to very desirable</p>	<p>Group Norm Conformity (categorical) Normalized group CMNI-46 scores on a scale of extreme conformity, moderate conformity, moderate nonconformity, and extreme nonconformity</p>

The data were analyzed using a variety of statistical methods, including descriptive statistics, frequency counts, ANOVA, Chi-Square, and both Pearson and Spearman correlations. Table 2 outlines the research questions, the variables that answer the questions, and the statistical tests to answer the research questions.

Table 2
Variables and Statistical Test by Hypothesis and Research Question

Research Questions and Sub-questions	Comparison	Statistical Test
<u>Hypothesis 1: Hazing is performance of gender identity.</u>		
○ To what extent is there a relationship between individual gender identity and the identification of masculinity constructs as desirable outcomes of new member education?	Individual CMNI-46: Hazing Outcomes	ANOVA
○ To what extent is there a relationship between group gender identity and the identification of masculinity constructs as outcomes of new member education?	Group CMNI-46: Hazing Outcomes	ANOVA
○ To what extent is there a relationship between the gap between individual and group gender identity and identification of masculinity constructs as outcomes of new member education?	Gap CMNI-46 Score: Hazing Outcomes	ANOVA
○ To what extent does the role an individual plays in new member education have a relationship with his gender identity?	Individual CMNI-46: New Member Socialization Role	ANOVA
	Individual CMNI-46: New Member Socialization Role by Hazing Extremity	ANOVA
○ To what extent is there a relationship between perceived group gender identity and the role an individual plays in new member socialization?	Group CMNI-46: New Member Socialization	ANOVA
	Group CMNI-46: New Member Socialization by Hazing Extremity	ANOVA
○ To what extent is there a relationship between new member socialization role and the gap between individual and group gender identity?	Gap CMNI-46 Score: New Member Socialization Role	ANOVA
	Gap CMNI-46 Score: New Member Socialization by Hazing Extremity	ANOVA

Table 2 (continued)

Variables and Statistical Test by Hypothesis and Research Question

Research Questions and Sub-questions	Comparison	Statistical Test
○ To what extent is there a relationship between hazing frequency and either individual adherence to gender norms or perceived group adherence to gender norms?	Individual CMNI-46: Hazing Activity	Correlation
	Group CMNI-46 (and subscales): Hazing Activity	Correlation
○ To what extent is there a relationship between individual gender identity and participation in specific hazing activities?	Individual CMNI-46: Hazing Activity Presence	ANOVA
○ To what extent is there a relationship between group gender identity and chapter participation in specific hazing activities?	Group CMNI-46: Hazing Activity Presence	ANOVA
<u>Hypothesis 2: Hazing is play.</u>		
○ What hazing activities meet play criteria?	Play Criteria	Descriptive
○ Do the hazing activities reported fall more strongly into one type of play category than another?	Play Category	Descriptive
○ Does the frequency of hazing vary by play category?	Hazing Extremity: Play Category Frequency	ANOVA
○ To what extent is the role an individual plays in new member socialization associated with the number of play characteristics?	New Member Socialization Role: Play Criteria Sum by Category	ANOVA
<u>Hypothesis 3: Hazing is gendered play.</u>		
○ To what extent is there a relationship between individual gender identity and the likelihood of identifying hazing activities as play?	Individual Norm Conformity (and subscales): Overall Play Criteria Sum	ANOVA
○ To what extent is there a relationship between group gender identity and likelihood of identifying hazing activities as play?	Group Norm Conformity (and subscales): Overall Play Criteria Sum	ANOVA
○ To what extent is there a relationship between group gender identity and the presence of hazing in each play category?	Group CMNI-46: Hazing Activity by Play Category	ANOVA

Ethical Considerations

The greatest ethical concern rests with the need to protect the anonymity of study participants and chapters (Fowler, 2009), who may have potentially disclosed behaviors that could result in discipline by the college or local authorities and result in social consequences for individuals within their organization. Additionally, in the State of Massachusetts (Mass. Gen. Laws ch. 269, § 17, 1985), anyone who is knowledgeable about hazing and fails to report it is subject to a fine and penalty, thus I also wanted to make sure I protected myself as well. To protect students, chapters, and myself and to encourage students to report honestly about experiences and attitudes, the survey design took steps to ensure the anonymity of individual respondents and confidentiality of chapters so that responses could not be associated with any student or organization. The only demographic information I collected was class year. The survey collected neither the name of individuals nor the respondent's chapter affiliation. I was able to group individual respondents based only on the similarity of timestamp. This was reviewed with participants in the oral script, the cover letter, and the informed consent document.

The administration of a cover letter and informed consent language was a core component of ensuring students understood the limited risks associated with participation. In the informed consent document, I specifically addressed that students may feel some discomfort in recalling some experiences and reminded them that they could stop taking the survey at any time or skip any questions they chose. I provided contact information for the campus counseling center and the fraternity/sorority life office along with information on how to report hazing at the end of the survey. I was also prepared to make a counseling referral should any participant show adverse effects from

taking the survey instrument. I did not observe any adverse effects at the time of survey administration.

Because research has shown that students often do not agree with the definition of hazing and do not label their hazing experiences as hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008), I did not use the term hazing on the survey. The survey was presented as a survey about the fraternity new member experience. This was designed to solicit honest responses from respondents (Fowler, 2009) and to encourage participation (Dillman et al., 2009).

Whether students label an experience as hazing or not, students know that some activities aren't condoned by their institutions. Even accounting for efforts to encourage honest reporting, it is still important to consider that some respondents may have minimized their participation in hazing activities and over-reported their adherence to masculine norms, meaning there may be greater contrasts between individual and perceived group masculine norm adherence and higher rates of hazing among chapters.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study due in large part to the fact that fraternity hazing has rarely been studied quantitatively. To delve into uncharted territory required the development of a new conceptual framework, the creation of new measures, and the application of new concepts to the study of hazing. Because there are some untested components of this study, the following were acknowledged limitations.

First, while numerous researchers have surveyed students about participation in hazing activities (see for example, Campo et al., 2005; Hoover, 1999; Owen et al., 2008), and the listing of activities in each case was similar, if not identical, there were no well-validated instruments available to me that measure the role individuals fulfill during

hazing activities, the intended outcomes of new member activities, or measures of adult play. As a result, the instruments used to measure these variables have not been used outside of this study.

Methodologically, possible dishonesty in reporting about hazing experiences is an expected limitation, though as outlined herein, numerous steps were taken to engender trust, encourage honest reporting, and avoid fear of stigma or consequence. As discussed, these steps included ensuring anonymity of respondents and confidentiality of chapters, encouraging space between participants during survey administration, and demonstrating my understanding of fraternities as a professional fraternity and sorority advisor.

The survey was conducted at a weekly chapter meeting. It is possible that there may be some non-response bias due to the fact that very few seniors were sampled. This appears consistent from my professional experience with senior engagement in fraternities nationally, with few seniors staying engaged in the chapter. Additionally, those who attend meetings and thus were eligible to be sampled may have answered the survey instrument differently than those who choose not to attend chapter meetings and were not sampled. However, given that the attendees to meetings tend to be the individuals who make decisions for the chapter, including new member activities, the survey sample is representative of the views of the group. It is possible the individual gender norm conformity, attitudes about the value of new member outcomes, and perceptions of play may be different for those who did not attend meetings. These individuals may not be involved precisely because they are not supportive of new member activities or attitudes toward masculine conformity. It would be valuable to

explore the differences in attitudes and norm conformity among engaged and disengaged members for a future study.

Given that a study of hazing, gender identity, and play is a brand new conceptual frame, I did not control for other variables such as race, sexual orientation, or socio-economic status. The study included only historically White fraternities and thus did not take into account the racial/ethnic identity of the individual men participating. Therefore, the findings are not generalizable to culturally-based fraternities. Because masculinity and race interact in a complex fashion to create different normative pressures manifested through multiple masculinities (Cheng, 1996; Ford, 2011; Kang, 2017; McGowan, 2017), racial/ethnic identity may be important to consider in future studies.

Additionally, this study was conducted at a single public institution in the Northeast and is thus not generalizable to all college fraternity experiences. Acknowledging that each campus culture is different and that the student culture on a particular campus may reward different manifestations of masculinity, it will be important to replicate this study on another campus. In doing so, it is important to note that hazing tolerance varies across campuses as well. For a campus with a low tolerance for hazing, groups who adhere closely to masculine norms may engage in very different hazing activities than those campuses with a more prolific culture of hazing. This means that a riskier hazing activity on a low hazing-tolerance campus may be occurring only in the most masculine of groups, yet it may be perceived as only mildly risky on another campus and thus be adopted by groups with a wider range of masculine manifestations. While testing this study's conceptual frame in other settings is an important next step, it will be essential to account for differences in campus culture.

This study did not account for repeated participation of the same hazing activities. Participation in a hazing activity does not necessarily explain intensity of that activity. For example, some individuals may participate in one instance of a line-up where members yell at them, whereas others may experience line-ups daily or weekly. While just one occurrence is still plaguing, the frequency with which an activity is experienced can make it more intense, and thus the group engaging more frequently would likely be participating in higher levels of hazing. It would be valuable to add the dimension of frequency or intensity in future studies.

Summary

There were limitations to the study, as expected when exploring new constructs and implementing new instrumentation. However, through a series of research-supported methodological choices, this study diminished these limitations to the extent possible, and explored the ways gender, hazing, and play intersect. Using survey research methods, the study explored whether hazing is a performance of gender identity, whether hazing is play, and whether hazing is gendered play.

The study has great potential to contribute to the dialogue around the problem of hazing, contribute conceptually to understanding hazing behaviors in fraternities, and help those interested in understanding gendered play manifestation among college men. This understanding makes practitioners better equipped to recognize hazing using the college male lens and to understand the choices made and roles played by young men in their daily lives. Through stronger understanding, practitioners and advisors can more effectively challenge the restrictive nature of the patriarchy. This move can shift fraternity cultures, change attitudes, and take steps toward eliminating hazing.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

“Fancy thinking the Beast was something you could hunt and kill! You knew, didn’t you? I’m part of you? Close, close, close! I’m the reason why it’s no go? Why things are what they are?” –William Golding, *Lord of the Flies* (1954)

Descriptive Statistics

Out of a total population of 906 eligible fraternity men, 427 individuals from 11 of 12 eligible groups participated in the study. Out of the sample, 24 individuals did not complete the survey to the end, and their responses were removed from analysis. Subsequently, 403 respondents provided usable responses. The sample was 28.0% (n=113) first-year students, 36.7% (n=148) sophomores, 25.3% (n=102) juniors, 8.4% (n=34) seniors or beyond, and 1.5% (n=6) of respondents did not indicate their academic year. Of those individuals, 352 men indicated they were initiated, 41 indicated they had not yet been initiated, and nine indicated they were not sure. The average sample from each of the 11 groups included 37 respondents. Group sizes ranged from 16 men to 58 men. Each group’s characteristics are summarized in Table 3.

A Note about Homogeneity and Normality Assumptions

For the remainder of the chapter, I present several test statistics (t-tests or t-statistics) and analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistics. Prior to conducting tests of this nature, it is important to verify key assumptions. For the t-tests, since the data was pulled from the same sample, homogeneity tests were not used. The assumption of normality

Table 3
Description of Group Characteristics

Group	Respondents	Number of Hazing Activities	Hazing Extremity	Group Masculine Conformity Ranking (1 = Highest Conformity)	% Members Involved in New Member Socialization
1	18	7	Moderate	10	88.9%
2	16	12	Very High	2	92.9%
3	42	14	Very High	6	87.5%
4	36	9	High	3	80.0%
5	35	4	Moderate	9	100.0%
6	55	11	High	1	72.5%
7	58	5	Moderate	4	67.3%
8	47	9	High	5	97.6%
9	22	3	Low	8	40.9%
10	28	0	Low	11	51.9%
11	46	11	High	7	89.1%

was tested using the Shapiro-Wilk test. For ANOVA tests, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was assessed using Levene’s test for equality of variances, and normality was tested with the Shapiro-Wilk test because it has been shown to have the most power with large data sets (Yap & Sim, 2011). Each of these tests is presented in Appendix D.

While there were some violations of the homogeneity assumptions, ANOVA tends to be robust to violations. With regard to normality, the Shapiro-Wilk test and most normality tests, including the Kolmogorov-Smirnov, are extremely sensitive to small deviations in normality in data sets over 200 respondents (Howell, 2013). Some statisticians have suggested that violation of normality is not a problem with large sample sizes over 200, such as that used for this study (Altman & Bland, 1995; Pallant, 2007). As

a result, even with violations of normality, I used parametric tests when Q-Q plots trended normally. All post hoc testing used the Tukey test unless otherwise indicated.

The normality of the play measure data was slightly skewed and resulted in the greatest degree of violation of ANOVA assumptions, as shown in Appendix D. In one instance (see Table 39 in Appendix D) the data violate both homogeneity of variance and normality assumptions. As a result, I ran a non-parametric sensitivity analysis using a Kruskal-Wallis H test. The results were substantively the same as a parametric test ($p < 0.01$), demonstrating ANOVA is robust to such violations. As a result, I proceeded with the ANOVA and associated post hoc tests.

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46: Individual, Group, and Gap Score

The individual CMNI-46 and group CMNI-46 for respondents included an overall score and scores for each of the nine subscales. The mean score for all respondents for the total measure and the nine subscales for both the CMNI-46 and group CMNI-46 are indicated in Table 4. A paired-sample t-test showed the difference between the individual and group scores on each of the subscales to be statistically significant (winning subscale, $p < 0.05$, all others $p < 0.001$), except for the self-reliance scale, which did not show a difference. Individuals perceived the group to be more masculine norm adherent on the total CMNI-46 score ($t(402) = 7.091$, $p = 0.000$) and on six of the subscales: emotional control ($t(402) = 3.923$, $p = 0.000$), risk taking ($t(402) = 3.777$, $p = 0.000$), violence ($t(402) = 4.311$, $p = 0.000$), power over women ($t(402) = 7.925$, $p = 0.000$), playboy ($t(402) = 11.715$, $p = 0.000$), and heterosexual self-preservation ($t(402) = 8.976$, $p = 0.000$). Individuals perceived themselves to be more norm adherent than their fraternity brothers on the primacy of work ($t(402) = -3.384$, $p = 0.001$) and winning ($t(402) = -2.148$, $p = 0.032$).

subscales. This may be because they perceived their fraternity brothers to be less desirous of winning and less committed to work, both of which are hallmarks of the college-aged masculine archetype where men win and succeed without trying (Kimmel, 2008).

Table 4

Mean, Standard Deviation, and Paired Sample t-Test of CMNI-46 and CMNI-46 Subscales for Individuals and the Perceived Group (df=402)

Scale & Subscales	Individual		Group		Paired Sample t-Test		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	<i>d</i>
CMNI-46 total	72.240	12.322	76.340	12.115	7.091	0.000**	0.336
Winning	11.243	3.139	10.913	2.049	-2.148	0.032*	0.124
Emotional control	8.690	3.059	9.266	2.445	3.923	0.000**	0.210
Risk taking	7.697	2.170	8.189	2.319	3.777	0.000**	0.220
Violence	11.134	2.842	11.719	2.836	4.311	0.000**	0.206
Power over women	3.953	2.159	4.662	2.483	7.925	0.000**	0.305
Playboy	6.556	2.273	7.831	2.119	11.715	0.000**	0.580
Self-reliance	5.950	2.537	5.759	2.144	-1.433	0.153	0.081
Primacy of work	7.335	2.180	6.978	2.044	-3.384	0.001**	0.169
Heterosexual self-preservation	9.680	3.111	11.037	3.191	8.976	0.000**	0.431

Note. df = degrees of freedom. M = mean. SD = standard deviation. * $p < 0.05$, two tailed. ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed. The overall CMNI is scored on a scale of 0 to 129. The subscale scores range as follows: winning (0 to 18), emotional control (0 to 18), risk taking (0 to 15), violence (0 to 18), power over women (0 to 12), playboy (0 to 12), self-reliance (0 to 15), primacy of work (0 to 12), and heterosexual self-preservation (0 to 18).

As shown in Figure 4, which shows box-and-whisker plots of the individual CMNI-46 score for each of the 11 fraternities; Figure 5, which shows box-and-whisker plots of the mean group CMNI-46 score; and Table 5, which shows the mean individual, group, and gap score by group, each fraternity chapter manifested quite differently in their masculine conformity. Groups 1 ($M=61.111$) and 5 ($M=66.143$) showed the lowest

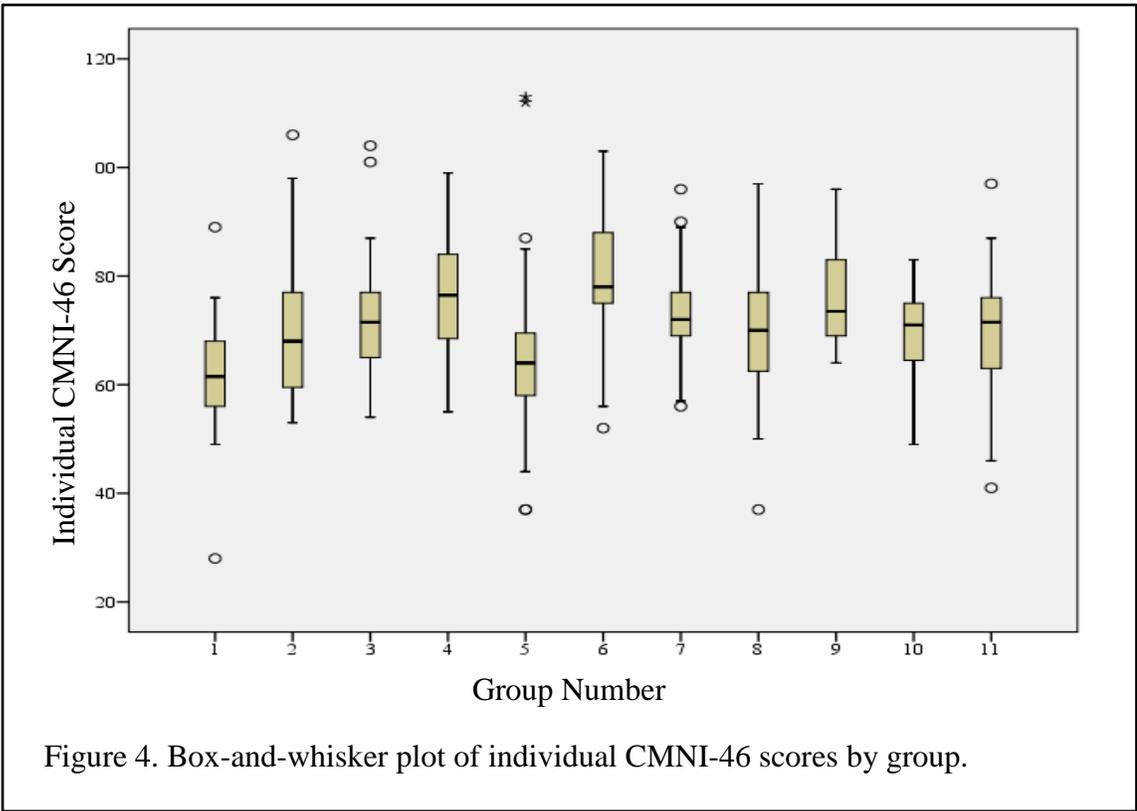


Figure 4. Box-and-whisker plot of individual CMNI-46 scores by group.

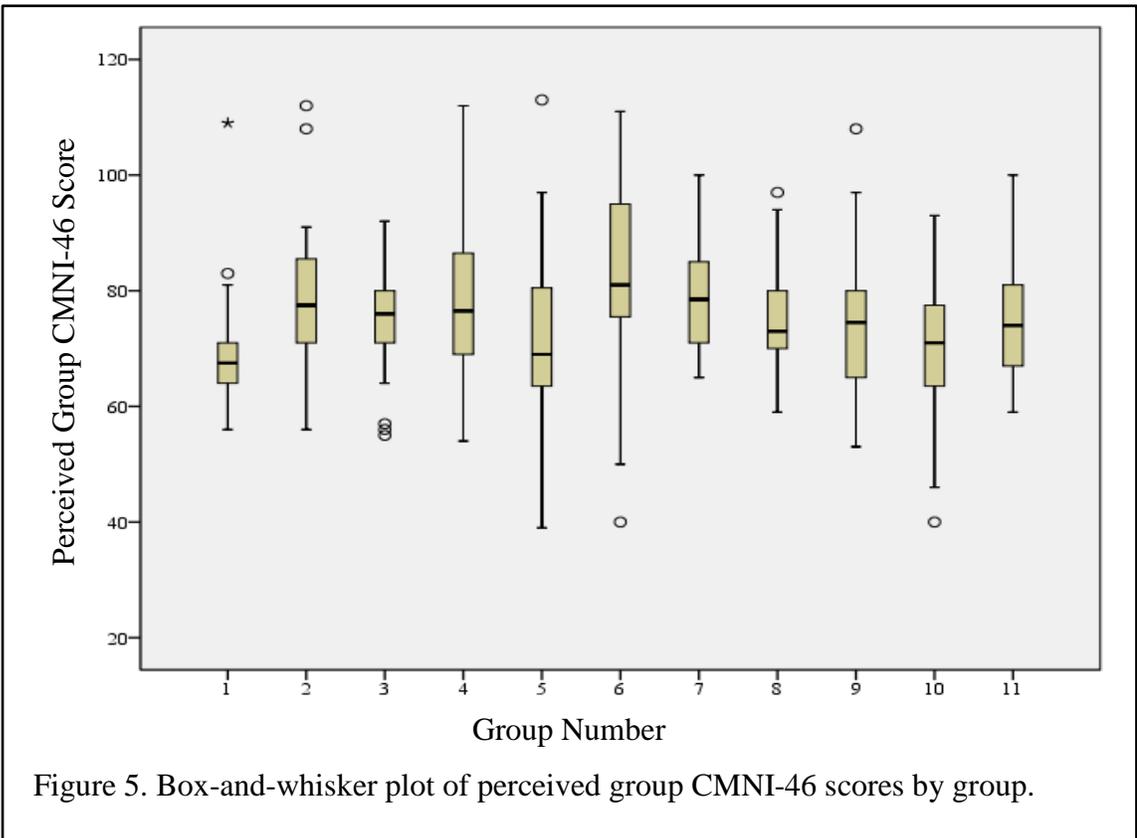


Figure 5. Box-and-whisker plot of perceived group CMNI-46 scores by group.

mean individual conformity, and groups 6 (M=80.382) and 4 (M=76.917) showed the highest individual mean conformity. For perceived group conformity to male norms, group 6 (M=83.873) and group 2 (M=79.813) reported the highest conformity, and group 10 (M=69.036) and group 1 (M=70.056) reported the lowest conformity.

Table 5

Individual Gender Norm Adherence Score, Group Gender Norm Adherence Score, Gap between Group and Individual Gender Norm Adherence Scores, and Paired Sample t-Test between Group and Individual Scores by Group

Group	Mean CMNI-46 Score			Paired Sample t-Test		
	Individual	Group	Gap Score	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> (2-tailed)	<i>d</i>
1	61.111	70.056	8.944	2.402	0.028*	0.726
2	70.875	79.813	8.938	2.947	0.010**	0.584
3	71.429	75.190	3.762	2.318	0.025*	0.381
4	76.917	78.806	1.889	0.903	0.373	0.151
5	66.143	71.686	5.543	2.540	0.016*	0.371
6	80.382	83.873	3.491	2.579	0.013*	0.272
7	73.121	78.603	5.483	4.634	0.000**	0.612
8	70.191	75.277	5.085	2.564	0.014**	0.490
9	75.955	74.409	-1.545	-0.710	0.486	0.141
10	69.714	69.036	-0.679	-0.464	0.647	0.064
11	69.783	74.891	5.109	2.743	0.009**	0.491

Note. * $p < 0.05$, two tailed. ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed.

The variance within groups among individual and group scores is interesting. As you can see from the box and whisker plots in Figure 4 and Figure 5, individuals in each group report a wide range of individual norm conformity and perceived masculine norm conformity. One might expect a wide range of individual reported norm conformity as each individual is a product of his individual upbringing and comes to college with a

different socialization experience. While one would expect some closer agreement with the perceived group norm conformity, the differences may be indicative of the respondent comparing his own norm conformity to the group as he answered or to a subgroup of close friends in the chapter. This is where the gap score provides some valuable insight.

The difference between the individual CMNI-46 and group CMNI-46 score, called the gap score, was on average 4.184 and ranged from -1.545 to 8.938. The chapters with the greatest gap between individual CMNI-46 and group CMNI-46 were group 1 (M=8.944) and group 2 (M=8.938) and lowest gap score, meaning greatest alignment between perceived group and individual gender norm adherence, was group 10 (M=-0.679). Interestingly, groups 9 and 10 had negative gap scores, which indicated that on average individuals felt they adhered more strongly to masculine norms than their fraternity brothers.

Table 6 shows the results of a single sample t-test comparing each subscale of the group CMNI-46 by group to the overall sample mean. For example, group 1 ($t(17)=-2.278$, $p<0.05$), group 10 ($t(27)=2.369$, $p<0.05$), and group 11 ($t(45)=-2.288$, $p<0.05$) showed lower norm conformity on the winning subscale, while group 6 ($t(54)=5.345$, $p<0.05$) and group 7 ($t(57)=4.106$, $p<0.05$) showed higher than average conformity. Group 6 showed higher than average conformity on the most subscales; in addition to winning, group 6 showed higher conformity at a statistically significant level on the emotional control ($t(54)=2.094$, $p<0.05$), violence ($t(54)=2.561$, $p<0.05$), power over women ($t(54)=3.045$, $p<0.01$), and heterosexual self-preservation scales ($t(54)=4.399$, $p<0.01$). In contrast, group 10 showed lower conformity on the most subscales. In

Table 6

Single Sample t-Test Comparing Perceptions of Group Masculine Norm Conformity Subscales by Group

Group CMNI-46 Subscale	t-Scores by Group (df)										
	1 (17)	2 (15)	3 (41)	4 (35)	5 (34)	6 (54)	7 (57)	8 (46)	9 (21)	10 (27)	11 (45)
Winning	-2.278*	-0.520	-1.144	0.179	-1.749	5.345*	4.106*	-1.991	-1.310	-2.369*	-2.288*
Emotional control	-0.799	2.952**	-0.581	1.820	-0.021	2.094*	-0.880	-1.385	-1.142	-2.698*	0.388
Risk taking	-0.748	1.418	-0.638	1.065	-1.350	1.521	0.357	2.315*	-1.551	-1.007	-1.175
Violence	-1.657	1.452	-0.669	-0.638	-2.207*	2.561*	2.295*	-0.182	0.437	-2.079*	0.316
Power over women	-1.971	0.132	0.011	1.813	-1.742	3.045**	0.099	0.222	-0.061	-2.941**	-0.776
Playboy	-0.690	-0.030	-0.992	-0.431	-0.148	1.178	1.621	0.717	-1.355	-2.682*	1.821
Self-reliance	0.027	0.895	-1.446	1.775	0.036	0.647	-0.336	0.937	0.528	-3.102**	-0.554
Primacy of work	-0.716	-1.324	0.475	0.577	-0.507	1.416	-0.462	-1.843	0.316	1.903	-0.388
Heterosexual self- preservation	-1.185	0.112	0.913	0.032	-2.282*	4.399**	0.953	-1.499	-0.049	-1.683	-1.471

Note. df = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$, two tailed. ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed.

addition to lower conforming responses on the winning subscale, group 10 exhibited lower conforming scores on the emotional control ($t(27)=-2.698$, $p<0.05$), violence ($t(27)=-2.079$, $p<0.05$), power over women ($t(27)=-2.941$, $p<0.01$), playboy ($t(27)=-2.682$, $p<0.05$), and self-reliance ($t(27)=-3.102$, $p<0.05$) subscales.

In comparing differences between CMNI-46 individual scores and perceived group CMNI-46 scores using a paired sample t-test, group 9 ($t(21)=-0.710$, $p=0.486$) and group 10 ($t(27)=-0.464$, $p=0.647$) were the most aligned between the individual and group adherence to masculinity norms with no significant differences between scores. Group 4 also showed alignment except for a difference between individual and group-reported adherence to norms regarding power over women, indicating that the members perceived that their brothers had more control over the women in their lives. The remaining eight groups showed significant differences between individual conformity and group conformity to masculine norms ($p<0.05$) for the overall measure and several of the subscales. See Table 7 for the full results. All but three of the groups reported statistically significant differences between individual and group conformity to norms ($p<0.05$) on the playboy scale and the heterosexual self-preservation scale. This indicates that individuals in these chapters perceived that their fraternity brothers are both more homophobic and interested in casual sex than they are. For all groups, there were no differences between group and individual adherence to norms on the self-reliance scale, and for the winning subscale, there were statistically significant differences for only one group, group 6 ($t(54)=-3.234$, $p<0.01$).

Interestingly, for group 6, members generally believed they prioritized winning higher than they believed that their fraternity brothers did at a statistically significant

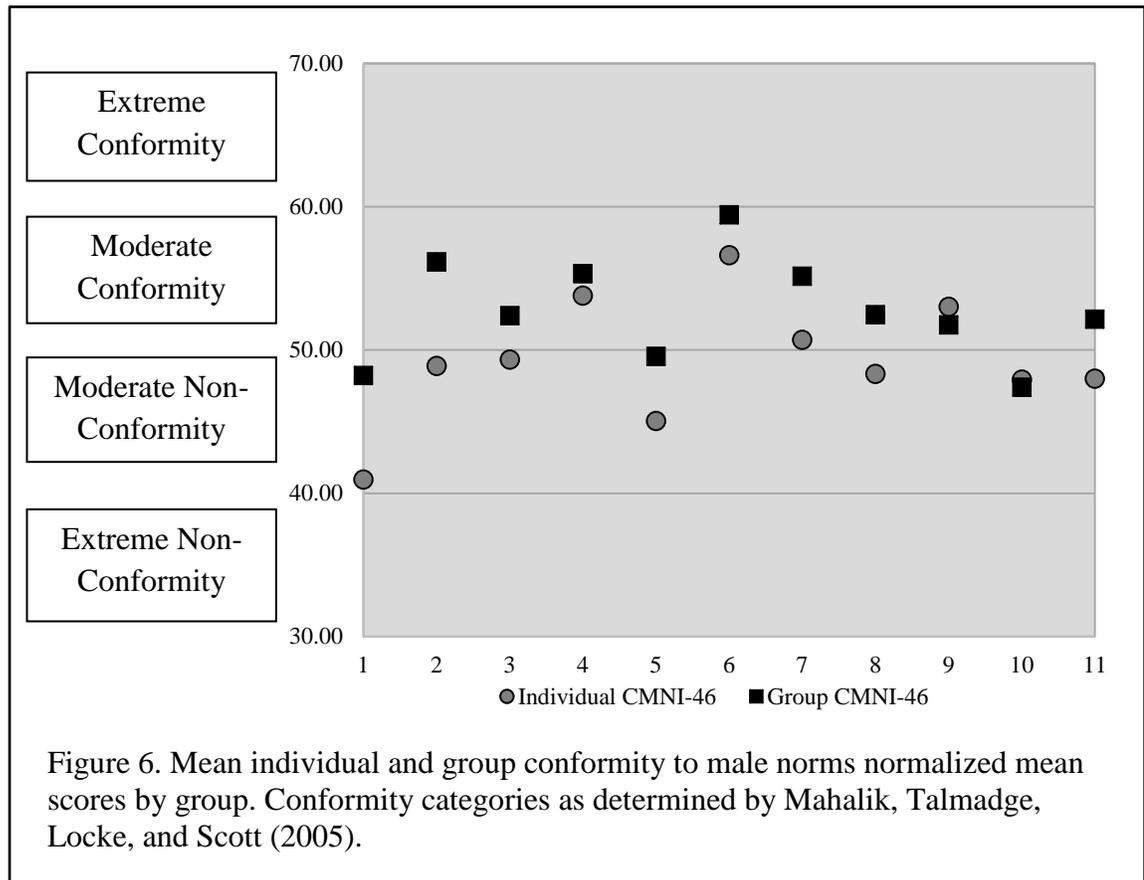
Table 7

Paired Sample t-Test Comparing Individual Responses on the CMNI-46 and Respondent Perceptions of their Fraternity Brothers' Responses on the CMNI-46 by Group

CMNI-46 Scale & Subscales	t-Scores by Group (df)										
	1 (17)	2 (15)	3 (41)	4 (35)	5 (34)	6 (54)	7 (57)	8 (46)	9 (21)	10 (27)	11 (45)
Total measure	2.402*	2.947**	2.318*	0.903	2.540*	2.579*	4.634**	2.564*	-0.710	-0.464	2.743**
Winning	1.489	-1.142	-0.775	-1.452	0.725	-3.234**	1.429	-0.6103	-1.670	-1.793	-1.931
Emotional control	3.162**	3.051**	1.073	0.505	3.393**	1.519	1.410	-1.0903	-0.594	0.528	2.188*
Risk taking	0.053	2.687*	0.707	1.363	-0.405	1.692	2.513*	3.080**	0.206	0.187	0.532
Violence	-0.459	2.245*	0.845	1.054	-0.000	2.345*	3.346**	1.364	0.521	0.297	2.583*
Power over women	1.506	1.826	2.238*	3.768**	2.674*	3.428**	4.137**	4.357**	-0.576	-1.263	3.340**
Playboy	3.593**	3.050**	3.855**	0.169	4.933**	3.100**	5.551**	6.539**	0.510	1.567	5.993**
Self-reliance	2.054	0.536	-1.193	-0.753	-0.472	-0.398	-0.000	-0.860	0.504	-1.841	-1.814
Primacy of work	-1.254	-0.650	-0.843	-1.692	-0.264	-0.622	-2.144*	-2.190*	-1.611	-0.336	-0.058
Heterosexual self-preservation	2.450*	2.282*	4.846**	1.632	2.610*	4.423**	2.751**	3.725**	-0.068	0.171	3.921**

Note. df = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$, two tailed. ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed.

level. For all other groups, the differences between individual and group-reported conformity to norms on the winning subscale were not statistically significant. In all groups in all subscale cases where there are statistically significant differences, except for the statistically significant differences on the winning scale for group 6 and the primacy of work scale for groups 7 and 8, individuals generally reported that their fraternity brothers conformed to masculine norms to a higher degree than they did themselves. As shown in Figure 6, the normalized scores for each group allow for plotting of overall conformity to male norms among this campus' fraternity population. Extreme conformity is a score of 60 or higher, moderate conformity is a score of 50.00 to 59.99, moderate nonconformity is a score of 40.00 to 49.99, and extreme nonconformity is a score of



39.99 or lower (Mahalik, Talmadge, Locke, & Scott, 2005). Overall, 13.6% of respondents were extremely non-conforming, 38.5% were moderately non-conforming, 33.3% were moderately conforming, and 14.6% were extremely conforming to masculine norms. As groups, none of the chapters' mean conformity scores fell into the range of extreme conformity or extreme non-conformity. Most groups had moderate non-conformity for individual scores, and most group scores are moderately conforming. Interestingly, for groups 2, 3, 8, and 11, all of which were high or very high hazing groups, individual members on average were moderately non-conforming and reported

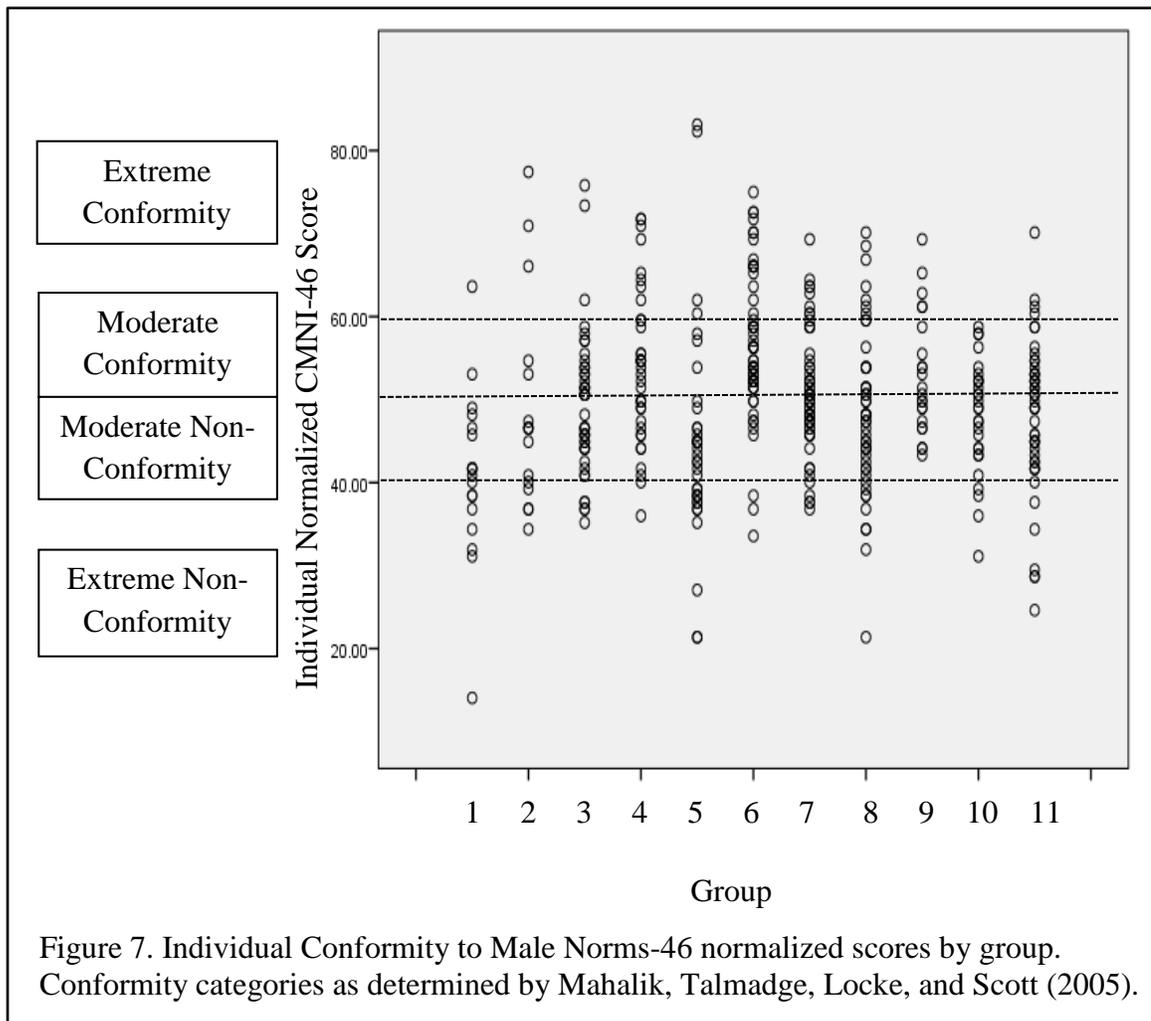


Figure 7. Individual Conformity to Male Norms-46 normalized scores by group. Conformity categories as determined by Mahalik, Talmadge, Locke, and Scott (2005).

the group was moderately conforming. Also interesting to note, groups 9 and 10, which had the lowest-reported hazing participation, had the lowest gaps between individual and group identity where the individual masculine norm adherence was slightly higher than the group masculine norm adherence. If one hypothesizes that group identity influences individual behavior, this perceived lower group masculine norm adherence may result in an environmental press for these groups to keep the number of hazing activities low. However, it is important to note that across the chapters, as shown in Figure 7, there is a range of conformity among members.

Hazing: Prevalence of Activities, New Member Socialization Role, and New Member Experience Outcomes

Hazing Prevalence

Hazing prevalence, as measured by the presence of hazing activities in the organization, varied greatly by chapter. Because few seniors took the survey and in general students on this campus join as first year students so there is homogeneity in the academic year of pledge classes, roughly one third (33.3%) of the survey respondents in each group would be approximately one new member class. Across all tasks, I examined the data for clear breaks in reported participation over the 33.3% mark, which would indicate at least one new member class had participated in the activity, accounting for social desirability bias in reporting. As shown in Table 8, there is a break at or above 40% for most of the groups in each task area. For chapters reporting a percentage of participation above the break, I labeled these groups as having participated in the hazing activity. To validate this logic, I consulted with fraternity and sorority advising professionals with an average of 17.5 years of experience. These experts concurred that

in a chapter where 40% or more of members reported participating in an activity, they would believe the group was doing this activity within the organization.

Over the entire sample, the level of participation in each activity ranged from 18.6% to 77.5% of individuals reporting participation in specific activities. This finding is consistent with the findings of Allan and Madden (2008) who reported that 74% of fraternity and sorority members experienced at least one hazing behavior. Within groups, participation in specific activities ranged from 95.7% to 4.3% of respondents indicating participation. The overall percent participation in each activity is shown in Table 8. In only one group, group 10, did there not appear to be a presence of hazing activities. The total number of activities that more than 40% of the chapter reported participating in is at the bottom of Table 8. Across the groups, the total number of activities ranged from zero to 14 with an average number of eight hazing activities occurring within each chapter.

New Member Socialization Role

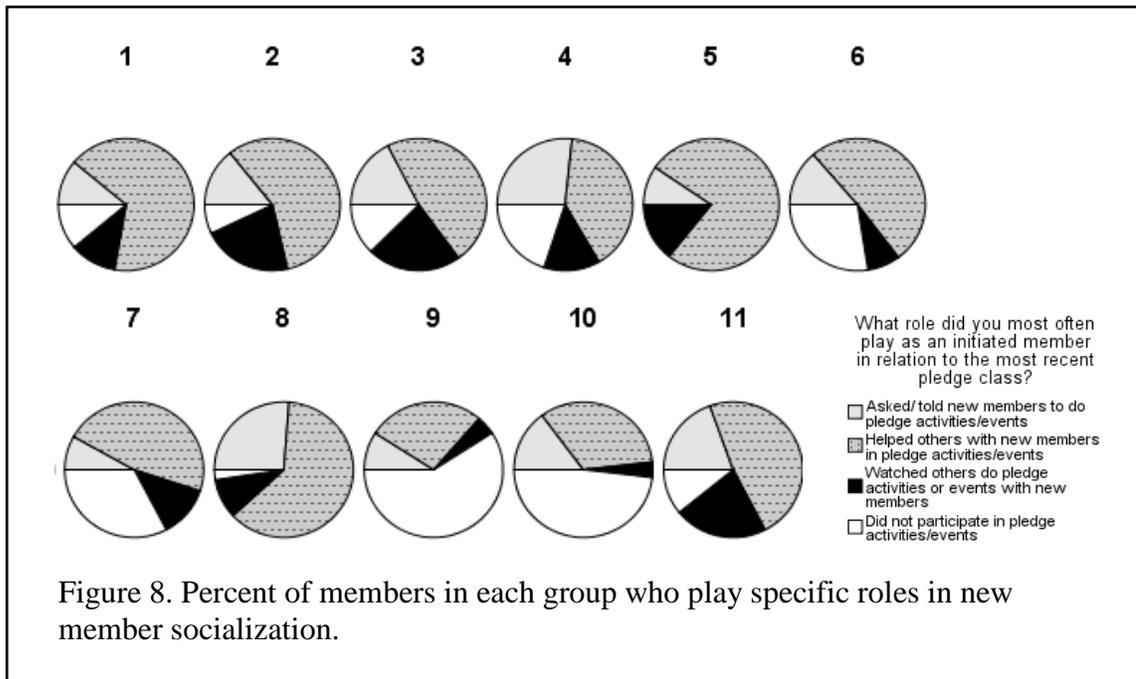
The role an individual initiated member played in new member socialization activities also varied across initiated respondents (n=345). On average, 15.7% of members indicated that they asked/told new members to do new member activities/events (range among groups: 8.2% to 26.7%), 50.1% of respondents helped others with new members in new member activities/events (range among groups: 27.3% to 76.2%), 13.0% watched others do new member activities or events with new members (range among groups: 3.7% to 22.5%), and 21.2% reported they did not participate in new member activities or events (range among groups: 0% to 59.1%). The percentage of members who participated in these roles differed across the various organizations, as shown in Figure 8. In general, the vast majority of members

Table 8

Percent of Members Reporting Hazing Activity Participation by Group and Overall Number of Hazing Activities by Group

Activity	Average	Group										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Tasks	75.1%	94.4%	81.3%	92.5%	76.5%	47.8%	82.7%	82.5%	83.3%	45.5%	14.3%	91.3%
Pledge rules	77.5%	94.4%	87.5%	85.0%	64.7%	82.6%	86.5%	71.9%	90.5%	50.0%	21.4%	95.7%
Label or nickname	49.9%	55.6%	50.0%	70.0%	41.2%	43.5%	50.0%	54.4%	59.5%	27.3%	14.3%	54.3%
Carrying item	48.5%	72.2%	56.3%	70.0%	41.2%	8.7%	67.3%	15.8%	45.2%	31.8%	17.9%	89.1%
Skit, song night, or roast	45.4%	50.0%	68.8%	80.0%	35.3%	17.4%	53.8%	31.6%	42.9%	27.3%	21.4%	56.5%
Competition	60.1%	55.6%	87.5%	82.5%	52.9%	43.5%	53.8%	42.1%	73.8%	40.9%	25.0%	91.3%
Prank or raid	35.7%	33.3%	50.0%	60.0%	47.1%	13.0%	32.7%	22.8%	47.6%	27.3%	14.3%	43.5%
Come to a location	56.8%	72.2%	75.0%	77.5%	52.9%	17.4%	71.2%	56.1%	54.8%	36.4%	14.3%	69.6%
Rigged test	25.5%	11.1%	25.0%	57.5%	41.2%	8.7%	40.4%	15.8%	23.8%	27.3%	14.3%	8.7%
Interrupted sleep	25.8%	16.7%	31.3%	45.0%	23.5%	4.3%	46.2%	19.3%	35.7%	18.2%	14.3%	8.7%
Kidnapped/dropped off	25.2%	33.3%	12.5%	32.5%	23.5%	4.3%	26.9%	28.1%	23.8%	9.1%	14.3%	41.3%
Yelled at	42.4%	22.2%	56.3%	67.5%	35.3%	13.0%	63.5%	38.6%	33.3%	31.8%	17.9%	50.0%
Silly/embarrassing attire	30.7%	16.7%	68.8%	40.0%	29.4%	4.3%	46.2%	29.8%	19.0%	27.3%	14.3%	34.8%
Spicy/bad-tasting concoctions	18.6%	11.1%	56.3%	42.5%	17.6%	4.3%	21.2%	7.0%	21.4%	18.2%	14.3%	6.5%
Excessive alcohol consumption	35.2%	33.3%	68.8%	52.5%	41.2%	26.1%	19.2%	29.8%	50.0%	13.6%	14.3%	45.7%
Overall Number of Activities	8	7	12	14	9	4	11	5	9	3	0	11

Note. Bold percentages denote that this percentage is over 40%.



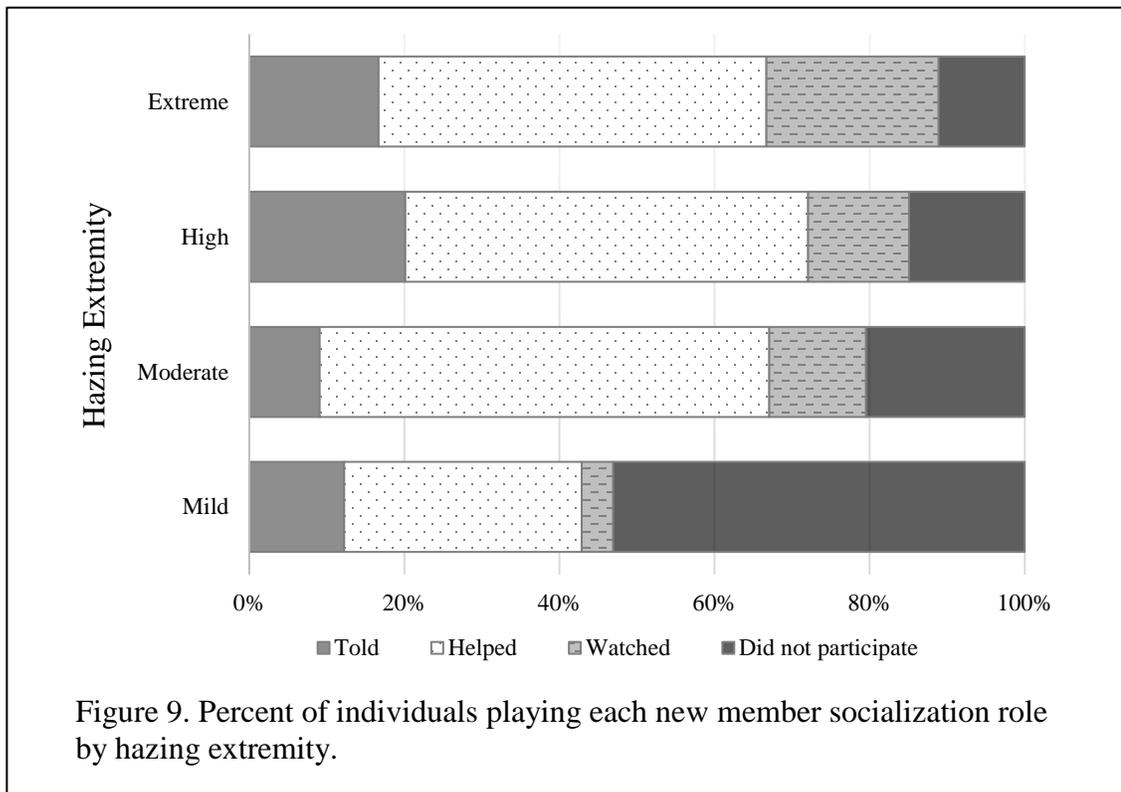
participated in the new member socialization process by assisting others. The greatest participation in the new member process occurred in group 5 (100%), group 8 (97.6%), and group 2 (92.9%). The lowest participation in the new member socialization process occurred in group 9 (40.9%).

Since not every chapter indicated participating in hazing activities, I broke the fraternity chapters into four groups based upon hazing activity frequency: low (0-3 activities), moderate (4-7 activities), high (8-11 activities), and very high (12-15 activities). I then used a Chi Square test to evaluate whether the role an individual played in new member activities had any relationship with the extremity of hazing by chapter. As shown in Figure 9, the fewer the hazing activities a chapter participated in, the smaller the percentage who reported having played a role in new member activities. The more extreme the number of hazing activities, the greater percentage of members participated in new member activities, specifically in directing hazing activities. While all organizations engage in extensive new member education activities, this indicates that

those groups engaging in less hazing as part of those new member education activities often relegated new member socialization to a few members and engaged a smaller number of the overall chapter membership.

Using a Chi-Square analysis comparing levels of hazing and new member socialization roles reported by individuals, there was a significant relationship between the role an individual played in new member education and hazing extremity ($\chi^2(9, n=345)=45.201, p=0.000$). Cramer's V is 0.209, showing a moderate positive effect (Rea & Parker, 1992), meaning that as the number of hazing activities increased, individuals showed more active engagement in the new member socialization process. Table 9 shows actual and expected frequency counts for each cross tabulation.

Groups who exhibited fewer hazing behaviors showed lower overall member engagement in the new member socialization process. For lower hazing groups, often the



new member socialization process is focused not in ensuring in-group member conformity, but on helping new members learn the values, history, and functioning of the organization. This may be perceived as work rather than play. It is possible that with lower hazing frequency, the new member socialization process has fewer activities that meet the characteristics of play, and thus the process may not be as engaging to members.

Table 9

Actual and Expected Frequency Counts of Individuals Playing Each New Member Socialization Role by Hazing Extremity

		Number of Hazing Activities				Total
		Low	Moderate	High	Very High	
Role in New Member Activities		0-3	4-7	8-11	12-15	
Asked/told new members	Actual	6	8	31	9	54
	Expected	7.7	13.8	24.1	8.5	54
Helped others	Actual	15	51	80	27	173
	Expected	24.6	44.1	77.2	27.1	173
Watched others	Actual	2	11	20	12	45
	Expected	6.4	11.5	20.1	7.0	45
Did not participate	Actual	26	18	23	6	73
	Expected	10.4	18.6	32.6	11.4	73

New Member Experience Outcomes

The desirability of new member experience outcomes was measured by asking about how desirable certain new member program outcomes were on a scale of four choices: very undesirable, undesirable, desirable, and very desirable. Students found it very desirable that their fraternity help new members feel pride in the fraternity (78.7%), understand their role in representing the fraternity (77.0%), develop intense friendships (76.3%), succeed academically (76.0%), demonstrate leadership skills (75.8%), develop intense friendships (76.3%), and understand the importance of “pledge class unity”

(73.7%). The only outcome that was most often identified as undesirable among respondents was that new members be broken down psychologically and built back up, with 46.0% of respondents indicating this was a very undesirable outcome. Note, however, that the remaining 54.0% indicated this was a somewhat undesirable (25.6%), somewhat desirable (19.2%) or very desirable (9.2%) outcome. The full range of responses appears in Table 10.

The results of a single sample t-test in Table 11 showed some differences in the importance of outcomes between chapters. For example, group 3 ($t(39)=4.153, p<0.001$) and group 6 ($t(51)=5.686, p<0.001$) reported stronger adherence to the belief that new

Table 10
Desirability of New Member Program Outcomes

New Member Outcome	Desirability of Outcome			
	Very Undesirable	Somewhat Undesirable	Somewhat Desirable	Very Desirable
Pride	1.9%	3.0%	16.3%	78.7%
Break down psychologically and rebuild	46.0%	25.6%	19.2%	9.2%
Handle challenges	4.2%	7.6%	44.6%	43.5%
Succeed academically	0.6%	4.5%	18.9%	76.0%
Leadership skills	1.4%	3.1%	19.7%	75.8%
Maintain the chapter house	5.6%	11.7%	34.5%	48.2%
Experience the same program	5.0%	8.9%	42.4%	43.8%
Maintain the social image	2.5%	5.3%	30.0%	62.2%
Pledge class unity	1.1%	3.3%	21.9%	73.7%
Intense friendships with pledges	0.8%	1.9%	20.9%	76.3%
Represent fraternity	0.3%	2.5%	20.2%	77.0%
Earn initiation	1.9%	6.9%	24.4%	66.7%

Table 11
 Single Sample t-Test Comparing Desirability of New Member Outcome by Group Compared to Overall Group Mean

New Member Outcome	Group t-Score (df)					
	1 (17)	2 (15)	3 (39)	4 (16)	5 (22)	6 (51)
Pride	2.216*	0.918	-0.776	-2.212*	-0.248	-0.088
Break down psychologically and rebuild	-0.938	0.800	4.153**	1.396	-7.990**	5.686**
Handle challenges	2.885**	1.782	2.107*	-1.723	-2.049	5.835**
Succeed academically	4.400**	-0.600	-0.452	-2.800*	0.418	-0.989
Leadership skills	0.164	1.116	-0.452	-3.199**	-0.044	1.044
Maintain the chapter house	-1.590	-0.565	1.815	-0.816	-0.538	1.834
Experience the same program	-0.412	-0.300	-1.318	-1.304	1.645	1.348
Maintain the social image	-0.137	1.400	-2.161*	-1.671	2.986**	2.032*
Pledge class unity	-0.617	-0.440	-0.046	-1.874	0.160	10.455**
Intense friendships	-0.544	-0.840	0.459	-1.543	1.189	6.503**
Represent fraternity	-0.164	1.581	-0.416	-1.900	-0.009	3.233**
Earn initiation	-0.360	-1.644	1.048	0.016	-0.232	4.473**

Note. df = degrees of freedom. Using a single sample t-test, * $p < 0.05$, two tailed. ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed.

Table 11 (continued)

Single Sample t-Test Comparing Desirability of New Member Outcome by Group Compared to Overall Group Mean

New Member Outcome	Group t-Score (df)					
	7 (56)	8 (41)	9 (21)	10 (27)	11 (45)	
Pride	-0.009	-0.762	5.160**	1.384	0.460	
Break down psychologically and rebuild	-2.601*	-1.042	-0.435	-2.980**	-5.307**	
Handle challenges	-1.184	-0.844	-1.237	-1.568	0.371	
Succeed academically	0.785	-0.565	3.333**	1.351	1.955	
Leadership skills	0.867	-0.332	0.795	1.351	0.957	
Maintain the chapter house	-0.187	1.366	1.462	-1.766	-0.728	
Experience the same program	-0.580	1.218	-0.442	0.418	-0.122	
Maintain the social image	0.852	0.039	-1.555	-1.270	2.941**	
Pledge class unity	-0.593	-1.280	-0.416	0.302	1.143	
Intense friendships	-0.998	-0.424	-0.398	0.204	-0.501	
Represent fraternity	0.482	-0.280	-0.481	-0.920	0.328	
Earn initiation	-0.526	1.486	-2.007	-2.339*	0.835	

Note. df = degrees of freedom. Using a single sample t-test, * $p < 0.05$, two tailed. ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed.

members should be broken down psychologically than the overall sample. Group 5 ($t(22)=-7.990$, $p<0.001$), group 10 ($t(27)=-2.980$, $p<0.01$), and group 11 ($t(45)=-5.307$, $p<0.001$) indicated that breaking down new members psychologically was much less desirable than average. Group 4 showed a lower commitment to academic success ($t(16)=-2.800$, $p<0.05$) and leadership development ($t(16)=-3.199$, $p<0.01$) at a statistically significant level. Group 6, which should be noted had both the highest CMNI-46 and group CMNI-46 scores, showed the greatest number of significant differences. This group placed higher emphasis on new members being broken down psychologically ($t(51)=5.686$, $p<0.001$), proving they could handle challenges ($t(51)=5.835$, $p<0.001$), maintaining the social image of the fraternity ($t(51)=2.032$, $p<0.05$), understanding the value of unity ($t(51)=10.455$, $p<0.001$), developing intense friendships ($t(51)=6.503$, $p<0.001$), understanding their role in representing the fraternity ($t(51)=3.233$, $p<0.01$), and earning the privilege of initiation ($t(51)=4.473$, $p<0.001$).

While the data do not show clear groupings for specific outcomes desirability, there is some trending. Specifically, there appears to be a relationship between masculine norm alignment and outcomes aligned with hypermasculine attitudes and hazing frequency. These relationships will be explored further as the study hypotheses are tested.

Categorization of Play: Play Criteria

On the measure to determine if respondents felt that specific new member activities met the criteria for play, it is not clear whether individuals did not follow instructions to check all that applied. In examining each hazing activity individually, on average 24.8% of respondents selected more than one play characteristic, with the percentage ranging from 10.9% to 33.5% of respondents on each specific new member

activity. Very few respondents checked more than two of the criteria for any item. While this limits the ability to answer definitively whether specific activities meet all of the four criteria of play, it does demonstrate the play characteristic that respondents most aligned with the hazing activity. Table 12 shows the number of initiated individuals in the sample who indicated that their participation in an activity met at least one of the criteria. On

Table 12

Percent of Initiated Men Who Participated in an Activity and Reported that an Activity Met Play Criteria, Mean Number of Criteria Met, and Standard Deviation

New Member Activity	<i>n</i>	Play Criteria				Criteria Met
		Fun	Voluntary	Rules	Theatre	<i>M (SD)</i>
Pledge rules	280	32.9%	25.7%	68.2%	8.2%	1.35 (0.644)
Tasks	272	41.5%	48.5%	42.6%	8.1%	1.41 (0.697)
Competition	217	71.9%	39.2%	35.0%	7.8%	1.54 (0.860)
Come to a location	205	42.4%	29.3%	52.7%	11.2%	1.36 (0.697)
Label or nickname	180	67.8%	31.7%	23.3%	11.1%	1.34 (0.663)
Carrying item	175	42.9%	24.6%	56.0%	6.9%	1.30 (0.592)
Skit, song night, or roast	164	69.5%	25.0%	25.0%	31.1%	1.51 (0.803)
Yelled at	153	26.1%	22.2%	45.8%	24.2%	1.18 (0.493)
Prank or raid	129	67.4%	32.6%	20.9%	9.3%	1.30 (0.620)
Excessive alcohol	127	60.6%	47.2%	25.2%	7.1%	1.40 (0.658)
Silly/embarrassing attire	111	55.0%	24.3%	35.1%	22.5%	1.37 (0.687)
Interrupted sleep	93	35.5%	26.9%	52.7%	15.1%	1.30 (0.622)
Rigged test	92	30.4%	18.5%	47.8%	19.6%	1.16 (0.519)
Kidnapped/dropped off	91	57.1%	27.5%	44.0%	16.5%	1.45 (0.749)
Spicy/bad-tasting concoctions	67	38.8%	29.9%	40.3%	7.5%	1.16 (0.510)

Note. Criteria met is among those reporting participation in that activity. Percentages are greater than 100% because individuals could select more than one play criteria. M = mean. SD = standard deviation.

average, most likely attributed to the issue identified above with the measure, each activity met 1.361 of the four possible criteria. While the play measure was prone to error in seeking to determine whether an activity meets all four play criteria, assuming that this error is equally distributed across the sample, relative comparisons between categories of play were still useful for this analysis.

Hypothesis 1: Hazing is Performance of Gender Identity

As proposed in Chapter 2, hazing appears to be a way for organizations to test and for aspirants to perform acceptable masculine behaviors in order to gain group acceptance. To test this hypothesis, I explored the relationships between individual and perceived group gender identities with new member socialization outcomes and the role students played in new member socialization. I also examined the gap between individual and group masculine norm adherence and the roles individuals played in new member socialization and new member socialization outcomes. The sub-questions and accompanying results are detailed in this section.

To What Extent is there a Relationship between Individual Gender Identity and the Identification of Masculinity Constructs as Desirable Outcomes of New Member Education?

One-way ANOVA tests evaluated the degree to which individual CMNI-46 scores, with high scores meaning higher adherence to masculine norms, differed by outcome desirability (extremely desirable, desirable, undesirable, extremely undesirable) for different new member outcomes. As shown in Table 13, several new member outcomes showed statistically significant differences in CMNI-46 scores. In the case of some new member outcomes, the adherence to masculine norms does not appear to

influence their desirability. There were no statistically significant differences in the CMNI-46 scores of individuals in relation to the desirability of the following new member outcomes: feeling pride in the fraternity, succeeding academically (unless one tries too hard, which is negatively perceived), demonstrating leadership skills, understanding the importance of pledge class unity, developing intense friendships with other pledges, or understanding their role in representing the fraternity. This finding is not surprising, as pride, leadership, academic success, and friendships are generally valued across multiple masculinities.

Post-hoc testing revealed several insights. There were several outcomes, all of which align with hegemonic masculine norms that showed higher masculine norms alignment with higher desirability of outcomes achievement. These include prioritization of new members being broken down psychologically and built back up, proving one can handle challenges, knowing how to maintain the chapter facility, and earning the privilege of initiation. These outcomes align with masculine norms that emphasize toughness, risk taking, proving oneself to others, and earning group inclusion.

For the outcome of being broken down psychologically and built back up ($F(3, 357)=12.287, p=0.000, \eta_p^2=0.094$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the mean individual CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=79.48, SD=13.156$) were higher ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat undesirable ($M=72.60, SD=10.311$) ($d=0.582$) and very undesirable ($M=68.35, SD=11.590$) ($d=0.900$). There were also significant differences between those who viewed the findings as somewhat desirable ($M=75.28, SD=11.513$) compared to those

Table 13

Desirability of New Member Outcome and Individual CMNI-46 Score

New Member Outcome	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
Pride	3	357	0.158	0.924	0.001
Break down psychologically and rebuild	3	355	12.287	0.000**	0.094
Handle challenges	3	350	4.700	0.003**	0.039
Succeed academically	3	355	1.059	0.367	0.009
Leadership skills	3	356	0.556	0.644	0.005
Maintain the chapter house	3	355	3.630	0.013**	0.030
Experience the same program	3	357	4.588	0.004**	0.037
Maintain the social image	3	356	2.805	0.040*	0.023
Pledge class unity	3	357	2.129	0.096	0.018
Intense friendships	3	355	1.840	0.140	0.015
Represent fraternity	3	357	1.287	0.279	0.011
Earn initiation	3	356	4.345	0.005**	0.035

Note. *df* = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

who found this goal very undesirable ($M=68.35$, $SD=11.590$) ($d=0.600$) and those who found this outcome very desirable ($d=0.340$).

For the outcome of new members being able to prove they can handle challenges ($F(3, 355)=4.700$, $p=0.003$, $\eta_p^2=0.039$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the mean individual CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=74.32$, $SD=12.131$) were higher ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat undesirable ($M=67.74$, $SD=11.162$) ($d=0.564$) and somewhat desirable ($M=70.03$, $SD=11.716$) ($d=0.360$). Post-hoc tests did not show a statistically significant difference between those who found this outcome very desirable and very undesirable ($M=70.53$,

SD=8.017) ($d=0.368$) though the difference in means does show that those who found this outcome very desirable ascribed to more normative forms of masculinity.

For the outcome of maintaining the chapter house ($F(3, 355)=3.630, p=0.013, \eta_p^2=0.030$), post hoc comparisons indicated the mean individual CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=74.20, SD=12.113$) were higher ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as very undesirable ($M= 65.05, SD=16.276$) ($d=0.638$). There were not differences found in other comparisons.

Finally, there were differences in the CMNI-46 scores of those with different levels of desirability on the outcome of earning the privilege of initiation ($F(3, 356)=4.345, p=0.005, \eta_p^2=0.035$). Post-hoc comparisons indicated that the mean individual CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=73.33, SD=11.852$) were higher than those who identified this outcome as very undesirable ($M=71.71, SD=18.090$) ($d=0.106$), somewhat undesirable ($M=67.12, SD=11.879$) ($d=0.523$), and somewhat desirable ($M=68.99, SD=10.955$) ($d=0.380$).

Interestingly, for the outcomes of experiencing a similar new member experience and maintaining the social image of the fraternity, post hoc tests showed that individuals with higher adherence to gender norms found these outcomes less desirable. There were differences in individual CMNI-46 scores dependent upon the desirability of new members experiencing the same program as the respondent ($F(2, 357)=4.588, p=0.004, \eta_p^2=0.037$). Post-hoc comparisons indicated that the mean individual CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=72.32, SD=12.252$) ($d=0.619$) somewhat desirable ($M=71.12, SD= 10.916$) ($d=0.747$), and somewhat undesirable ($M=67.94, SD=12.035$) ($d=0.965$) were different ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this

outcome as very undesirable ($M= 80.33$, $SD=13.591$). There were not differences between the other comparisons. Interestingly, individuals with higher masculine norm adherence desired new members to experience a different new member program. This is not surprising given that often those most recently initiated seek to make the experience more challenging (DeSantis, 2007).

The desirability of maintaining the social image of the fraternity also showed some differences in CMNI-46 scores ($F(3, 356)=2.805$, $p=0.04$, $\eta_p^2=0.023$). Post-hoc comparisons indicated that the mean individual CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very undesirable ($M=82.00$, $SD=15.835$) were higher ($p<0.05$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat desirable ($M=70.39$, $SD= 11.726$) ($d=0.833$). There were not differences between the other comparisons. One might speculate that those with adherence to more hegemonic masculine norms might feel that the pressure to maintain a certain image forced them to curb their behavior.

Overall, these findings demonstrate that outcomes that align well with masculine identity are generally more desirable to individuals with higher individual adherence to masculine norms. By proving oneself, being resilient in the face of challenges and stoic through difficulty, and earning acceptance by the in-group, students prove their masculine identities. There are similar findings for perceived group identity as well.

To What Extent is there a Relationship between Group Gender Identity and the Identification of Masculinity Constructs as Outcomes of New Member Education?

One-way ANOVA tests evaluated the degree to which perceived group CMNI-46 scores, with high scores meaning higher adherence to masculine norms, differed by outcome desirability (extremely desirable, desirable, undesirable, extremely undesirable).

As shown in Table 14, several new member outcomes showed statistically significant differences in group CMNI-46 scores. These differences were very similar to individual CMNI-46 score differences in outcomes desirability. In the case of several new member outcomes, the adherence to masculine norms does not appear to influence their desirability. There were no differences in the group CMNI-46 scores in relation to the desirability of feeling pride in the fraternity, succeeding academically, demonstrating leadership skills, and understanding the importance of pledge class unity. Since pride, leadership, academic success, and friendships are generally valued across multiple masculinities, this finding is not surprising.

Table 14
Desirability of New Member Outcomes and Group CMNI-46 Score

New Member Outcome	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Pride	3	357	0.666	0.574	0.006
Break down psychologically and rebuild	3	355	8.900	0.000**	0.070
Handle challenges	3	350	5.355	0.001**	0.044
Succeed academically	3	355	1.236	0.296	0.010
Leadership skills	3	356	0.859	0.463	0.007
Maintain the chapter house	3	355	4.214	0.006**	0.034
Experience the same program	3	357	0.351	0.788	0.003
Maintain the social image	3	356	1.562	0.198	0.013
Pledge class unity	3	357	0.462	0.709	0.004
Intense friendships	3	355	4.230	0.006**	0.035
Represent fraternity	3	357	3.504	0.016**	0.029
Earn initiation	3	356	4.973	0.002**	0.040

Note. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Post-hoc testing revealed similar insights to the outcomes comparisons with individual CMNI-46 scores. There were several outcomes, all of which align with hegemonic masculine norms, which showed higher masculine norms alignment with higher desirability of outcomes achievement. These include prioritization of new members being broken down and built back up, proving one can handle challenges, maintaining the chapter house, and earning the privilege of initiation. These outcomes align with masculine norms that emphasize toughness, risk taking, proving oneself of others, and earning the right to membership.

For the outcome of being broken down psychologically and being built back up ($F(3, 355)=8.900, p=0.000, \eta_p^2=0.070$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the group CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=83.97, SD=13.037$) were higher ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat undesirable ($M=76.07, SD=11.164$) ($d=0.651$) and very undesirable ($M=73.82, SD=11.210$) ($d=0.835$), and they indicated differences between those who viewed this outcome as somewhat desirable ($M=79.51, SD=12.891$) and those who found the outcome very undesirable ($d=0.471$).

In exploring the desirability of new members being able to prove they can handle challenges ($F(3, 350)=5.355, p=0.001, \eta_p^2=0.044$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the group CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=76.51, SD=12.133$) were higher ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat desirable ($M=74.49, SD=11.106$) ($d=0.174$), somewhat undesirable ($M=73.78, SD=11.202$) ($d=0.234$) and very undesirable ($M=73.13, SD=13.912$) ($d=0.260$). There were no other significant comparisons.

For the outcome of earning the privilege of initiation ($F(3, 356)=4.973$, $p=0.002$, $\eta_p^2=0.040$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the group CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=78.05$, $SD=12.376$) were higher ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat desirable ($M=73.75$, $SD= 10.145$) ($d=0.380$) and somewhat undesirable ($M=70.72$, $SD=12.847$) ($d=0.581$). There were no other significant comparisons.

In examining the outcome of maintaining the chapter house ($F(3, 355)=4.214$, $p=0.006$, $\eta_p^2=0.034$), at the extreme ends there appear to be differences, but there are mixed findings for those with more moderate views on desirability. Post hoc comparisons indicated that the group CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=78.40$, $SD=12.091$) were higher ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as very undesirable ($M=69.20$, $SD=14.036$) ($d=0.702$). There were no other significant comparisons.

Different than the findings when looking at individual CMNI-46 scores, there were statistically significant differences found in the group CMNI-46 scores based on outcome desirability in developing intense friendships with other new members and with new members understanding their role in representing the fraternity. These findings are interesting in that while there were differences in group CMNI-46 scores, there were not clear trends of increasing masculine gender norm adherence with increasing desirability. In general, those with higher gender norm adherence tended to choose either end of the desirability spectrum.

For the outcome of developing intense friendships with pledges ($F(3, 355)=4.230$, $p=0.006$, $\eta_p^2=0.035$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the mean group CMNI-46

score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=77.61$, $SD=12.180$) were higher ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat desirable ($M=72.43$, $SD= 10.357$) ($d=0.458$). There were no other significant comparisons.

In exploring the outcome of understanding the role of representing the fraternity ($F(3, 357)=3.504$, $p=0.016$, $\eta_p^2=0.029$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the mean group CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=77.38$, $SD=12.486$) were higher ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat desirable ($M=72.41$, $SD= 9.392$) ($d=0.458$) and somewhat undesirable ($M=79.00$, $SD=12.903$) ($d=0.129$). There were no other significant comparisons. Because only one respondent indicated this outcome was very undesirable ($M=74.00$), this category was not included in the post hoc analysis.

Overall, the data suggest that the more an individual believed the group aligned with hegemonic gender norms, the more desirable certain outcomes were. Those outcomes include being broken down psychologically, proving one can handle challenges, maintaining the chapter facility, and earning the right of initiation. These outcomes generally aligned with hegemonic male norms supported by the literature (DeSantis, 2007; Kimmel, 2008).

To What Extent is there a Relationship between the Gap between Individual and Group Gender Identity and Identification of Masculinity Constructs as Outcomes of New Member Education?

One-way ANOVA tests evaluated the degree to which the gap between individual CMNI-46 score and the mean group CMNI-46 score for that individual's fraternity differed by outcome desirability (extremely desirable, desirable, undesirable, extremely

undesirable). Positive gap scores meant the group CMNI-46 score was higher than the individual CMNI-46 score, and negative gap scores meant the group CMNI-46 mean score was lower than the individual CMNI-46 score. As shown in Table 15, several outcomes showed statistically significant differences in gap CMNI-46 scores that were very similar to individual CMNI-46 and group CMNI-46 score differences. In the case of several new member outcomes, the adherence to masculine norms does not appear to influence their desirability. There were no statistically significant differences in the gap CMNI-46 scores in relation to the desirability of the following new member outcomes: feeling pride in the fraternity, succeeding academically, demonstrating leadership skills, and understanding the importance of pledge class unity. This finding is not surprising, as pride in one's organization, leadership, academic success, and friendships are generally not linked in the literature to masculine norms.

Unlike the individual CMNI-46 score analysis, there were not statistically significant differences in knowing how to maintain the chapter facility and in maintaining the social image of the fraternity. Unlike the group CMNI-46 score analysis, there were not statistically significant findings in developing intense friendships with other new members and understanding their role in representing the fraternity. In comparing gap CMNI-46 scores by outcome desirability, there were statistically significant differences in being broken down psychologically and being built back up, proving new members can handle challenges, experiencing the same new member program, and earning the privilege of initiation.

For the outcome of being broken down psychologically and built back up ($F(3, 355)=5.337, p=0.001, \eta_p^2=0.043$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the gap score

between the average group CMNI-46 score in their fraternity compared to a respondents' individual CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=-3.520$, $SD=9.815$) were different ($p<0.01$) than those who identified this outcome as very undesirable ($M=2.234$, $SD=9.036$) ($d=0.136$). There were no other significant comparisons. For those who found this outcome very desirable, they had an individual CMNI-46 score that adhered more strongly to masculine norms than the perceived group CMNI-46 score of the average member in their fraternity. In comparison, individuals who found this outcome very

Table 15

The Relationship between Desirability of New Member Outcomes and the Gap between Individual CMNI-46 and the Average CMNI-46 of an Individual's Fraternity

New Member Outcome	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Pride	3	357	0.477	0.698	0.004
Break down psychologically and rebuild	3	355	5.337	0.001**	0.043
Handle challenges	3	350	3.116	0.026*	0.026
Succeed academically	3	355	0.323	0.809	0.003
Leadership skills	3	356	0.402	0.751	0.003
Maintain the chapter house	3	355	1.296	0.276	0.011
Experience the same program	3	357	5.177	0.002**	0.042
Maintain the social image	3	356	2.370	0.070	0.020
Pledge class unity	3	357	2.389	0.069	0.020
Intense friendships	3	355	1.229	0.299	0.010
Represent fraternity	3	357	1.142	0.332	0.010
Earn initiation	3	356	2.695	0.046*	0.022

Note. *df* = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

undesirable tended to have a lower individual CMNI-46 score compared to the average group CMNI-46 score of the members in their fraternity.

For the outcome of proving new members can handle challenges ($F(3, 350)=3.116, p=0.026, \eta_p^2=0.026$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the gap score between the average group CMNI-46 score in their fraternity compared to respondents' individual CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=-1.185, SD=9.068$) were different ($p<0.05$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat desirable ($M=1.644, SD=9.250$) ($d=0.313$). There were no other significant comparisons. For those who found this outcome very desirable, they had an individual CMNI-46 score that was more aligned with hegemonic gender norms than the perceived group CMNI-46 score of the members in their fraternity.

In comparing desirability of the outcome of experiencing the same program as they experienced ($F(3, 357)=5.177, p=0.002, \eta_p^2=0.042$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the gap score between the average group CMNI-46 score in their fraternity compared to their individual CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very undesirable ($M=-6.745, SD=11.265$) differed ($p<0.01$) compared to those who identified this outcome as somewhat desirable ($M=0.970, SD=8.566$) ($d=0.771$), somewhat undesirable ($M=3.191, SD=9.022$) ($d=0.973$), and very desirable ($M=-0.080, SD=9.081$) ($d=0.651$). For those who found this outcome very undesirable, they had an individual CMNI-46 score that was more aligned with hegemonic gender norms than the perceived group CMNI-46 score of the average member in their fraternity. This finding aligns with the findings of individual CMNI-46 scores for this outcome and may explain the desire for

those with more hegemonically aligned identities to champion for more challenging new member experiences.

Finally, for the outcome of earning the privilege of initiation ($F(3, 356)=2.695$, $p=0.046$, $\eta_p^2=0.022$), post hoc comparisons indicated that the gap score between the average group CMNI-46 score in their fraternity compared to individual respondents' CMNI-46 score for those who found this outcome very desirable ($M=-0.592$, $SD=8.848$) were different ($p<0.05$) than those who identified this outcome as somewhat desirable ($M=2.473$, $SD=9.170$) ($d=0.340$). There were no other significant comparisons. Interestingly, those who found this outcome very desirable had an individual CMNI-46 score that was more aligned with hegemonic gender norms than the perceived group CMNI-46 score. In contrast, those who found this outcome somewhat desirable and somewhat undesirable had lower individual CMNI-46 scores in comparison to the group CMNI-46 score among their fraternity brothers.

Overall, the data suggest that individuals with more hegemonically aligned gender identities in comparison with their fraternity chapter's group identity tended to more strongly desire achievement of outcomes where individuals prove themselves, experience a rite of passage, and "earn" their initiation through ordeals, all of which align with the literature on masculine gender performance. Additionally, these more masculine norm-aligned individuals also desired for the new member program to be different from what they experienced. Hazing behaviors are like crabgrass—something toward which one must constantly be attentive. Perhaps more masculine norm-aligned individuals play a role in influencing groups in trending toward achieving these outcomes, which opens the chapter to hazing susceptibility.

**To What Extent Does the Role an Individual Plays in New Member Education Have
a Relationship with His Gender Identity?**

The next set of sub-questions examined the role an individual played in new member socialization activities. As shown previously in Figure 8, the types of roles most individuals played varied greatly by chapter and, as reported previously, showed a moderate relationship with the extremity of hazing. A one-way ANOVA test exploring the relationship between new member socialization role and alignment with masculine norms reported through the CMNI-46 did not show any relationship ($F(3, 342)=1.242$, $p=0.295$, $\eta_p^2=0.011$). Even when broken into groups based upon hazing extremity (low, moderate, high, and very high), there were no statistically significant differences in the individual masculine norm conformity of respondents who played different new member socialization roles, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16

One-Way ANOVA Exploring the Relationship between CMNI-46 Scores and New Member Socialization Role by Extremity of Hazing

Number of Hazing Activities (<i>df1, df2</i>)	Individual CMNI-46		Group CMNI- 46		Gap: Group – Individual CMNI-46	
	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Low: 0-3 activities (3, 45)	0.283	0.838	0.348	0.791	0.709	0.552
Moderate: 4-7 activities (3, 84)	1.434	0.239	1.782	0.157	0.794	0.501
High: 8-11 activities (3, 150)	1.034	0.379	0.602	0.615	0.232	0.874
Very High: 12-15 activities (3, 50)	1.491	0.228	1.304	0.283	1.392	0.256

Note. *df* = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

To What Extent is there a Relationship between Perceived Group Gender Identity and the Role an Individual Plays in New Member Socialization?

A one-way ANOVA test exploring the relationship between new member socialization role and alignment with individually perceived group masculine norms reported through the CMNI-46 did not show a relationship ($F(3, 342)=1.725$, $p=0.162$, $\eta_p^2=0.015$). When broken down by hazing extremity (low, moderate, high, and very high), no statistically significant differences became apparent, as shown in Table 16.

To What Extent is there a Relationship between New Member Socialization Role and the Gap between Individual and Group Gender Identity?

A one-way ANOVA test exploring the relationship between new member socialization role and the gap score between perceived group CMNI-46 score and individual CMNI-46 score did not show a relationship ($F(3, 342)=0.844$, $p=0.470$, $\eta_p^2=0.007$). When broken down based upon hazing extremity (low, moderate, high, and very high), no statistically significant differences became apparent, as shown in Table 16.

While there can be many explanations for the absence of a relationship between new member socialization role and individual or group masculine norm adherence or the gap between the two, the finding may be due to the constraints of the structure of the new member socialization process, which may dictate who is responsible for specific tasks. For example, individuals may run in an election to be the new member educator, but they may not be elected. Additionally, some hazing activities may be more conducive for involvement than others. In a future study, it may be interesting to look at involvement by activity to determine if there is a relationship based upon the specific activity.

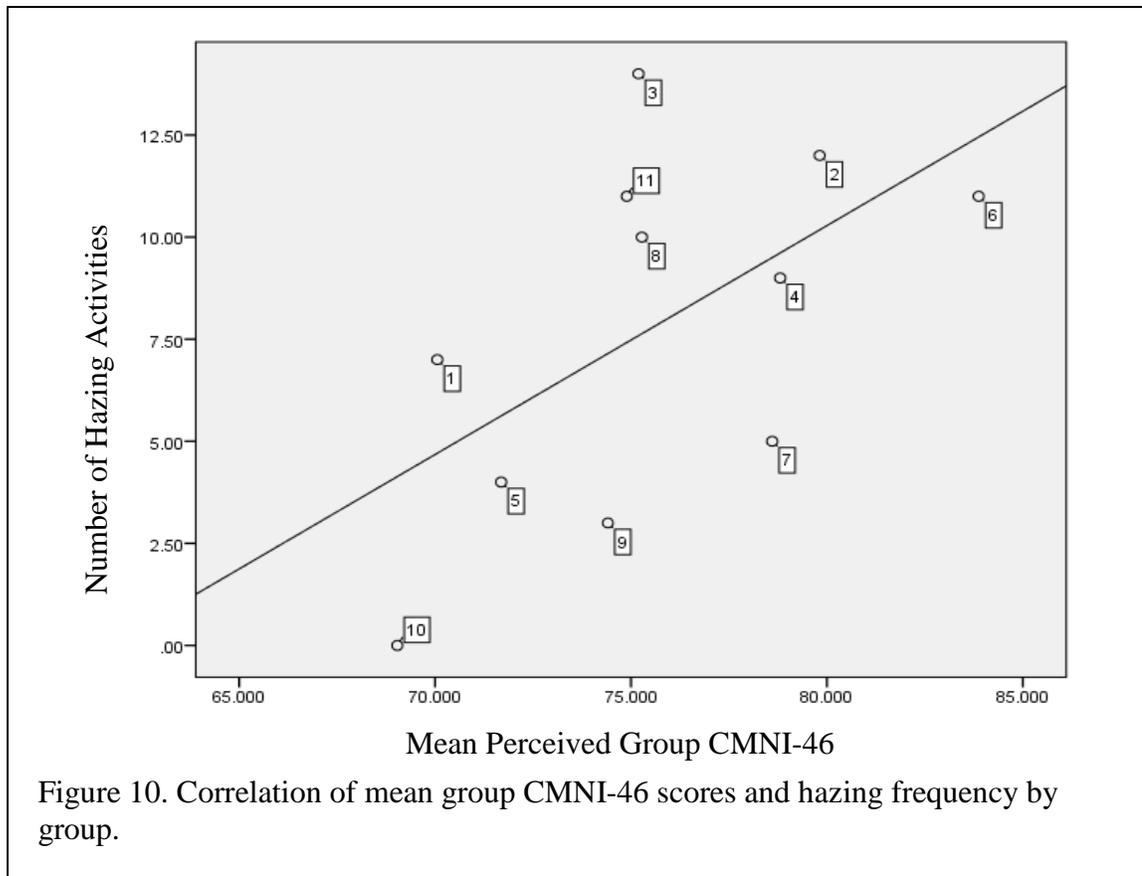
To What Extent is there a Relationship between Hazing Frequency and Either Individual Adherence to Gender Norms or Perceived Group Adherence to Gender Norms?

A one-tailed Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient to test the degree of correlation between hazing frequency and individual CMNI-46 and group CMNI-46 scores showed that there is weak positive correlation between individual CMNI-46 scores and hazing frequency ($r(403)=0.095$, $p=0.029$). In contrast to the weak relationship between the individual CMNI-46 scores and hazing frequency, if one examines the mean group CMNI-46 score for each chapter with the chapter's reported hazing frequency, a one-tailed Pearson product-moment correlation showed a moderate positive correlation between the two ($r(11)=0.578$, $p=0.031$). Both correlations are shown in Table 17. The scatterplot in Figure 10 summarizes the group correlation data. The data indicate that the mean group masculine gender norm adherence has a stronger relationship to hazing frequency than individual gender norm adherence. This is indicative of an individual's tolerance of hazing activities in adherence to group norms.

Table 17
Correlation between Hazing Activity Frequency and Individual and Group Gender Norm Adherence

	CMNI-46 Score (<i>n</i>)	Hazing Activity Frequency
Individual CMNI-46 (<i>n</i> =403)	Pearson Correlation	0.095
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.029*
Mean group CMNI-46 (<i>n</i> =11)	Pearson Correlation	0.578
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.031*

Note. * 0.05 level (1-tailed).



To explore this relationship further, I used a one-tailed Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient to explore the relationship between the group mean for perceived group gender norm adherence for each CMNI-46 subscale and hazing frequency. The results show moderate to large positive correlations with emotional control ($r(11)=0.597$, $p=0.026$), risk taking ($r(11)=0.576$, $p=0.032$), power over women ($r(11)=0.592$, $p=0.028$), and the playboy subscale ($r(11)=0.611$, $p=0.023$), as shown in Table 18. The data suggest that as group adherence to masculine norms of emotional control, risk taking, power over women, and playboy attitudes increases, frequency of hazing activities increases, further lending support to the supposition that chapters use hazing as a tool to reinforce hegemonic masculine ideals.

Table 18

Correlation between Hazing Activity Frequency and Group Gender Norm Adherence Subscales on CMNI-46 (n=11)

CMNI-46 Subscales	Hazing Frequency	
Winning	Pearson Correlation	0.205
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.273
Emotional control	Pearson Correlation	0.597
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.026*
Risk taking	Pearson Correlation	0.576
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.032*
Violence	Pearson Correlation	0.430
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.093
Power over women	Pearson Correlation	0.592
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.028*
Playboy	Pearson Correlation	0.611
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.023*
Self-reliance	Pearson Correlation	0.447
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.084
Primacy of work	Pearson Correlation	-0.449
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.083
Heterosexual self-preservation	Pearson Correlation	0.488
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.064

Note. * 0.05 level (1-tailed).

To What Extent is there a Relationship between Individual Gender Identity and Participation in Specific Hazing Activities?

Next, I explored the degree to which an individual's adherence to masculine norms made him more likely to participate in certain hazing activities. ANOVAs comparing whether an activity was present or absent in a group showed several statistically significant relationships. Table 19 shows the results.

The higher an individual's CMNI-46 score, the more likely the individual's chapter asked new members to come to a location with little or no notice ($F(1,$

401)=4.047, $p=0.045$, $\eta_p^2=0.045$, $M_{\text{absent}}=69.86$, $M_{\text{present}}=72.87$), take a test where the results are rigged ($F(1, 401)=16.218$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.039$, $M_{\text{absent}}=70.06$, $M_{\text{present}}=74.94$), have their sleep be interrupted ($F(1, 401)=15.886$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.038$, $M_{\text{absent}}=70.89$, $M_{\text{present}}=76.51$), be yelled at ($F(1, 401)=5.388$, $p=0.021$, $\eta_p^2=0.013$, $M_{\text{absent}}=71.09$, $M_{\text{present}}=73.99$), or wear silly or embarrassing attire ($F(1, 401)=12.817$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.031$, $M_{\text{absent}}=70.89$, $M_{\text{present}}=75.71$). There were not statistically significant differences in the CMNI-46 scores for the other hazing activities. The data suggest that individuals with higher adherence to masculine norms were members of organizations where new members experience specific hazing activities designed to point out shortcoming of individuals or cause new members to fail or be emasculated in some way. Each of these activities serve as a mechanism to remind new members that they are not yet welcome inside the act-like-a-man box given that higher masculine norm-conforming individuals are willing to endure these activities to prove themselves.

To What Extent is there a Relationship between Group Gender Identity and Chapter Participation in Specific Hazing Activities?

In the same vein, I used ANOVA tests to determine whether a relationship exists between perceived group CMNI-46 and an individual's participation in certain hazing activities, as shown in Table 19. Similar to the results for individual CMNI-46 scores, the higher the perceived group CMNI-46 score, the more likely the group asked new members to come to a location with little or no notice ($F(1, 401)=17.818$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.043$, $M_{\text{absent}}=71.52$, $M_{\text{present}}=77.64$), take a rigged test where the results are rigged ($F(1, 401)=11.450$, $p=0.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.028$, $M_{\text{absent}}=74.53$, $M_{\text{present}}=78.59$), have their sleep be interrupted ($F(1, 401)=12.721$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.031$, $M_{\text{absent}}=75.15$, $M_{\text{present}}=80.11$), be

yelled at ($F(1, 401)=9.055, p=0.003, \eta_p^2=0.022, M_{\text{absent}}=74.89, M_{\text{present}}=78.57$), or wear silly or embarrassing attire ($F(1, 401)=15.384, p=0.000, \eta_p^2=0.037, M_{\text{absent}}=74.89, M_{\text{present}}=80.07$).

Table 19
Relationship between Individual and Group CMNI-46 Scores and Chapter Hazing Participation

Hazing Activity Presence in the Organization	Individual CMNI-46 (<i>df</i> (1, 401))			Group CMNI-46 (<i>df</i> (1, 401))		
	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
Tasks	1.263	0.262	0.003	11.232	0.001**	0.027
Pledge rules	1.263	0.262	0.003	11.232	0.001**	0.027
Label or nickname	0.934	0.334	0.002	9.384	0.002*	0.023
Carrying item	1.265	0.261	0.003	5.251	0.022*	0.013
Skit, song night, or roast	0.020	0.888	0.000	2.501	0.115	0.006
Competition	1.263	0.262	0.003	11.232	0.001**	0.027
Prank or raid	0.612	0.435	0.002	0.031	0.860	0.000
Come to a location	4.047	0.045*	0.010	17.818	0.000**	0.043
Rigged test	16.218	0.000**	0.039	11.450	0.001**	0.028
Interrupted sleep	15.886	0.000**	0.038	12.721	0.000**	0.031
Kidnapped/ dropped off	2.068	0.151	0.005	0.747	0.388	0.002
Yelled at	5.388	0.021*	0.013	9.055	0.003**	0.022
Silly/ embarrassing attire	12.817	0.000**	0.031	15.384	0.000**	0.037
Spicy/bad-tasting concoctions	0.413	0.521	0.001	0.007	0.935	0.000
Excessive alcohol consumption	0.019	0.890	0.000	0.153	0.696	0.000

Note. *df* = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Additionally, several other hazing activities also show statistically significant relationships with perceived group CMNI-46 scores. The higher an individual's perceived group CMNI-46 score, the more likely the individual's chapter conducted tasks ($F(1, 401)=11.232, p=0.001, \eta_p^2=0.027, M_{\text{absent}}=69.71, M_{\text{present}}=72.43$), had rules that new members needed to follow ($F(1, 401)=11.232, \eta_p^2=0.027, p=0.000, M_{\text{absent}}=69.71, M_{\text{present}}=72.43$), labeled new members with nicknames ($F(1, 401)=9.384, p=0.002, \eta_p^2=0.023, M_{\text{absent}}=73.07, M_{\text{present}}=77.37$), required new members to carry a certain items ($F(1, 401)=5.251, p=0.022, \eta_p^2=0.013, M_{\text{absent}}=74.50, M_{\text{present}}=77.37$), and pitted new members against other members in a competition ($F(1, 401)=11.232, p=0.001, \eta_p^2=0.027, M_{\text{absent}}=69.04, M_{\text{present}}=76.89$).

Overall, the data suggest that perceived group adherence to masculine norms, as measured by the CMNI-46, has more relationships with hazing activity participation compared to individual masculine norm adherence. Additionally, participants who engaged in 10 of 15 hazing activities showed stronger perceived group masculine norm adherence in comparison to those individuals who did not participate.

Hypothesis 2: Hazing is Play

What Hazing Activities Meet Play Criteria?

None of the activities meets all four of the play criteria. However, individuals across the sample believed that each new member activity met some of the criteria of play, as shown previously in Table 12. For example, 71.9% of 217 individuals who participated in competitions between new members and members felt the activity was fun, 39.2% viewed their participation as voluntary, 35.0% identified that rules were part of the competition, and 7.8% viewed the experience as some form of drama or theatre.

Even 38.8% of the 67 individuals who reported eating spicy or bad-tasting concoctions reported that the experience was fun, 40.3% indicated there were rules involved, 29.9% reported that the experience was voluntary, and 7.5% reported the experience invoked drama or theatre in some way. As another example, for the 91 students who reported being kidnapped or dropped off in an unknown location, 57.1% reported the experience as fun, 27.5% reported it was voluntary, 44.0% reported rules were involved, and 16.5% reported there was some form of theatre or drama associated with the experience. Additionally, 26.1% of the 153 participants who were yelled at reported that the experience was fun, 22.2% said it was voluntary, 45.8% reported the experience was governed by rules, and 24.2% reported some form of drama or theatre.

These findings seem contrary to the perceptions of those who study hazing. Generally, experiences such as being forced to eat a spicy or bad-tasting concoction, being yelled at, or being kidnapped and dropped off do not invoke feelings of positivity, yet for a large percentage of the respondents in this study, they do. These activities are reported as fun for many of the student respondents who experienced these activities. This further demonstrates that those outside the play frame do not interpret these activities the same way that those experiencing playing inside the frame experience these activities.

Do the Hazing Activities Reported Fall More Strongly into One Type of Play Category than Another?

Over the entire sample of participants, individuals either indicated whether they participated in a specific activity or did not participate. These activities were then categorized according to an expert panel of fraternity and sorority advisors. Respondents

reported participating most in competition-based activities and mimicry-based activities, with more than 40% of respondents indicating participation with pledge rules, being required to carry items at all times, engaging in competitions between new members and members, being called a nickname, participating in a skit or song, and being yelled at by members. For both games of chance and structured chaos, in only one of the activities within those categories did more than 40% of participants participate; individuals reported participating in tasks as a game of chance and being called to a location with little or no notice as a form of structured chaos. The percentages are reported in Table 20.

Table 20

Percent Participation in Each Type of Hazing Activity by Play Category

Play Category (<i>n</i>)	Activity	Percentage
Competition (<i>n</i> =295)	Pledge rules	77.5%
	Carrying item	48.5%
	Competition	60.1%
	Prank or raid	35.7%
Game of chance (<i>n</i> =278)	Tasks	75.1%
	Rigged test	25.5%
	Spicy/bad-tasting concoctions	18.6%
Mimicry (<i>n</i> =249)	Label or nickname	49.9%
	Skit, song night, or roast	45.4%
	Yelled at	42.4%
	Silly/embarrassing attire	30.7%
Structured chaos (<i>n</i> =236)	Come to a location	56.8%
	Interrupted sleep	25.8%
	Kidnapped/dropped off	25.2%
	Excessive alcohol consumption	35.2%

Note. Bold percentages denote that this percentage is over 40%.

For each individual who reported participating in hazing activities, each activity met between one and four play criteria (fun, voluntary, rules, theatre). As shown in Table 20, competition-based activities were reported by 295 individuals. Games of chance-based activities were reported by 278 individuals, and mimicry-based activities were reported by 249 people. Chaos-based activities were least frequent, with 236 reports.

Does the Frequency of Hazing Vary by Play Category?

By category, chapters participated in an average of 2.9 of 4 (72.7%) competition-related activities, 1.36 of 3 (45.5%) game of chance-related activities, 2 of 4 (50.0%) mimicry-related activities, and 1.45 of 4 (36.4%) chaos-related activities. The types of hazing that groups engaged in varied by group, as shown in Table 21.

Table 21

Percent of Activities an Individual Group Participates in by Play Category

Number of Hazing Activities	Group	Play Category			
		Competition	Game of Chance	Mimicry	Chaos
Low: 0-3 activities	9	50.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%
	10	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Moderate: 4-7 activities	1	75.0%	33.3%	50.0%	25.0%
	5	50.0%	33.3%	25.0%	0.0%
	7	50.0%	33.3%	25.0%	25.0%
High: 8-11 activities	4	100.0%	66.7%	25.0%	50.0%
	6	75.0%	66.7%	100.0%	50.0%
	8	100.0%	33.3%	50.0%	50.0%
	11	100.0%	33.3%	75.0%	75.0%
Very High: 12-15 activities	2	100.0%	66.7%	100.0%	50.0%
	3	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	75.0%

For example, group 11 participated in all four competition-related hazing activities but only one of the games of chance-related activities. In contrast, group 6 participated in all of the mimicry-related activities but only 3 of the 4 competition-related activities. Ten of 11 groups (90.9%) engaged in some form of competition-related play, 10 of 11 groups (90.9%) engaged in games of chance-related play, 9 of 11 groups (81.8%) participated in mimicry-related activities, and 8 of 11 groups (72.7%) engaged in chaos-related activities.

An analysis of the relationship between play category and hazing extremity revealed interesting results. A one-way ANOVA comparing group hazing activity frequency by extremity (low, moderate, high, very high) and frequency of hazing activities by category shows statistically significant differences in the areas of competition ($F(3, 7)=9.214, p=0.008, \eta_p^2=0.798$), games of chance ($F(3, 7)=6.674, p=0.018, \eta_p^2=0.741$), mimicry ($F(3, 7)=7.549, p=0.013, \eta_p^2=0.764$), and structured chaos ($F(3, 7)=13.161, p=0.003, \eta_p^2=0.849$), as shown in Table 22.

In the area of competition, post hoc comparisons indicated that the groups with low levels of hazing ($M=0.250, SD=0.354$) engaged in competition-based activities at lower levels ($p<0.01$) than groups who engage in high levels of hazing ($M=0.938$,

Table 22
The Relationship between Hazing Extremity and Play Category

Play Category	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
Competition	3	7	9.214	0.008**	0.798
Game of chance	3	7	6.674	0.018*	0.741
Mimicry	3	7	7.549	0.013*	0.764
Structured chaos	3	7	13.161	0.003**	0.849

Note. *df* = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

SD=0.125) ($d=2.591$) and very high levels of hazing ($M=1.000$, $SD=0.000$) ($d=3.000$). For games of chance, groups with low levels of hazing ($M=0.165$, $SD=0.233$) engaged in games of chance-based activities at lower levels ($p<0.05$) than groups who engage in very high levels of hazing ($M=0.834$, $SD=0.236$) ($d=2.852$). For mimicry, the groups with low levels of hazing ($M=0.000$, $SD=0.000$) engaged in mimicry-based activities at lower levels ($p<0.05$) than groups who engage in very high levels of hazing ($M=1.000$, $SD=0.000$). For structured chaos, the groups with low levels of hazing ($M=0.000$, $SD=0.000$) and moderate levels of hazing ($M=0.167$, $SD=0.144$) engaged in chaos-based activities at lower levels of hazing ($p<0.01$) than groups who engaged in high levels ($M=0.563$, $SD=0.125$) ($d=3.000$ compared to moderate levels) and very high levels of hazing ($M=0.625$, $SD=0.177$) ($d=2.839$ compared to moderate levels). There were no other significant comparisons.

The data suggest that for groups who participate in very high levels of hazing, there is a much higher likelihood that the group engages more frequently in activities categorized as competition, games of chance, structured chaos, and mimicry than the low-level hazing groups. Groups who participate in high levels of hazing are likely to participate more frequently in competition-based activities than the low-level hazing groups. Higher frequency participation in structured chaos-based activities appear to be used by groups with high and very high levels of hazing compared to those groups in the low and moderate hazing categories. There also appears to be a hierarchy to the play categories. Nearly all groups participate in some form of competition-based activities. This is followed by mimicry and games of chance for higher-level hazing groups.

Structured chaos appears to be reserved for the groups who engage in the highest levels of hazing. This finding is discussed more extensively in Chapter 5.

**To What Extent is the Role an Individual Plays in New Member Socialization
Associated with the Number of Play Characteristics?**

To test whether an individual's new member socialization role has a relationship with play, I compared new member socialization role (asked/told new members, helped new members, watched new members, did not participate) with a score that reflects the number of play criteria met for each play category (competition, game of chance, mimicry, structured chaos). The score is the sum of the number of play criteria the individual identified for each activity in each play category divided by the number of activities in the category. Scores ranged from 0.00 to 4.00. A one-way ANOVA showed statistically significant relationships between new member socialization role and the individual's likelihood to identify a hazing activity as meeting more play criteria for each play category: games of chance ($F(3, 283)=3.518, p=0.016, \eta_p^2=0.036$), mimicry ($F(3, 283)=3.015, p=0.030, \eta_p^2=0.031$), structured chaos ($F(3, 283)=3.384, p=0.019, \eta_p^2=0.035$), and competition ($F(3, 283)=6.693, p=0.000, \eta_p^2=0.066$) based activities. The results appear in Table 23.

In the area of competition, post hoc comparisons indicated that the individuals who did not participate in hazing ($M=0.619, SD=0.380$) identified a lower number of play criteria per activity ($p<0.01$) than those who watched ($M=1.077, SD=0.572$) ($d=0.943$), helped ($M=0.938, SD=0.499$) ($d=0.719$), or asked/told new members ($M=1.034, SD=0.602$) ($d=0.824$). In the games of chance category, post hoc comparisons indicated that the individuals who did not participate in hazing ($M=0.500, SD=0.392$)

Table 23

The Relationship between New Member Socialization Role and Number of Play Criteria Met for Activities in Each Play Category

Play Category	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
Competition	3	283	6.693	0.000**	0.066
Game of chance	3	283	3.518	0.016*	0.036
Mimicry	3	283	3.015	0.030*	0.031
Structured chaos	3	283	3.384	0.019*	0.035

Note. *df* = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

identified a lower number of play criteria per activity ($p < 0.01$) than those who asked/told new members ($M = 0.769$, $SD = 0.469$) ($d = 0.622$). For the category of mimicry, post hoc comparisons indicated that the individuals who did not participate in hazing ($M = 0.451$, $SD = 0.419$) identified a lower number of play criteria per activity ($p < 0.01$) than those who watched new members experience activities ($M = 0.780$, $SD = 0.603$) ($d = 0.634$). For structured chaos-based activities, post hoc comparisons indicated that the individuals who did not participate in hazing ($M = 0.388$, $SD = 0.367$) identified a lower number of play criteria per activity ($p < 0.01$) than those who asked/told new members ($M = 0.736$, $SD = 0.654$) ($d = 0.656$). There were no other statistically significant comparisons.

These findings suggest that those who engage in new member socialization in some role see competition-based activities as play behavior more than those who do not participate. Those not participating may be doing so because they see the behaviors as problematic while their peers see the activities as play as they are happening or justify the behaviors after the fact. For games of chance and structured chaos-related play, those individuals who are directing new members identify activities as meeting more criteria of play than those who do not participate. For mimicry, those who do not participate in new

member socialization are less likely to report an activity as play compared to those who are watching the socialization happen. This is particularly interesting given the show-like quality of mimicry-related activities.

Hypothesis 3: Hazing is Gendered Play

To explore the relationship between gender and hazing behaviors that meet play criteria, the independent variable of gender identity was calculated by taking individual CMNI-46 scores and perceived group CMNI-46 scores and breaking the normalized scores into four categories. Extreme conformity is a score of 60 or higher, moderate conformity is a score of 50.00 to 59.99, moderate nonconformity is a score of 40.00 to 49.99, and extreme nonconformity is a score of 39.99 or lower (Mahalik et al., 2005).

For the dependent variable, I computed a play criteria sum score that summed together the average number of play criteria for each activity for each play category (competition, game of chance, mimicry, structured chaos). The score was computed by calculating the sum of the number of play criteria the individual identified for each activity in each play category divided by the number of activities in the category. Each of the scores for the four categories were then summed together. Individuals with higher scores indicated that more activities met more criteria for play than individuals with lower scores. The following sub-questions further test the hypothesis.

To What Extent is there a Relationship between Individual Gender Identity and the

Likelihood of Identifying Hazing Activities as Play?

Comparing play criteria sum by gender conformity category, a one-way ANOVA showed there was a significant effect of masculine conformity on the number of play criteria met ($F(3, 297)=2.800, p=0.040, \eta_p^2=0.028$), as shown in Table 24. Post hoc

comparisons indicated that the play criteria sum was lower ($p < 0.05$) for those who were extreme non-conforming ($M = 2.417$, $SD = 1.519$) compared to those who were extreme conforming ($M = 3.430$, $SD = 2.068$) ($d = 0.558$). There were no other statistically significant comparisons. This finding suggests that individuals who did not conform as highly to hegemonic masculine norms did not identify hazing activities as meeting play criteria as frequently as those individuals who conformed highly to hegemonic masculine norms.

To test the degree to which the individual CMNI-46 subscales may correlate with the sum of play categories, a one-tailed Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient with the individual scores for each subscale on the CMNI-46 and the sum of play criteria showed weak positive correlations for winning ($r(301) = 0.117$, $p = 0.021$), risk taking ($r(301) = 0.099$, $p = 0.044$), violence ($r(301) = 0.179$, $p = 0.001$), power over women ($r(301) = 0.122$, $p = 0.017$), and the playboy subscale ($r(301) = 0.197$, $p = 0.000$). There is a weak negative correlation between the play criteria sum and primacy of work ($r(301) = -0.165$, $p = 0.002$). The results, which appear in Table 25, suggest that individuals who placed value on completing tasks were less likely to report activities as play and those who value dominance and risk taking report the behaviors more strongly as play.

Table 24

The Relationship between Individual and Group Masculine Norm Adherence and the Number of Play Criteria Sum

CMNI-46	Play Criteria Sum				
	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
Individual	3	297	2.800	0.040*	0.028
Group	3	297	6.790	0.000**	0.064

Note. *df* = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 25

Correlation between Total Play Criteria Met and CMNI-46 Subscales (n=301)

Individual CMNI-46 Subscales	Play Criteria Sum	
Winning	Pearson Correlation	0.117
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.021*
Emotional control	Pearson Correlation	-0.022
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.351
Risk taking	Pearson Correlation	0.099
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.044*
Violence	Pearson Correlation	0.179
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.001**
Power over women	Pearson Correlation	0.122
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.017*
Playboy	Pearson Correlation	0.197
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.000**
Self-reliance	Pearson Correlation	0.076
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.095
Primacy of work	Pearson Correlation	-0.165
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.002**
Heterosexual self-preservation	Pearson Correlation	-0.044
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.225

Note. * 0.05 level (1-tailed). ** 0.01 level (1-tailed).

To What Extent is there a Relationship between Group Gender Identity and Likelihood of Identifying Hazing Activities as Play?

Comparing play criteria sum by perceived group gender conformity category, a one-way ANOVA showed a significant effect of group masculine norm conformity on the number of play criteria met ($F(3, 297)=6.790$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.064$), as shown in Table 24. Post hoc comparisons indicated that play criteria sum was lower ($p<0.05$) for those

who perceived that their group was extreme non-conforming ($M=1.722$, $SD=1.155$) compared to those groups who were non-conforming ($M=2.807$, $SD=1.652$) ($d=0.761$), conforming ($M=2.953$, $SD=1.492$) ($d=0.923$), and extreme conforming ($M=3.307$, $SD=1.990$) ($d=0.974$). This finding suggests that those who perceived their fraternity brothers to be gender non-conforming identified fewer criteria of play in hazing activities, suggesting that less adherence to perceived masculine gender norms means lower likelihood that an individual reports hazing behaviors as play.

To test the degree to which the group CMNI-46 subscales may correlate with the play category sum, a one-tailed Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient correlation with the perceived group scores for each CMNI-46 subscale and the play criteria sum, as shown in Table 26, showed a moderate effect size for risk taking ($r(301)=0.257$, $p=0.000$), violence ($r(301)=0.271$, $p=0.000$), and the playboy subscale ($r(301)=0.218$, $p=0.000$). There are also weak positive correlations for winning ($r(301)=0.133$, $p=0.011$), power over women ($r(301)=0.161$, $p=0.003$), and heterosexual self-preservation ($r(301)=0.137$, $p=0.009$). Similar to the finding with the individual gender norm measure, there is a weak negative correlation between the play criteria sum and primacy of work ($r(301)=-0.148$, $p=0.005$) subscale.

The data suggest that when an individual perceived the group to value risk taking and dominance, as well as heterosexual expression, all of which are valued traits in the patriarchy, the individual was more likely to report hazing activities as play. Additionally, the individuals who believed their fraternity viewed work as highly valued reported hazing activities as less likely to be play. This concept of work versus play is explored further in Chapter 5.

Table 26

Correlation between Play Criteria Sum and Perceived Group CMNI-46 Subscales
(n=301)

Group CMNI-46 Subscales	Play Criteria Sum	
Winning	Pearson Correlation	0.133
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.011*
Emotional control	Pearson Correlation	0.092
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.055
Risk taking	Pearson Correlation	0.257
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.000**
Violence	Pearson Correlation	0.271
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.000**
Power over women	Pearson Correlation	0.161
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.003**
Playboy	Pearson Correlation	0.218
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.000**
Self-reliance	Pearson Correlation	0.077
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.093
Primacy of work	Pearson Correlation	-0.148
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.005**
Heterosexual self-preservation	Pearson Correlation	0.137
	<i>p</i> (1-tailed)	0.009**

Note. * 0.05 level (1-tailed). ** 0.01 level (1-tailed).

To What Extent is there a Relationship between Group Gender Identity and the Presence of Hazing in Each Play Category?

One-way ANOVA tests evaluated the relationship between participation in activities within each play category in the individual's chapter and the individual's perceived group CMNI-46. As shown in Table 27, the data suggest that a relationship

Table 27

The Relationship between Group Masculine Norm Conformity and Participation in Hazing by Play Criteria

Play Category	Masculine Norm Conformity by Hazing Participation Amount				
	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
Competition	3	399	6.593	0.000**	0.047
Game of chance	3	399	11.977	0.000**	0.083
Mimicry	4	398	5.940	0.000**	0.056
Structured chaos	3	399	9.184	0.000**	0.065

Note. *df* = degrees of freedom. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

between masculine norms conformity and hazing frequency exists for competition-based activities ($F(3, 399)=6.593$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.047$), games of chance ($F(3, 399)=11.977$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.083$), mimicry ($F(3, 398)=5.940$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.056$), and structured chaos ($F(3, 399)=9.184$, $p=0.000$, $\eta_p^2=0.065$).

Within the category of competition, groups participated in none, two, three, or four of the four possible activities. Post hoc comparisons indicated that there was a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) between groups who participated in all of the activities in the category ($M=76.34$, $SD=10.484$) and those who participated in no competition-based activities ($M=69.04$, $SD=12.429$) ($d=0.635$) and those who participated in three of the activities ($M=80.47$, $SD=14.969$) ($d=0.320$). For those chapters participating in three of four competition activities, there was a significant difference compared to all other categories: none ($d=0.831$), two ($M=75.70$, $SD=11.647$) ($d=0.356$), and four activities ($d=0.320$). For those participating in none of the competition-based activities, there was a significant difference in means compared to all other categories: two ($d=0.553$), three

($d=0.831$), and four ($d=0.635$) activities. The data suggests that masculine norm adherence increased as participation in competition-based activities increased.

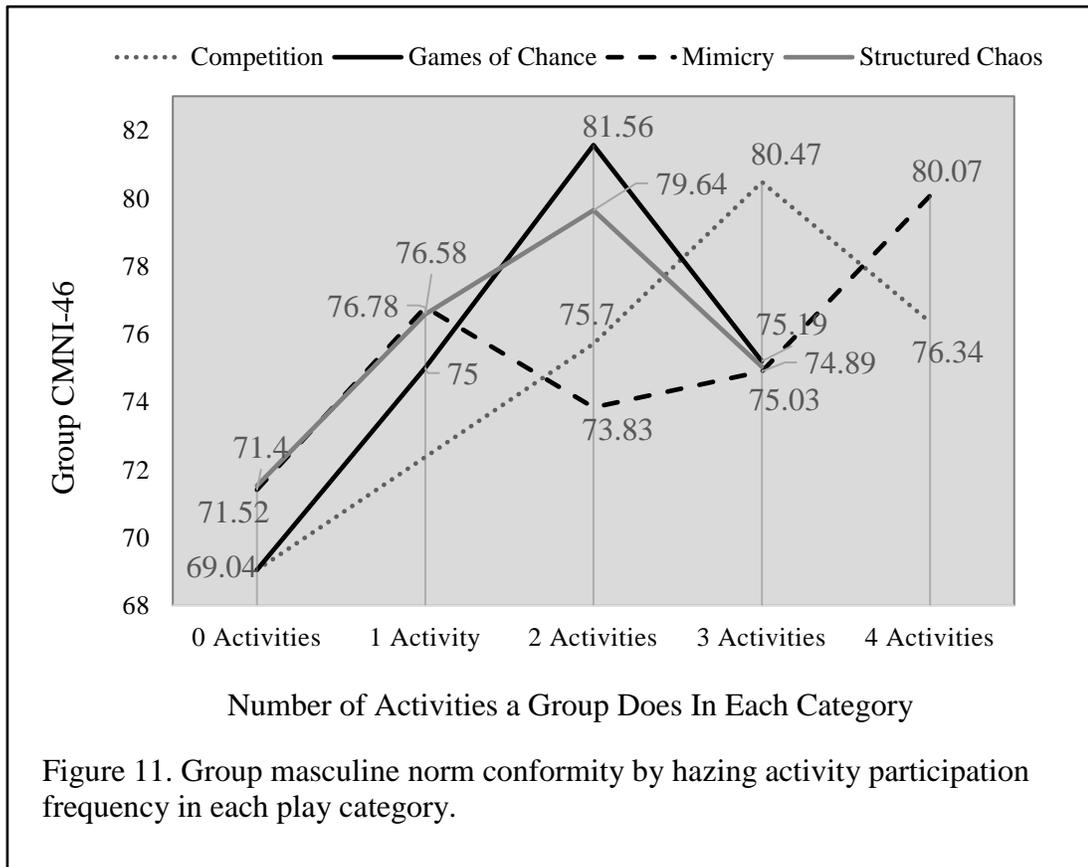
Within the category of games of chance, groups participated in none, one, two, or three of the three possible activities. Post hoc comparisons indicated that chapters that participated in two game of chance activities ($M=81.56$, $SD=14.229$) showed conformity to male norms that were higher ($p<0.05$) than chapters that did not participate in games of chance ($M=69.04$, $SD=12.429$) ($d=0.937$). Additionally, groups who engaged in two games of chance also showed higher norm conformity ($p<0.05$) than groups who participated in one ($M=75.00$, $SD=10.586$) ($d=0.523$) and three ($M=75.19$, $SD=8.945$) ($d=0.536$) games of chance.

Within the category of mimicry, groups participated in none, one, two, three, or four of the four activities. Post hoc comparisons ($p<0.05$) indicated that groups who did all four of the activities in the category showed higher masculine-norm conformity ($M=80.07$, $SD=12.115$) than groups who did two activities ($M=73.83$, $SD=9.517$) ($d=0.573$) and groups who did not participate in any of the activities ($M=71.40$, $SD=12.675$) ($d=0.699$).

Finally, within the category of structured chaos, groups participated in none, one, two, or three of the four possible activities. Post hoc comparisons ($p<0.05$) indicated that groups who did not participate in any forms of structured chaos ($M=71.52$, $SD=13.032$) showed a lower level of masculine norm conformity than those who did one ($M=76.58$, $SD=10.371$) ($d=0.394$) and two ($M=79.64$, $SD=12.978$) ($d=0.624$) forms of structured chaos. There was also a statistically significant difference between groups who participated in two activities and groups who participated in three activities ($M=75.03$,

SD=9.027) ($d=0.412$). The range of group CMNI-46 scores broken down by the number of activities a chapter participates in within each play category are shown in Figure 11.

The findings suggest that across the categories of play, those groups who did not participate in hazing had lower conformity to male norms. As participation, measured by the number of activities the group engages in within each category, increased, generally, the group conformity to male norms rose as well. Particularly when comparing groups who did none or one of the activities compared to two or more of the activities in the play category, there were differences in perceived group masculine-norm conformity. This finding supports the study conceptual frame, which suggests that more norm-conforming groups engage in more play as a tool to reinforce group conformity.



Summary of Key Findings

Hypothesis 1 Revisited: Hazing is Performance of Gender Identity

Gender norm adherence varied widely across chapters—both individual gender norm adherence and perceived group norm adherence. There was also wide variation in perceptions within groups as well. Generally, individuals perceived their brothers to adhere to more masculine norms than they did. This is interesting in that it may encourage individuals to behave in more masculine norm-adherent ways because it is what they believe their brothers expect of them. Additionally, the gap between group and individual gender norm adherence is telling in that groups with non-significant gap scores reported the lowest participation in hazing activities.

More than 75% of fraternity men reported experiencing some form of hazing in alignment with previous research. Low-level hazing groups perceived lower group adherence to male norms than the reported individual masculine-norm adherence. This is in contrast to those groups with higher levels of hazing who reported a perceived masculine group norm adherence that was higher than their perceived self-adherence to masculine norms.

New member program outcome desirability varied among each chapter. Overall, individuals with higher gender norm adherence showed relationships with outcomes that aligned strongly with the literature on masculinity and hazing activities (Arnold, 2004; Cokley et al., 2001; DeSantis, 2007; Hamilton, 2011; Kimmel, 2008). To a greater extent, higher group masculine-norm adherence showed a relationship with hyper-masculine outcomes. Being resilient, proving oneself, and overcoming challenges, all while giving off the appearance of not trying, are all valued parts of college masculine identity. When

looking at the differences between individual and perceived group identity, individuals who were more masculine-norm aligned than their group were more likely to push for more masculinity-confirming outcomes. Based on the analysis, group gender norm adherence had more relationships with new member outcomes than individual gender norm conformity; however, those individuals in the groups who perceived bigger gaps between their identity and the group were more likely to support more masculine-aligned outcomes. These individuals may be those pushing for achievement of these outcomes, which in turn may lead to greater participation in hazing.

Group gender identity showed more relationships than individual gender identity to the number of hazing activities occurring in a group. Specifically, attitudes about emotional control, risk taking, power over women, and playboy behaviors, all of which align with patriarchal ideals of power, risk taking, and remaining stoic, had a relationship with the number of hazing activities in groups. This finding is important in that the average perceived identity of the group may influence group decision making around how much hazing occurs in the group.

The individual and perceived group adherence to masculine norms also had a relationship with reported participation in specific hazing activities. Individuals with higher adherence to masculine norms were more likely to report participating in activities designed to point out individual shortcomings or cause new members to fail or be emasculated, such as interrupting sleep, wearing embarrassing costumes, or take a test where the results were rigged. These same findings exist when examining perceived group adherence, which had relationships with the same activities as individual masculine norm adherence, along with several additional activities, such as the presence of new

member rules, carrying certain items, and competitions. Overall, perceived group norm adherence showed a relationship with more hazing activities than individual identity. In contrast, gender identity did not appear to have a strong relationship with the role individuals play in new member socialization. However, the role one played did have a relationship with the number of hazing activities in a chapter, with more severe hazing groups having higher participation among members.

Hypothesis 2 Revisited: Hazing is Play

Students reported that several hazing activities had characteristics that met the definition of play: to be fun, voluntary, have rules associated with them, and exhibit some form of theatre or drama. For example, 67.4% of participants reported that a prank or raid was fun. The high percentage of individuals who reported that hazing activities were fun compared to the professional perception of college administrators is problematic. Competition-based activities had the highest rate of participation across chapters, followed by games of chance and mimicry. Chaos-based activities were the least frequently reported. With regard to hazing participation levels, groups with the lowest level of hazing were less likely to engage in any of the play categories than those in the high levels of hazing. In the area of structured chaos-based activities, groups with low levels of hazing and moderate levels of hazing were less likely to engage in chaos-based play compared to groups with the highest level of hazing, indicating that this form of play was reserved for groups with high-level hazing frequency.

The data suggest a hierarchy to the play categories: competition-based activities were most prevalent, followed by mimicry and games of chance for higher-level hazing groups, and structured chaos for the groups who engage in the highest levels of hazing.

With regard to new member socialization role, those individuals who engage in new member socialization reported competition, games of chance, mimicry, and structured chaos-related activities as play behavior more than those who did not participate.

Hypothesis 3 Revisited: Hazing is Gendered Play

Individuals who conform to masculine gender norms were more likely to report hazing activities as meeting more play criteria than those who reported less conformity. Additionally, those individuals who perceived their fraternity brothers to be gender non-conforming identified fewer criteria of play in hazing activities, suggesting that lower perceived group adherence to masculine gender norms meant a lower likelihood that an individual reported hazing behaviors as play. The analysis also suggested for groups who valued risk taking, violence, and objectification of women, there was a moderate correlation to the likelihood hazing activities were identified as play behaviors.

Additionally, the findings suggest that across the categories of play, those groups who did not participate in hazing had lower conformity to male norms. As the number of activities in each category increased, generally the conformity to male norms rose. There did not appear to be a difference in conformity across the categories. These findings are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

“This is our island. It's a good island. Until the grownups come to fetch us we'll have fun.” –William Golding, *Lord of the Flies* (1954)

Timothy Piazza, a good-looking, athletic, clean-cut, engineering major, pledged a fraternity at Penn State University in spring of 2017. In celebration of his bid acceptance, he and his fellow new members were to participate in “the gauntlet,” a tradition including a series of rapid drinking activities that included drinking for 10 seconds from a bottle of vodka, shot-gunning beers, drinking wine in a box, and playing a drinking game called dizzy bat as some of the night’s highlights (Hill, 2017). This was their welcome to the fraternity. In addition to a message of welcome, this event also served to reinforce messages that fitting in meant excessive drinking, partying, and being prostrate to the whims of older members. Sadly, the gauntlet would lead to the end of Tim Piazza’s life. Members failed to seek medical assistance when he fell head first down 15 stairs and during several hours following his fall (Flanagan, 2017).

As the members dressed for the night and made their alcohol purchases, their intent was likely celebratory. They had worked hard to recruit men who they were excited to welcome as brothers. The gauntlet was something they had done as new members. It had not hurt them; it was fun. One can speculate that the fraternity members intended this to be a night filled with good college memories, revelry, and bonding with brothers. However, in the months that have followed Tim Piazza’s death, many parents,

college administrators, and alumni advisors have been left asking how something this horrendous could happen. How could the fraternity participate in such a dangerous hazing tradition? Why did the men not problematize the situation when Tim first fell? Why did they not seek medical assistance? As I watched the news unfold about what was certainly a senseless tragedy, I could not help but ask myself: Was this night masculine play? The gauntlet indeed had the characteristics of play: there were rules, it was competitive, it was fun, and it was voluntary. Yet despite Tim Piazza's fall, the play frame did not break, and the play continued around Tim as he lay dying, his ruptured spleen bleeding into his body. It was only in the morning, as their friend and might-be brother lay unconscious in the fraternity house, that a member texted other members, "I don't want to go to jail. Hazing is a huge thing" (Gutierrez & Rosenblatt, 2017).

Indeed, hazing *is* a "huge thing," but the reality is that society does not respond commensurately until someone is injured or killed. Hazing often goes unreported and unchecked. Mentors, coaches, and alumni might quickly explain it away as tradition, a rite of passage, or "boys being boys." It continues to remain a tolerably deviant phenomenon in American culture because, as I have shown empirically, it straddles the boundaries of gender socialization and play and is therefore nearly impossible to extract from these embedded components of identity negotiation.

The concept of gendered play is complex. In a play environment, risks do not carry the same consequences and are often not problematized. Play occurs in a space that is separate from reality, and it has flexible, ever-changing boundaries. It is a space where individuals generate shared meaning, and it helps to create clear in and out-group delineation between the players and those outside the play. Did the men in this fraternity

enter into that evening resolved to kill someone? I speculate that was the last thought on their minds. They were out to have fun, to push boundaries, to express their masculine identity through excessive drinking and heterosexual performance in a social event with women, to experiment with identity, to play. Moreover, in the play frame, they were likely chasing that feeling of invincibility that often results from hypermasculine risk taking and ignored danger. In this case, it ended with catastrophic consequences.

Discussion of Findings

This study sought to empirically test whether individual or perceived group gender norm adherence and perceptions of play influence hazing participation, hazing role, and desirability of new member outcomes. The findings of the study provide a number of important insights about the relationship between individual and group gender identity, offer validation of the concept of play as it relates to hazing, and provide support for each of three hypotheses.

Conceptual Framework

The findings lend support to the conceptual frame outlined in Chapter 1, which suggests that as group alignment with masculine norms becomes stronger, the more likely a group is to use hazing as a tool to establish the perimeter of the act-like-a-man-box and police acceptable masculine performance that constrains members in the box. As a result, individuals feel pressure to act out masculinity scripts that are acceptable to the group by overconforming to the perceived group norms (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). The masculine norms of the patriarchy take the form of anti-women attitudes, heterosexual performance, violence, emphasis on group cohesiveness, and risk taking (Kimmel, 2008; Lenskyj, 2004; Loy, 1995). As was demonstrated, on average, groups with high-level hazing

frequencies showed group support for overall hegemonic masculine norms, as well as emotional control, risk taking, power over women, and playboy behaviors, which align well with characteristics of the patriarchy. This suggests that groups with greater norm conformity may indeed use hazing as a tool to test acceptable gender performance.

Additionally, in alignment with the conceptual frame, individuals perceived themselves to be less masculine-norm conforming than they perceived their group. This supports the literature that individuals conform to the expectations of the group in order to gain group acceptance (Hughes & Coakley, 1991) and thus may explain why students are willing to participate in hazing as a way to prove themselves to their peers.

Individuals perceived their group to be more masculine-norm conforming on the subscales of emotional control, risk taking, violence, power over women, playboy behaviors, and heterosexual self-preservation. Each of these behaviors aligns with typical hazing activities that require stoicism, risky behavior, tolerance of violence, and heterosexual expression (DeSantis, 2007; Kimmel, 2008; Schnur, 2007). Individuals also perceived themselves to be more masculine-norm conforming on the winning and primacy of work subscales in comparison to the group, further suggesting that individuals perceived their brothers to value partying and avoid hard work more than they might.

In contrast, the two groups with the lowest hazing frequencies showed the reverse. In these two groups, individuals were slightly more norm conforming than the perceived group masculine norms, and there was the greatest alignment between group and individual masculine identities with the lowest gap between individual and group identities. This suggests that the confluence of both the alignment between the individual and group masculine norm and the lower masculine norm conformity of the group

resulted in an environmental press in these organizations away from hegemonic masculine-norm conformity toward a broader range of acceptable masculine behaviors. It is possible that these two phenomena—norm alignment and overall lower norm conformity—may interact. The interaction of these two effects may lessen the desire to test masculine performance, resulting in lower instances of hazing.

Hypothesis 1: Hazing is Performance of Gender Identity

This study establishes that there are relationships between group and individual masculine norm adherence and hazing frequency, specific hazing activities, and the desirability of new member program outcomes that lend themselves to hazing behaviors. Unfortunately, the study not surprisingly confirmed that hazing was prevalent in the fraternity experience on the campus of study. This aligns with findings that the majority of fraternity and sorority members across the United States are experiencing some form of hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008). While the number of students who experience specific hazing activities varied widely dependent upon the activity, on average chapters participated in eight of the 15 activities listed in the survey.

In alignment with the conceptual framework, the data reinforced the need to explore perceived group masculine identity to improve our understanding of group hazing behavior. While the sample size in this study was 11 groups since it was limited by the size of the fraternity community on the campus where it took place, the data showed trends that suggest a stronger relationship between hazing frequency and group masculine identity compared to individual masculine identity. Overall, there was only a weak relationship between individual masculine norm conformity and chapter hazing frequency. However, there was a moderate relationship between mean group masculine

conformity and hazing frequency. This suggests that group identity plays a stronger role in determining chapter hazing participation in alignment with the conceptual frame.

The findings support assertions of researchers such as Bryshun and Young (1999), Johnson (2011), McCreary and Schutts (2013), and many others that groups are powerful socializers. Additionally, the research on gender role conflict (Thompson & Pleck, 1995) established that men perceive differences between their own identities and what they believe their reference group expects of them, a finding that was evident in this study as well. Students put on a mask to impress their peers, in effect performing the masculinity that will gain group acceptance (Edwards & Jones, 2009). This subsequently results in overconformity to perceived reference group norms (Donnelly & Young, 1988; Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Messerschmidt, 1996; Wade, 1998). As a result, the desire to align individual and group identities often results in willingness to engage in activities one might not normally choose (Snyder, 1994; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009). Even for the groups with lower levels of hazing, individuals likely conformed to group norms, which in the case of these groups led to lower participation in hazing.

Among this sample, group adherence to masculine norms showed more relationships with specific hazing activities than individual masculine-norm adherence. Individual masculine identity showed a relationship with the presence of five of 15 activities, while group masculine identity showed a relationship with 10 of 15 activities. The stronger alignment of group identity to hazing activities suggests that individuals participate in hazing because they seek to align themselves with group masculine norms, be accepted into the reference group, and replicate these norms for future joiners.

In addition to hazing frequency and individual activity participation, masculine norm conforming identities also aligned with support for new member outcomes that reinforce hypermasculinity. Groups and individuals who more highly desired new member outcomes that aligned with toxic masculinity were more likely to conform to hegemonic masculine norms. These desirable outcomes included being broken down psychologically, proving oneself, earning acceptance in the group, the ability to handle challenges, and bonding with other new members. Each of these outcomes aligns well with the expectations of the patriarchy and of men in Guyland (Kimmel, 2008; Lenskyj, 2004; Loy, 1995). These same outcomes are classic indications to campus professionals that hazing may be taking place (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Allan & Madden, 2008; Jones, 2000; D. Westol, personal communication, December 6, 2011). The hegemonically masculine-driven and hazing-supportive outcomes reinforce the act-like-a-man-box perimeter designed to test whether someone can behave congruently with the organization's patriarchal expectations or otherwise risk being thrust outside the box. New member program outcome desirability may be a mediating variable between group gender identity and group hazing frequency and may be worthwhile to explore in future research efforts.

Regarding mediating variables, it is also important to note the data showed some observations outside expected trends in masculine identity and hazing participation. For example, group 1 had lower individual and group norm conformity, yet reported participation in seven hazing activities; however, the group had one of the largest gap scores between group and individual gender norm adherence, which may possibly mitigate the low norm conformity score. While it is possible group 1 is an outlier, it is

also possible that the confluence of the overall individual and group masculine norm adherence and the gap between the two contribute to the overall tendency to participate in hazing. This relationship would be worthwhile to explore in a future study.

In determining whether hazing is performance of gender identity, it is important to explore who in a group is more likely to haze new members actively and the degree to which their identity relates to the perceived group identity. Relying on the bullying and the group conformity literature (Messner, 2002; Sutton & Smith, 1999), I suggested that those individuals with greater hegemonic masculine norm conformity might be more likely to play a role in new member socialization efforts. However, the data in this study did not support this hypothesis. Neither an individual's gender identity, perceived group masculine identity, nor the gap between the individual and perceived group masculine norm conformity showed a relationship with the role one played in new member socialization, even after accounting for hazing extremity in the group.

As discussed in Chapter 4, this finding may be due to two components: the individuals who are eligible for election to be the new member educator and whether the chapter's socialization processes may be conducive for multiple member involvement. It may also suggest that the individuals who play active roles in the new member socialization process may not be the most or least masculine in the group or perceive themselves to be less or more masculine than the group. Thus, they may not be the individuals whose identity salience influences the overall group masculine norm. In a future study, it may be interesting to look at involvement by activity to determine if there is a relationship between gender norm conformity and involvement in specific activities.

While the study did not demonstrate that a student's role in new member socialization has a relationship with his own masculine norm conformity or his perceived conformity to the group, it did show that higher hazing groups engage more members in the new member socialization process. While this finding could indicate that more members are needed to orchestrate hazing activities, it is also demonstrative that groups engaging in less hazing often relegate new member activities to just a few individuals, whereas higher-hazing groups tend to engage more members in the socialization process. While this does not appear to have a relationship to gender identity, the types of engagement do appear to have a relationship with play, which is discussed in the next section.

Hypothesis 2: Hazing is Play

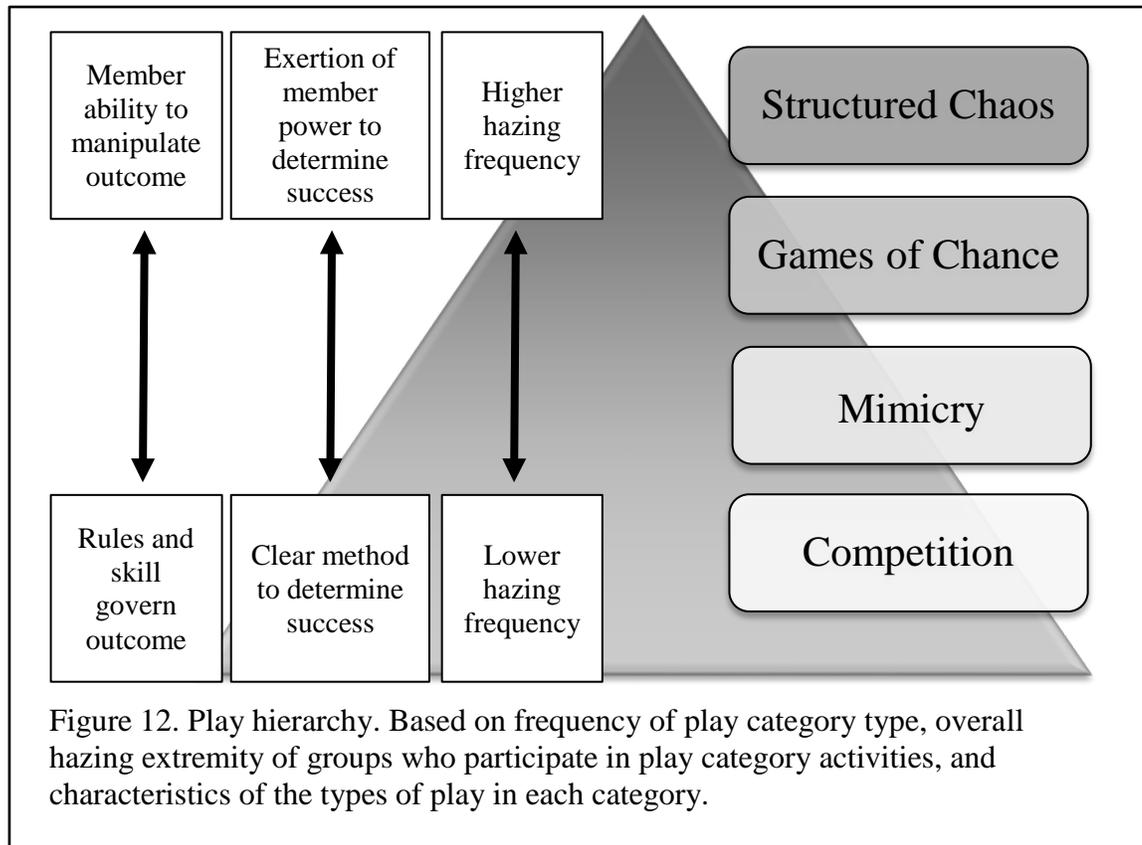
For those who stand external to the play frame looking in, many of the hazing activities included in this study look dangerous, tedious, torturous, uncomfortable, or risky. This is the perspective of the outsider. For those in the play frame, the meanings constructed through these activities carry important messages for members about in-group acceptance, belonging, relationships, and validation of identity. Many of the students in this study reported that these hazing activities were fun. For example, of those students who reported being kidnapped or dropped off in an unknown location, an activity that contributed to the death of a fraternity man at Cornell University in 2011 (Hechinger, 2017), more than half indicated this activity was fun.

Across the categories of play, competition-based activities occurred more frequently among respondents and were reported to meet more play criteria than the other categories. Mimicry-based activities were a close second. While more people participated

in at least one activity in the game of chance category than those who participated in mimicry-related activities, participants reported game of chance-based activities as play least often. Structured chaos activities had the least number of individuals participating, and the category was third of the four categories in play identification.

The data suggest a hierarchy to the play categories as shown in Figure 12. Nearly all groups participated in some form of competition-based activities, and these activities met more play criteria. Mimicry and games of chance occur in higher-level hazing groups. Structured chaos appears to be reserved for the groups who engage in the highest levels of hazing. This may be because competition-based activities, which are governed by rules and have a clear winner and loser in accordance with these rules, are easier to govern, are less power-oriented, and are easier to identify as play. It is possible to “win” a competition-based activity through skill and rule adherence. Mimicry and games of chance activities are less reliant on rules, often have less structure, and require greater exertion of power over new members. Structured chaos activities often lack any pre-established or communicated rules of engagement and are power focused. These activities, which often require more improvisation, are constantly in flux.

In alignment with the conceptual model in Figure 1, as one moves higher on the play hierarchy, the power exertion and organizational control over what happens during play activities increase. The use of power to control the socialization experience serves as a mechanism to test acceptable performance in playing activities and determine group acceptance. Higher hazing-frequency organizations have greater organizational control over play activities, making it more difficult for new members to exhibit acceptable behaviors or “succeed” at the activity.



Groups with lower member engagement in new member socialization exhibited fewer hazing behaviors. This may suggest that within the organization, the process of new member socialization is not play but is instead work to help new members become functioning members of the organization. As a result, since these groups perceive the process as work rather than play, it may not be as engaging to most members, resulting in less participation.

The individual role respondents played in new member socialization had a relationship with whether they saw the activities as play. Additionally, those roles differed in each play category. Individuals who participated in competition-based activities compared to those who did not participate were more likely to identify play characteristics with the behavior. For games of chance and structured chaos activities, those who were directing the activities and were thus in control of the rules of

engagement were more likely to report the behavior as play than those who did not participate. For mimicry-related activities, those who watched were more likely to report an activity as play than those who did not participate. Given the show-like nature of mimicry-related activities, this suggests that those entertained by the activities reported the activities as play.

Across the play categories, those not participating tended not to report an activity as play. Did they opt out of the activity because they viewed the behaviors as problematic, or were they not participating and therefore not experiencing the benefits that led individuals to report the activity as play? Relying on my own experience as a campus professional, I have observed several students refuse to participate in chapter activities they find problematic. They do so often because they feel powerless to stop the group's activities and thus dissent by not participating.

For the individuals who did participate, there may be value in considering whether these activities were play as they occurred for those respondents who were involved or whether individuals recognized them as play in retrospect. Determining whether hazing meets the definition of play is difficult. First, whether the activity is play may be entirely dependent upon the point of view of the reporter. Do new members conceptualize the experience differently than members? This view is influenced by two problematic conditions; play requires participation to be both voluntary and fun. While new members might report participation as involuntary in the moment because they believe it is necessary to obtain the group acceptance they so desperately desire, in actuality they choose to participate. Calisthenics may not seem enjoyable, but perhaps the aspirants are exacting some form of pleasure (Coakley, 1978); the ability to feel

accomplished, tough, or gain acceptance all may result in pleasure. In reality, new members can opt out of most, if not all, hazing activities. This, however, has a cost, just as it does on the playground or athletic field: the reward of in-group membership. This may lead some new members to feel that free choice is not involved.

Because this study only asked initiated men to report on past events rather than asking new members to report on current experiences, the current versus remembered characteristics of the experience merit further exploration. I suggest that activities that occur in the play frame do not carry the same meanings these activities may have outside the play frame. The literature supports this, as individuals recount the toughness and stress caused by the hazing they experienced as new members but describe the experiences with great fondness in retrospect (Cokley et al., 2001; DeSantis, 2007; Hechinger, 2017; Houseman, 2001; Morinis, 1985; Ramey, 1982). Additionally, individuals who are recently initiated often seek to exact a more extreme version of their experience upon the individuals who join after them (DeSantis, 2007; Hamilton, 2011; Ramey, 1982). Does this mean that they saw the experience as positive, or does it mean that they want to challenge new members as a way to assert their masculine in-group status, in effect serving as the watchdogs to the perimeter of the act-like-a-man box? Perhaps individuals justify the value of the experience afterwards as the memory of the experience fades and the meanings constructed supersede memories of the actual activities. These meanings then extend outside the play frame to other chapter activities and relationships, making the experiences in the play frame difficult but highly valuable. It will be important to explore whether new members see hazing experiences differently than initiated members.

Hypothesis 3: Hazing is Gendered Play

The play frame forms an alternate reality where young men in fraternities can test masculinity. In support of this premise, this study's findings suggest that individuals who are less masculine norm conforming and those individuals who perceive their fraternity brothers to be less masculine norm conforming identified hazing activities as play less often than individuals and groups who are highly masculine norm conforming. There is moderate correlation between groups who emphasized conformity to risk taking, violence, and playboy behaviors (all valued attributes in the patriarchy) and the likelihood of reporting hazing as play, meaning the more norm conforming a group is in these areas, the greater the likelihood that members report hazing activities as play. Additionally, there is some evidence to suggest that individuals who place emphasis on hegemonic norms around dominance and risk taking reported behaviors as meeting more play criteria than those who are less masculine norm conforming in these areas.

This finding further supports the claim that hazing is play because adult play often involves risk taking and some degree of regulated violence (Schacht, 1996; West, 2001; Workman, 2001). The conformity to playboy behaviors and power over women norms expresses the ability of individual men and groups to control who has access to the patriarchy as guests. Often men invite women into the patriarchy as entertainment or play (Kimmel, 2008). Additionally, a high value of playboy behavior reinforces the norm that sex, and lots of it, is a form of adult play and a tool to regulate status in the group. Gaining access to the patriarchy is a way to gain access to women as entertainment and status enhancers. Thus, the fraternity may perhaps use hazing as a tool to admit a limited number of men to compete for these partners and enhance status through being able to

sleep with many women. This finding also suggests that perhaps these individuals may perceive the entire fraternity experience to be a series of play activities in different forms.

For both the group and the individual, those individuals and groups who placed emphasis on task completion were less likely to associate hazing activities with play. Perhaps these individuals and groups, by virtue of being more task oriented, are more likely to align themselves with leadership experiences, completion of activities, and organizational and personal growth. Their association with the fraternity and the fraternity's persona as a result may be work rather than play.

In exploring norm conformity by play category, across all the categories of play—competition, games of chance, mimicry, and structured chaos—groups who did not participate in hazing had lower reported conformity to male norms than those who participated in high numbers of activities in each category. As the number of activities in each play category increased, on average the conformity to male norms rose as well. The data suggest individuals in the study were performing gendered play. Particularly as individuals were more aligned with masculine norms, groups participated in more hazing activities, and these activities met higher numbers of play criteria, lending support to the conceptual model in Figure 1 that suggests groups use these play behaviors as tool to establish masculine norm conformity among members.

The relationship between gender conformity and perceptions of hazing as play (or play) is as follows: Groups who have a higher desire to control the acceptable masculine performance of members are more likely to rely on hazing activities to achieve their masculine socialization goals because their act-like-a-man box is smaller and more restrictive. The play frame is the mechanism through which gender norm setting and

meaning construction takes place within groups. The more masculine norm conforming a group is, the more likely the group identifies hazing activities as play. This may be because the fraternity's goals are more play oriented; in the patriarchy the focus of the fraternity is fun. Lower masculine norm conforming groups are less likely to identify an activity as play because less masculine norm conforming groups do not feel the same pressure to use play activities in socialization processes since their act-like-a-man box is less restrictive. Additionally, if the group is more task oriented, the focus of the fraternity may be more work and goal oriented, and thus members may subscribe to the belief that play activities are inessential to completing the work and goals of the fraternity. It would also be valuable to explore whether a member's work-versus-play orientation toward all fraternity activities outside of new member socialization and the fraternity experience overall has a relationship with masculine norm conformity.

Implications

The findings of this study fill several important roles. First, they empirically establish the relationship between masculinity and hazing participation, an often asserted but never statistically supported assumption in the literature (see for example, Allan, 2004 or Johnson & Holman, 2009). Second, the study quantitatively explored the concept that hazing is play, something explored conceptually by Houseman (2001) and Mechling (2009) but never tested. Third, the study's findings support a newly developed conceptual framework that explains why hazing varies among single gender groups. This framework, shown in Figure 1, adapts the act-like-a-man box (Kivel, 1992) to group behavior and the new member socialization process. The data suggests that overconformity to gender group norms may explain willingness for individuals to tolerate hazing in order to gain

in-group status. The alignment of high hazing chapters with support for new member socialization outcomes closely tied to masculine norms identified in the literature further aligns with the conceptual framework that suggests hazing is a tool to test and communicate conformity to masculine group norms.

Additionally, this study suggests that perceptions about group identity are a determining characteristic of in-group tolerance for hazing. Many studies have considered hazing participation in relation to individual characteristics (see for example, Campo et al., 2005, Hoover, 1999, and Owen et al., 2008). This study contributes to the literature through exploration of perceived group norms in relationship to attitudes toward hazing and hazing participation, demonstrating that perceived group masculine norms appear to have stronger relationships with hazing participation than individual masculine norms.

The findings help draw attention to two competing priorities: (a) the need to understand and navigate gendered play structures within existing patriarchies and (b) the need to break the play frame where plazing takes place. Higher education professionals need to acknowledge (but not excuse) plazing. Just because the behavior is reported as play by the individuals involved does not trivialize its effects. The findings of this study invite researchers and professionals to think about the play frame and acknowledge that approaches to hazing elimination have to embrace that students and greater American society do not problematize hazing in part because of its convergence with masculinity and play. At the same time, the fact that students trivialize hazing and instead report it as play communicates the need to take a tougher stance on hazing. Educators and

policymakers need to raise the seriousness of consequences for those engaged in dangerous or risky hazing, even when students perceive the activity as play.

The findings from this study also suggest that gender intertwines with the outcomes fraternity members prioritize, which subsequently affect the choices they make about hazing activities. This, in turn, invites reflection on ways to teach students healthier gender expressions, which may result in changes to outcome desirability and result in reduction of hazing. As I have begun to suggest in the previous sections, there are numerous research, policy, and professional practices that can help dismantle patriarchies, reshape play, teach healthier expressions of masculinity, and lessen the likelihood of hazing.

Research Recommendations

The study findings invite additional research in a number of areas. First, and perhaps a natural next step, would be to explore the potential for mediating variables and interaction effects. For example, this might include the interaction between overall group gender norm conformity and the gap between individual and group masculine norm conformity in relation to new member program outcome desirability as well as the relationship between gender norm conformity, new member outcome desirability, and hazing frequency. Exploring these interactions could more deeply explain the relationships between hazing and masculine conformity identified in this study.

Additionally, it would be valuable to explore whether the same relationship between hazing, play, and gender identity exists for women's fraternal organizations and for culturally-based fraternities. For women, I believe the concept of a gendered space where hazing serves as a perimeter for delineating in- and out-groups also applies.

Women tend to define their femininity largely via appearance and attractiveness to men (Messner, 2002). Much of the hazing observed in women's organizations centers around the body, appearance, and attractiveness (Allan, 2004), such as being restricted from wearing makeup, required attire that is either highly sexualized or forces an individual to feel unattractive, being directed to do a sexy dance for a fraternity, or being told one is not slender or fit enough. For culturally-based fraternities, the complex intersection of masculinity and race warrants additional conceptualization. The relationship of these characteristics with plazing certainly merits further exploration.

While this study explored play-based hazing empirically, plazing merits continued investigation. What are the different characteristics of activities that are perceived as plazing and others that are hazing because students do not report them as play? At what point does an experience become or stop becoming play in the mind of the player? Must this happen during the experience or can it become play in the player's mind upon post-experience recollection? These questions beg further study on the ways students think about participation in plazing.

If anti-hazing advocates really want to help students problematize hazing, more work must be done to improve ways to measure play behavior among adults. Because the transition from everyday life to the play frame is often an instantaneous and unconscious process, students may struggle to identify play behaviors as play. In a search of the literature, no instruments appear to measure whether a behavior is play. While measuring play is complex because of the subconscious ways in which play manifests, a qualitative approach might allow for meaningful exploration of the concept of plazing. Additionally, future research efforts can help answer a number of questions: what percent of the

individuals in a group should identify an experience as play for the activity to be play in a group setting? Does an activity need to meet all criteria for it to be play or may it meet a fewer number of criteria? Future research in this area can provide greater clarity.

The high level of access I obtained in this study may provide for possible approaches to studying fraternal groups in the future. To successfully survey 11 of 12 possible groups on the campus with an average of 37 respondents in each group with an overall sample of 45% of the eligible fraternity population, limited primarily by the fact that individuals did not attend the meeting where I surveyed the group, is greater access than one typically sees. Given many computer based surveys garner no more than a 30% response rate (see for example two frequently cited hazing studies: Campo et al. (2005) had a 37% response rate and Owen et al (2008) had less than a 5% response rate), this response rate is high. Additionally, the willingness of 11 of 12 groups to participate in the study provides support for the study methods to engender trust and encourage participation.

This study establishes the need for perceived group identity to be part of the research on group-motivated behaviors like plazing. Too much of the research on fraternities has focused on the individual and their characteristics when exploring group phenomena (see for example, Allan & Madden, 2008, and Owen et al., 2008). In what ways do group values and professed identity influence hazing participation, tolerance, and conformity? For example, perhaps what an organization professes to value may be predictive of the types of masculine norm adherence that the group exhibits. In the case of this study, a fraternity chapter that highly valued athleticism as one of its recruitment characteristics not surprisingly had high masculine norm adherence on the winning

subscale of the CMNI-46. Future studies might also account for features such as the age of the chapter (for example, newly formed chapters are likely still following the national organization's model new member experience), the length of the new member socialization process (some fraternities are moving to initiate new members within hours of bid acceptance), and the masculine norms exhibited by advisors.

Finally, there was a wide range of perceptions within each chapter about masculine norm adherence of fraternity brothers, showing that there was often not close agreement. Building on the findings that group identity influences the experiences and attitudes of members, and that the new member socialization role does not appear to have a relationship with gender identity, one additional line of research might look at how a student's masculine identity changes from prior to joining through their fraternity membership by following students longitudinally. It would be interesting to see if high hazing chapters see differences in the evolution of student identities compared to low hazing chapters. It would also be valuable to explore whose identity in the group is most salient to the group's perceived identity. This could be determined perhaps by asking individuals to list men in the chapter who best represent the idealized masculinity of the group. The consistency of who the members list, and what hazing roles, if any, these individuals play in the organization may lead to important insights.

Recommendations for Policy

If anti-hazing advocates aim to reduce the frequency of hazing in American culture, it is essential that policymakers become involved. The play frame breaks when plazing becomes less likely to be perceived as harmless fun. Foremost, policymakers must clearly define hazing and the penalties for activities that meet the definition need to

be much more severe. While 44 states outlaw hazing (Stop Hazing, n.d.), the definitions and penalties vary widely. In many states, the law only addresses the most severe forms of hazing that result in physical harm and the penalties are often paltry at best. For example, in Massachusetts, the maximum penalty for hazing, as defined legally, is one year in jail or a \$1,000 fine (Mass. Gen. Laws ch. 269, § 17, 1985). Clarifying the behaviors that fall within the legal definition of hazing and making the penalties more severe for these types of hazing would communicate the seriousness of participation in riskier forms.

This research reinforces the imperative to educate young people about hazing. Current legislation pending in the U.S. House of Representatives, called the Report and Educate about Campus Hazing Act or the REACH Act (2017), will mandate that colleges report hazing instances as part of annual Clery Act statistics and provide annual education to students about hazing. While this is a positive step, the reality is that many students experience hazing well before they arrive to college (Allan & Madden, 2009). They experience hazing in middle school or high school through organizations such as the marching band, the basketball team, or drama club. By the time students arrive on college campuses, many students have already grown accustomed to accept hazing behaviors as part of the joining process and a tool to test gender norm conformity. High schools and middle schools should be required annually to educate students about hazing. These trainings should draw specific attention to the concept of hazing and provide tools to help students problematize these play behaviors. Middle and high schools should also be required to report the ways the organization addresses hazing when it happens and show evidence that educational efforts have been effective.

Another important policy step is legislation that requires all higher education institutions to treat reports of hazing with the same urgency and sensitivity with which colleges respond to reports of sexual violence. The U.S. Department of Education (2015) in recent years has outlined several expectations for colleges in their response to complaints of sexual misconduct that include (a) responding in a timely manner to complaints; (b) protecting the privacy of those individuals who make reports; (c) educating students about their rights and pathways for reporting; (d) investigating all reports; and (e) taking steps to end the behavior as well as address any climate conditions that supported the behavior to occur. Failure to do so could result in loss of federal funds for an educational institution. In my own experience as a college administrator and conduct officer, instances of hazing and sexual misconduct share several characteristics: (a) alcohol is often involved; (b) there is pressure to conform in order to fit in; (c) blame is often placed on the person experiencing the act; (d) consent is sometimes unestablished, unclear, assumed, or misunderstood; and (e) there is social stigma and fear of retaliation in reporting. If colleges were to treat those who stepped forward to report hazing with the same willingness to believe the reporter, investigate thoroughly, act on the information, and protect the reporter from retaliation, more students may be willing to step forward, break the play frame, and report hazing.

Recommendations for Practice

By applying this study's findings, campus administrators and fraternity/sorority professionals can make a substantial impact on hazing prevention efforts. Prior to now, interventions have been mostly ineffective in reducing the occurrence and frequency of hazing. In 1978, the connection between hazing and masculinity was touted as a prime

motivator for the hazer and the hazed, as demonstrated by a fraternity magazine stating, “the popular American macho image, the incredible terror of being thought a pansy, or worse, a faggot, impels many men to support hazing activities as consistent with masculinity” (as cited in Hechinger, 2017, p. 53). Yet since that time, higher education professionals have done little to include masculinity in interventions. As shown in this study, despite numerous campus hazing elimination initiatives, 75% of respondents reported experiencing hazing, commensurate with Allan and Madden’s (2008) findings ten years ago. And in those last ten years, as there continues to be little impact of voluminous educational efforts, 40 students have reportedly died from hazing on college campuses and of those deaths, 33 have been in fraternities (Nuwer, 2017; Reilly, 2017). Sadly, there are likely many more unreported injuries and deaths ruled accidental that may also have been hazing.

Most recently, hazing prevention and intervention strategies have framed hazing as violence or as a mechanism that re-traumatizes individuals who have experienced prior hidden harms. Most administrators would agree: Hazing indeed has elements of violence. In this study, correlation between the violence subscale and hazing as play showed that as support for masculine norms that encourage violence increased, the likelihood individuals reported hazing as play also increased. Additionally, a recent insurance bulletin issued by United Educators, one of the companies that insures many colleges, shared that 81% of the hazing claims involved some form of violence (Caputo, 2014). The challenge lies in that students, operating from a gendered play frame, do not share this perspective. The research presented here shows that students see elements of play in common hazing activities. Additionally, the more aligned with masculine gender norms, the greater the

likelihood the individuals reported hazing activities as play, not violence or harm. By enacting educational and intervention solutions that account for this complex interplay between gender and plazing, educators may be more effective in preventing the negative effects of plazing behaviors.

Those committed to hazing elimination must implement four educational and intervention strategies. These include (a) conversations about gender performance with fraternity men; (b) educational efforts focused on healthy masculinity; (c) recognizing that chapter culture is a mechanism for reinforcing gender identity; and (d) exploring ways to break the play frame so that students problematize hazing behaviors.

First, campus professionals, fraternity/sorority advising professionals, coaches, and alumni advisors must possess training and education on recognizing and dialoguing about gender performance. This could be achieved through partnership with campus groups such as a men and masculinities center. They must have the knowledge to recognize gendered performance, the language to dialogue with students about it, and the facilitation skills to engage students in thinking about their own gendered identities in a way that meets a student where he is developmentally. Because negotiating gender identity is such a pivotal part of college student development, every student affairs program should include understanding gendered identities in program outcomes.

Second, campus educational efforts need to focus on healthy masculinity. In this study, those chapters that believed their organizations were less masculine-norm conforming were less likely to identify hazing-indicative outcomes of the new member socialization process, less likely to engage in hazing, and less likely to see hazing as play. Campuses should implement an educational program that teaches men what healthy

masculinities are, encourages the campus community to reward expressions of healthy masculinities, and effectively reshapes the campus cultural press. This could include programming during new student orientation, programs for fraternity new members during the joining process, and campus-wide norming campaigns.

Norming campaigns similar to the approaches used to minimize alcohol abuse and smoking have been effective to dispel the myths that lead students to overconform to their perceived norms about peer drinking. This same multi-prong approach may be helpful in changing the idealized masculinity on a college campus, reduce overconformity to perceived group or campus expectations about masculine identity performance, and result in a weakening of the act-like-a-man box, thereby reducing the desire to use hazing behaviors as a mechanism for group acceptance.

To be truly effective, fraternity and sorority campus and organizational professionals must not only help individuals value a wider, healthier range of masculinities, but also work to change deeply entrenched chapter patriarchies. Quoted in *Time Magazine*, Gordon Gee, president of West Virginia University, posed an important question:

Should you ban fraternities and sororities or should you come up with a model that allows them to flourish—but in a very constructive way? . . . I prefer the latter, because I think that is more healthy for both universities and for students. (Reilly, 2017)

This requires reconceptualizing chapter culture as a mechanism for reinforcing gender identity and subsequently behavior. Educators must recognize that cultural change is not as easy as telling every member to behave differently. Using a campus ecology model (Strange & Banning, 2015), they must identify and analyze the physical artifacts, policies, norms, structures, and assumptions that foster a culture that reinforces or

supports fratriarchies where hypermasculinity is idealized. This can include the structures and goals of parties, the messages communicated during recruitment, new member socialization, the ways in which chapter brotherhood events are structured, and the content and themes of alumni events. Helping chapters change these structures, norms, and assumptions changes the signals that communicate to individuals that certain hypermasculine behaviors are desired and expected.

A large part of a campus ecology model is recognizing that campus professionals and fraternity/sorority professionals cannot influence these cultures alone. The stakeholders, who often fail to problematize concerning behaviors, can move hazing from a position of tolerable deviance (Stebbins, 1988) to establish a clear demarcation between play and plazing. Campus police officers, coaches, club and organization advisors, parents, and alumni volunteers must be introduced to the concept of gendered plazing. This can be achieved by forming partnerships with campus and nationwide groups who promote healthy masculinities.

The new member socialization process requires particular attention. Tim Piazza's fraternity did not call for help because they feared the repercussions of their behaviors. If campus and fraternity/sorority professionals do not open up the dialogue with chapter leaders about the best, healthiest ways to facilitate in-group and out-group membership and invite students to speak honestly about what is happening in their organizations, they will be ineffective in addressing plazing. Through applying a campus ecology approach, professionals must seek to understand the organization's perspectives and motivations of group behavior. Rather than use perspectives informed by a position outside the play frame, they must be willing to step inside the frame and ask questions to understand the

goals of the activities and the meanings generated within the frame. Educators are then better equipped to help students create activities that achieve those same meanings. Failure to understand those meanings and help groups replace dangerous plazing activities with activities that achieve similar goals will only result in perpetuation of the same activities in the play frame, far from the eyes of authority figures.

Finally, the data in this study suggest that troubling activities that pose great risks of harm or injury are often perceived as play to students. Students must be better able to distinguish between benign play and plazing to effectively break the play frame when plazing begins so that they are better able to evaluate the real risks of these activities. Administrators can help students better problematize plazing behaviors framed from the perspective of a student within the play frame. Often this happens through dialogue with others in whom they confide. Through the incorporation of bystander training, where peers are equipped to intervene when their friends and roommates may be experiencing plazing, efforts to educate parents on what plazing is and how to dialogue with their student about it, and messaging to students that detrivializes plazing, students may feel more comfortable challenging their organizations to identify better mechanisms of new member socialization.

Concluding Thoughts

William Golding's (1954) classic *Lord of the Flies* tells the story of loss of innocence as young boys play at establishing a tribal society all the while rebuking the adulthood modeled by their parents. They improvise at adulthood, jockey for power, and create rules and structures to govern their pretending. Those same behaviors occur in the college fraternity. Educators must help these young men, hungry to belong, find ways to

measure and test gender identity outside the purview of those they see as outsiders. Until colleges help students reshape the gendered play frame and change the environmental cues that communicate that plazing is desirable, and, in many cases, expected in order to belong, the deaths and injuries of young men like Tim Piazza will continue.

Too often, societally we dismiss low levels of hazing as a rite of passage or boys being boys. When hazing results in traumatic injury or death, critics go so far as to suggest, “It may just be impossible to separate hazing and fraternities” (Lipka, 2017, para. 9). In response, proponents of fraternities are quick to argue there was just a bad member, chapter, or community. As Philip Zimbardo (2007) suggested, perhaps it is not the apples that are bad, but the barrel that is bad. This logic has led to numerous calls to recognize that fraternities, as bastions of toxic masculinity, should cease to exist (Flanagan, 2014; Hechinger, 2017). As a result, university presidents are taking action. In fall of 2017, the University of Michigan and Florida State University, just days apart from each other, suspended the activities of all fraternities until a substantive reform plan has been established (Bauer-Wolf, 2017; Hartocollis & Friess, 2017). Since that time, several other campuses have followed suit.

These bans are an ill-fitting solution to the problem. There are indeed organizations where toxic masculinity is the norm. As we saw from this study, there are also chapters with healthier perceptions of masculinity that showed lower instances of hazing. I would argue that college leaders need not eliminate the “barrels”—fraternal chapters and communities—but help reshape them. If campus and organization professionals truly want to reform the gendered fraternity experience, they need to shift the norms, assumptions, and attitudes that define hegemonic college masculinity to

become healthier manifestations. They need to understand the play behaviors that test and express that masculinity in a play environment. They need to equip students and fraternity stakeholders in creating solutions guided by the framework of plazing as masculine socialization. They need to help break the play frame by both educating students and stakeholders starting as early as middle school and making the costs far too great for the bubble of play to persist. This study is an early step in expanding our understanding of plazing as masculine performance. It is through building on this understanding that educators can help ensure that students like Tim Piazza and the many thousands of would-be fraternity men whose identities are forged through plazing, experience healthier ways to achieve belonging.

APPENDIX A

RECRUITMENT LETTERS AND RECRUITMENT SCRIPTS

Fraternity President Recruitment Letter



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS-AMHERST
School of Education

February 2017

Dear Fraternity President,

*How does masculinity influence fraternity member behavior?
What pledging experiences are most important to shaping new members?*

The answers to these and other similar questions provide greater insight into the role of masculinity in shaping the pledging experiences of fraternity men. The best way to learn about these experiences is to go straight to the source, so I am writing to ask for your help to get your members to complete the *Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire*.

The data will be used to learn the ways that group and individual identities shape the experiences of the members. It is important for your chapter to participate, because the fraternal experience is often misunderstood and through your honest responses, you have the opportunity to help the higher education world better understand fraternity culture.

You would need to allocate 30 minutes in your chapter meeting. As a thank you for taking time from your meeting to participate in the study, your chapter will receive a \$150 donation to the philanthropy of your choice and your chapter will be entered into a raffle to win a flat screen TV. This donation is not dependent upon every member taking the survey.

All of your member's responses are voluntary and confidential. Neither your member's names nor your chapter name will be collected as part of the survey. The responses of your fraternity will only be identifiable through the timestamp of the surveys. The cumulative results of the survey, with no personal or group identifying information, will be reported at a professional conference.

If you have any questions about the survey, please contact the lead researcher at eperlow@educ.umass.edu or 419-575-2434 or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Ryan Wells (rswells@educ.umass.edu or 413-545-0871). This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Massachusetts-Amherst Institutional Review Board (413-545-3428) and the [REDACTED] Institutional Review Board [REDACTED]. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at 413-545-3428 or humansubjects@ora.umass.edu or the [REDACTED] Office of Research Integrity at [REDACTED].

You or your chapter may not directly benefit from this research, we hope that your chapter's participation in the study may help researchers better understand whether a relationship exists between an individual student's gender identity, perceived group gender identity, play behaviors, and pledging experiences.

Many thanks for your support and assistance

Emily Perlow, Doctoral Student, Department of Educational Policy, Research & Administration (EPRA), School of Education, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Pilot Member Recruitment Letter



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS-AMHERST
School of Education

February 2017

Dear fraternity member,

*What pledging experiences are most important to shaping new members?
How does the fraternity culture influence member behavior?*

The answers to these and other similar questions provide greater insight into the role of masculinity in shaping the pledging experiences of fraternity men. The best way to learn about these experiences is to go straight to the source, so I am writing to ask you to complete the *Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire*. The data will be used to learn the ways that group and individual identities shape the experiences of the members. It is important for you to participate, because the fraternal experience is often misunderstood and through your honest responses, you have the opportunity to help the higher education world better understand fraternity culture.

You have been selected because your chapter leadership agreed for the chapter to be surveyed. As a thank you for your chapter participating in the study, your chapter will receive a \$100 donation to the philanthropy of your chapter's choice whether or not you personally choose to participate. The questions should take approximately 20 minutes.

All of your responses are voluntary and confidential and you can withdraw at any time. You are free to skip any question you choose. Neither your name nor your chapter affiliation will be collected as part of the survey. Whether you choose to participate in the survey or not will have no bearing on your standing in the fraternity and no one else will know whether or not you participated. If you choose not to participate, simply do not take the survey.

The cumulative results of the survey, with no personal or group identifying information, will be reported to the funding agency, the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors, at professional conferences, submission to refereed journals, in a report to the sponsoring university's office of fraternity and sorority life, and via the final dissertation report.

If you have any questions about the survey, please contact the lead researcher at eperlow@educ.umass.edu or 419-575-2434 or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Ryan Wells (rswells@educ.umass.edu or 413-545-0871). This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Massachusetts-Amherst Institutional Review Board (413-545-3428). If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at 413-545-3428.

While it would be unexpected that the survey will cause individual psychological distress, you can stop participating in the survey at any time. As with any online related activity the risk of a breach of confidentiality is always possible. While there could be social risks if you choose to report information that your fraternity does not wish you to report, to the best of our ability your answers in this study will remain confidential. We will minimize any risks by not asking for any identifiable information for you as an individual. I will only know groupings of fraternity men based on the similarity of the timestamp for the survey.

You may not directly benefit from this research; however, we hope that your participation in the study may help researchers better understand whether a relationship exists between an individual student's gender identity, perceived group gender identity, play behaviors, and pledging experiences.

Many thanks for your support and assistance.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Emily Perlow".

Emily Perlow, Doctoral Student, Department of Educational Policy, Research & Administration (EPRA), School of Education, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Full Survey Member Recruitment Letter



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS-AMHERST
School of Education

March 2017

Dear fraternity member,

*What pledging experiences are most important to shaping new members?
How does the fraternity culture influence member behavior?*

The answers to these and other similar questions provide greater insight into the role of masculinity in shaping the pledging experiences of fraternity men. The best way to learn about these experiences is to go straight to the source, so I am writing to ask you to complete the *Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire*. The data will be used to learn the ways that group and individual identities shape the experiences of the members. It is important for you to participate, because the fraternal experience is often misunderstood and through your honest responses, you have the opportunity to help the higher education world better understand fraternity culture.

You have been selected because your chapter leadership agreed for the chapter to be surveyed. As a thank you for your chapter participating in the study, your chapter will receive a \$150 donation to the philanthropy of your chapter's choice and your chapter will be entered into a raffle to win a flat screen TV whether or not you personally choose to participate. The questions should take approximately 20 minutes.

All of your responses are voluntary and confidential and you can withdraw at any time. You are free to skip any question you choose. Neither your name nor your chapter affiliation will be collected as part of the survey. Whether you choose to participate in the survey or not will have no bearing on your standing in the fraternity and no one else will know whether or not you participated. If you choose not to participate, simply do not take the survey.

The cumulative results of the survey, with no personal or group identifying information, will be reported to the funding agency, the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors, at professional conferences, submission to refereed journals, in a report to the sponsoring university's office of fraternity and sorority life, and via the final dissertation report.

If you have any questions about the survey, please contact the lead researcher at eperlow@educ.umass.edu or 419-575-2434 or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Ryan Wells (rswells@educ.umass.edu or 413-545-0871). This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Massachusetts-Amherst Institutional Review Board (413-545-3428) and the [REDACTED] Institutional Review Board ([REDACTED]). If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at 413-545-3428 or humansubjects@ora.umass.edu or the [REDACTED] Office of Research Integrity at [REDACTED].

While it would be unexpected that the survey will cause individual psychological distress, you can stop participating in the survey at any time. As with any online related activity the risk of a breach of confidentiality is always possible. While there could be social risks if you choose to report information that you fraternity does not wish you to report, to the best of our ability your answers in this study will remain confidential. We will minimize any risks by not asking for any identifiable information for you as an individual. I will only know groupings of fraternity men based on the similarity of the timestamp for the survey.

You may not directly benefit from this research; however, we hope that your participation in the study may help researchers better understand whether a relationship exists between an individual student's gender identity, perceived group gender identity, play behaviors, and pledging experiences.

Many thanks for your support and assistance.

Emily Perlow, Doctoral Student, Department of Educational Policy, Research & Administration (EPR&A), School of Education, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Oral Recruitment Script for Chapter Presidents

Hello. My name is Emily Perlow. I am a doctoral student at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. Thank you so much for inviting me to your IFC meeting today. When I talked to your IFC president, he graciously allowed me to take some time from your meeting today.

I am a sorority woman myself, and I have been working with fraternities as an advisor for more than 15 years, including living in a fraternity as a house mom. I think fraternities are often misunderstood and mischaracterized by larger society. As a result, I set out to better understand fraternity culture in pursuit of my doctorate. As part of my dissertation research, I am interested in learning about the fraternity joining experience and its relationship to gender identity.

What I would like to ask of you is the opportunity to come to one of your weekly meetings to explain my study and ask your members to participate. The total time I will need is approximately 30 minutes. This includes 10 minutes to introduce the survey, and the survey itself takes approximately 20 minutes to answer. In exchange, I will donate \$150 to a charity of your chapter's choice and enter your chapter into a raffle for a flat-screen TV.

All of your members' responses are voluntary and confidential. Neither their name nor their chapter affiliation will be collected as part of the survey. I will only know groupings of fraternity men based on the similarity of the timestamp for the survey.

The combined responses for all the fraternities I am surveying will be shared as part of my dissertation research, will be shared with your Greek life office, and may be submitted for possible publication in scholarly journals. I want to reiterate that your members' responses will not be linked to you or the name of your specific fraternity.

Taking the survey is entirely voluntary. Your chapter's participation or non-participation has no influence on your standing on the campus. In your hands you have a letter that further explains the research purpose and information about the various approvals of the survey. Your participation will help scholars better understand and explain the ways fraternity new member experiences align with gender identity.

I will be in touch with you via email to check your interest in participating in the survey. If you are interested, I will want to arrange a time to come to a chapter meeting sometime this semester.

Many thanks for your support and assistance.

Does anyone have any questions?

Oral Recruitment Script for Fraternity Members

Hello. My name is Emily Perlow. I am a doctoral student at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

Thank you so much for inviting me to your chapter meeting today. When I talked to your chapter president, he graciously allowed me to take some time from your meeting today. In exchange, I will be donating \$150 to a charity of your chapter's choice and will enter your chapter into a raffle for a flat-screen TV. [CHAPTER PRESIDENT NAME] will let me know where the donation should be made.

I am a sorority woman myself, and I have been working with fraternities as an advisor for more than 15 years, including living in a fraternity as a house mom. I think fraternities are often misunderstood and mischaracterized by larger society. As a result, I set out to better understand fraternity culture in pursuit of my doctorate. As part of my dissertation research, I am interested in learning about your fraternity joining experience and its relationship to gender identity. The questions should take approximately 20 minutes to answer.

If you choose to participate in the study by taking the survey today, all of your responses are voluntary and confidential. Neither your name nor your chapter affiliation will be collected as part of the survey. I will only know groupings of fraternity men based on the similarity of the timestamp for the survey.

The combined responses for all the fraternities I am surveying will be shared as part of my dissertation research, will be shared with your Greek life office, and may be submitted for possible publication in scholarly journals. I want to reiterate that your responses will not be linked to you or the name of your specific fraternity.

Taking the survey is entirely voluntary. Your participation or non-participation has no influence on your standing as a member and has no consequences to you or your fraternity. Please try to sit apart as much as possible. Please feel free to quietly play on your computer or tablet if you choose not to take the survey. Please do your best to refrain from talking with other brothers during the survey administration.

There are questions that will feel somewhat repetitive. This is intentional. Please do your best to answer them based on your gut instincts. It's really important you take the survey all the way to the end.

Does anyone have any questions?

In your hands you have a letter that further explains the research purpose and information about the various approvals of the survey. Please take a minute to read it. By taking time today to share your candid thoughts and opinions about your fraternity experience, your responses help researchers better understand and explain the ways fraternity new member experiences align with gender identity.

Many thanks for your support and assistance.

APPENDIX B
INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent Statement Page at Start of Web-Based Survey

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Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

You are being asked to complete this survey by researcher, Emily Perlow, a doctoral student at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. You have been selected because your chapter president agreed for your fraternity to participate.

The purpose of this research study is to better understand fraternity joining experiences and its relationship to gender identity. If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey that will ask about your reasons for joining your fraternity, your and your fraternity brothers' attitudes about masculinity, and activities during pledging in your fraternity. It will take you approximately 20 minutes to complete.

All of your responses are voluntary and confidential and you can withdraw at any time. You are free to skip any question you choose. Neither your name nor your chapter affiliation will be collected as part of the survey. Whether you choose to participate in the survey or not will have no bearing on your standing in the fraternity and no one else will know whether or not you participated. Your chapter will also receive a \$150 donation to the charity of your chapter's choice and the chapter will be entered into a raffle for a flat screen TV regardless whether you participate.

You may not directly benefit from this research; however, we hope that your participation in the study may help researchers better understand whether a relationship exists between an individual student's gender identity, perceived group gender identity, play behaviors, and pledging experiences.

While it would be unexpected that the survey will cause individual psychological distress, you can stop participating in the survey at any time. As with any online related activity the risk of a breach of confidentiality is always possible. While there could be social risks if you choose to report information that you fraternity does not wish you to report, to the best of our ability your answers in this study will remain confidential. We will minimize any risks by not asking for any identifiable information for you as an individual. Your responses will be lumped with your fraternity brothers only through the timestamp of your surveys. All survey responses will be kept in a secured file cabinet and destroyed 5 years after completion of the dissertation study.

The cumulative results of the survey, with no personal or group identifying information, will be reported to the funding agency, the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors, at professional conferences, submission to refereed journals, in a report to the sponsoring university's office of fraternity and sorority life, and via the final dissertation report.

If you have any questions about the survey, please contact the lead researcher at eperlow@educ.umass.edu or 419-575-2434 or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Ryan Wells (rswells@educ.umass.edu or 413-545-0871). This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Massachusetts-Amherst Institutional Review Board (413-545-3428) and the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at 413-545-3428 or humansubjects@ora.umass.edu or the [REDACTED]

By clicking "I agree" below you are indicating that you are at least 18 years old, are a member of a fraternity, have read and understood this consent form and agree to participate in this research study. Please save a copy of this page for your records.

I Do Not Agree

I Agree

APPENDIX C

FRATERNITY GENDER IDENTITY AND PLEDGING QUESTIONNAIRE

UMassAmherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

Think back to when you were a joining your fraternity. What were the reasons you chose to join your particular fraternity?

	Major Reason	Minor Reason	Not a Reason
Ability to meet friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Academic support	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Leadership opportunities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My family expected me to join	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Alumni networking opportunities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Access to parties	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ability to meet potential dating partners	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The values of the fraternity match my values	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Challenges you expected to encounter in joining	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Increase in social status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[>>](#)

UMassAmherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

The following pages contain a series of statements about how men might think, feel or behave. The statements are designed to measure attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with both traditional and non-traditional masculine gender roles.

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The next several screens include the Conformity to Male Norms Inventory-46 used with permission. For more information about the inventory, please contact Dr. Michael Parent at michael.parent@ttu.edu. The instructions for the CMNI-46 items are below.

UMassAmherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

Thinking about your own actions, feelings and beliefs, please indicate how much you personally agree or disagree with each statement. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering.

Strongly
disagree

Disagree

Agree

Strongly
agree

UMassAmherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

Now, the next series of questions will ask you to think about what the majority of your fraternity brothers might think, feel, or believe.

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The next several screens include the Conformity to Male Norms Inventory-46 modified to measure perceived group conformity, used with permission. For more information about the inventory, please contact Dr. Michael Parent at michael.parent@ttu.edu. The instructions for the group CMNI-46 items are below.

UMassAmherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

Thinking about your fraternity brothers' actions, feelings, and beliefs, please indicate how you believe most members of your fraternity would agree or disagree with each statement. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe most brothers' actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering.

Most of My Brothers....

Strongly
disagree

Disagree

Agree

Strongly
agree

UMassAmherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

The next questions are about your pledging experiences.

The pledge period (also called pledging, pledgeship, new member period, or associate membership) is defined as the time between when you accepted a bid and when you participated in the initiation ceremony. Please honestly indicate whether you experienced any of the experiences described.

As of today, has your fraternity brought in another pledge class since you joined?

Yes

No

Not sure

As of today, have you participated in an initiation ceremony or ritual where you became a lifetime member of the organization? Most groups call this initiation.

Yes

No

Not sure

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UMass Amherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

Below are some of the potential goals fraternity members have associated with the pledging experience. For you personally, how desirable or undesirable is achieving these goals in preparing new members for fraternity membership?

	Very undesirable	Somewhat undesirable	Somewhat desirable	Very desirable
Pledges feel pride in the fraternity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges are broken down psychologically and built back up by chapter members	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges prove they can handle challenges	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges succeed academically	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges demonstrate leadership skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges demonstrate they know how to maintain the chapter house	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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UMassAmherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

Below are some of the potential goals fraternity members have associated with the pledging experience. For you personally, how desirable or undesirable is achieving these goals in preparing new members for fraternity membership?

	Very undesirable	Somewhat undesirable	Somewhat desirable	Very desirable
Pledges experience the same activities or events you experienced as a new member	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges maintain the social image of the fraternity on campus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges understand pledge class unity is essential to success	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges develop intense friendships with other pledges	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges understand their role in representing the fraternity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pledges earn the privilege of initiation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



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Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

What role did you most often play as an initiated member in relation to the most recent pledge class?

Asked/ told new members to do pledge activities/events

Helped others with new members in pledge activities/events

Watched others do pledge activities or events with new members

Did not participate in pledge activities/events

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UMassAmherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

On the next two screens, you will see a series of questions that asks you to think about the activities you participated in as a **pledge or member**. For each of these activities, select all of the descriptions that are true. **Check all that apply**. If you did not participate in a particular activity, mark "did not do."

The descriptions are as follows:

The activity was fun—you found the activity to be enjoyable or enjoyed yourself while doing it.

I could have chosen not to participate—you were not forced against your will to participate in the activity. Even if something was deemed "mandatory," if you could have realistically not participated, check this box.

There were rules for the activity—there were either a set of rules or regulations or an expected way you needed to behave as part of the activity. For example, if pledges could only enter the chapter house via the backdoor or were required to address brothers by a certain name, these would be considered rules.

The activity involved theatrical behavior—there was some level of "acting" exhibited by members or pledges. For example, a pledge educator pretends to be really disappointed in the new members to make them work harder.

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UMass Amherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

Of the new member activities you participated in as a pledge or member, select all of the descriptions that are true. Check all that apply. If you did not participate in a particular activity, mark "did not do."

- **The activity was fun**—you found the activity to be enjoyable or enjoyed yourself while doing it.
- **I could have chosen not to participate**—you were not forced against your will to participate in the activity. Even if something was deemed "mandatory," if you could have realistically not participated, check this box.
- **There were rules for the activity**—there were either a set of rules or regulations or an expected way you needed to behave as part of the activity. For example, if pledges could only enter the chapter house via the backdoor or were required to address brothers by a certain name, these would be considered rules.
- **The activity involved theatrical behavior**—there was some level of "acting" exhibited by members or pledges. For example, a pledge educator pretends to be really disappointed in the new members to make them work harder.

Check ALL that apply

	The activity was fun	I could have chosen not to participate	There were rules for the activity	The activity involved theatrical behavior	Did not do
Doing tasks for other members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Following a set of pledge rules	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being called by a label or nickname other than your given name	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Carrying a certain item at all times	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Participating in a skit, song night, or roast	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Participating in a competition between new members and members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Playing a prank or raid on the members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being asked to come to a location (including chapter house) with little to no notice	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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UMass Amherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

Of the new member activities you participated in as a pledge or member, select all of the descriptions that are true. Check all that apply. If you did not participate in a particular activity, mark "did not do."

- **The activity was fun**—you found the activity to be enjoyable or enjoyed yourself while doing it.
- **I could have chosen not to participate**—you were not forced against your will to participate in the activity. Even if something was deemed "mandatory," if you could have realistically not participated, check this box.
- **There were rules for the activity**—there were either a set of rules or regulations or an expected way you needed to behave as part of the activity. For example, if pledges could only enter the chapter house via the backdoor or were required to address brothers by a certain name, these would be considered rules.
- **The activity involved theatrical behavior**—there was some level of "acting" exhibited by members or pledges. For example, a pledge educator pretends to be really disappointed in the new members to make them work harder.

Check ALL that apply

	The activity was fun	I could have chosen not to participate	There were rules for the activity	The activity involved theatrical behavior	Did not do
Taking a test where the results are rigged	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being awakened or prevented from sleeping during the night by other members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being kidnapped or dropped off in an unfamiliar location	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being yelled at by organization members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wearing silly or embarrassing attire	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Consuming spicy/bad tasting concoctions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being encouraged to drink large amounts of alcohol	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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UMassAmherst

Fraternity Gender Identity and Pledging Questionnaire

What is your current academic standing?

First year

Sophomore

Junior

Senior

Fifth year or beyond

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APPENDIX D

t-STATISTIC AND ANOVA ASSUMPTIONS: HOMOGENEITY OF VARIANCE AND NORMALITY

Table 28

t-Statistic Assumptions: Normality: Individual and Perceived Group CMNI-46 and CMNI-46 Subscale Scores (in reference to Table 4)

CMNI-46 and Subscales	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>	
	Individual	Group
Overall Measure	0.002**	0.000**
Winning	0.000**	0.000**
Emotional control	0.000**	0.000**
Risk taking	0.000**	0.000**
Violence	0.000**	0.000**
Power over women	0.000**	0.000**
Playboy	0.000**	0.000**
Self-reliance	0.000**	0.000**
Primacy of work	0.000**	0.000**
Heterosexual self-preservation	0.003**	0.000**

Note. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Upon inspection of Q-Q plots for the data in Table 28, the data appear to be normally distributed. For example, Figure 13 shows the plotting of data for the heterosexual self-preservation subscale on the CMNI-46 for individual perceived gender conformity. Despite a significant finding ($p=0.003$) on the Shapiro-Wilk test, the data approximates a normal trend. This same trending was observed for each of the subscales and the overall measure.

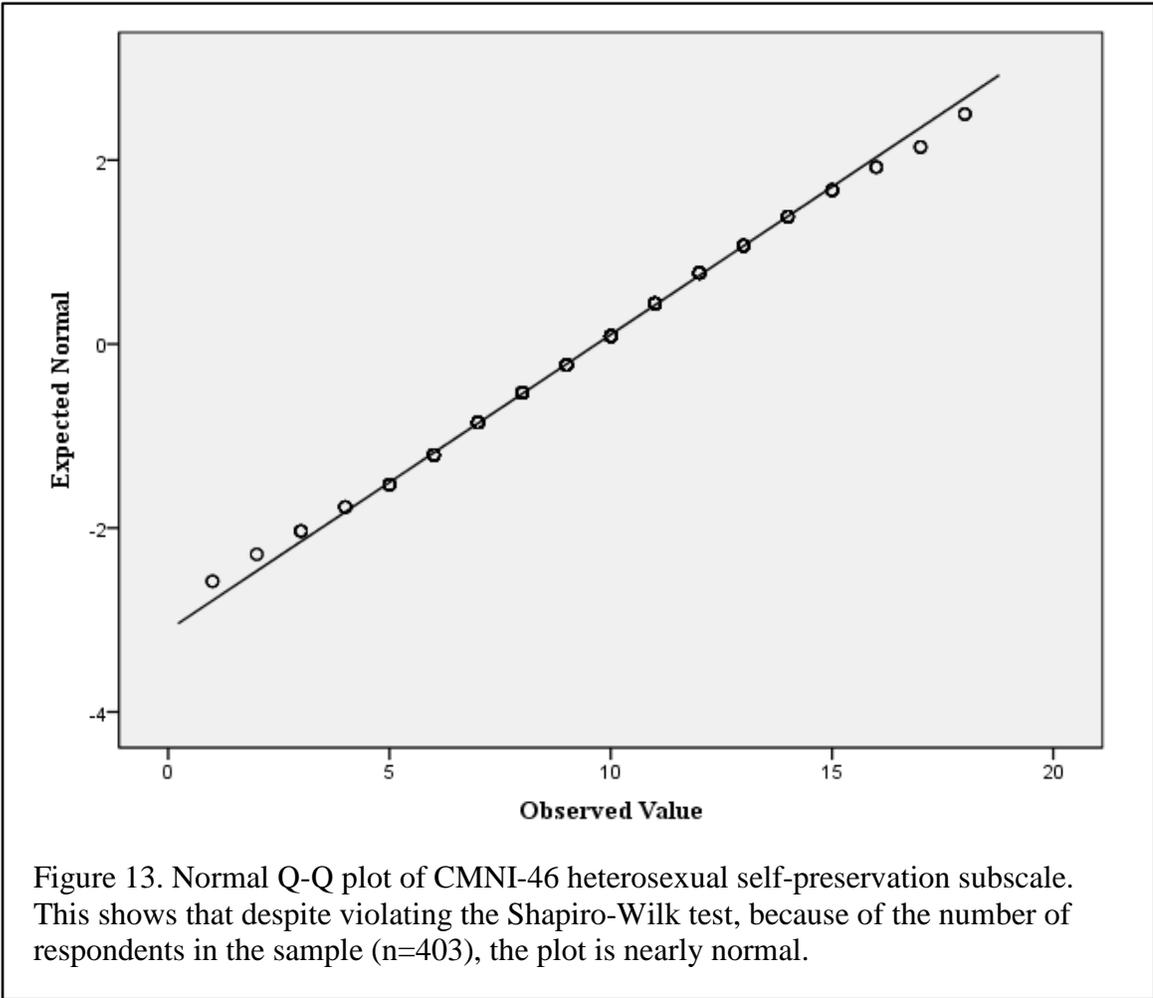


Table 29

t-Statistic Assumptions: Normality: Perceived Group CMNI-46 and Subscale Scores by Group (in reference to Table 5, 6, & 7)

Group CMNI-46 and Subscales	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i> by Group										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total measure	0.001**	0.369	0.100	0.592	0.056	0.094	0.070	0.135	0.320	0.362	0.296
Winning	0.193	0.896	0.014*	0.154	0.597	0.084	0.002**	0.105	0.081	0.159	0.006**
Emotional control	0.783	0.113	0.014*	0.160	0.053	0.157	0.001**	0.015*	0.364	0.047*	0.238
Risk taking	0.656	0.424	0.021*	0.573	0.268	0.080	0.001**	0.081	0.297	0.259	0.026*
Violence	0.992	0.498	0.040*	0.622	0.066	0.087	0.053	0.091	0.043*	0.150	0.014*
Power over women	0.202	0.101	0.241	0.413	0.013*	0.036*	0.034*	0.016*	0.428	0.009**	0.107
Playboy	0.411	0.633	0.002**	0.400	0.010*	0.008**	0.141	0.059	0.090	0.217	0.029*
Self-reliance	0.189	0.175	0.001**	0.016*	0.000**	0.011*	0.032*	0.002**	0.289	0.001**	0.000**
Primacy of work	0.431	0.348	0.006**	0.075	0.009**	0.025*	0.006**	0.044*	0.427	0.051	0.014*
Heterosexual self-preservation	0.079	0.498	0.080	0.208	0.279	0.020*	0.004**	0.001**	0.153	0.140	0.009**

Note. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 30

t-Statistic Assumptions: Normality: Individual CMNI-46 and Subscale Scores by Group (in reference to Tables 5 & 7)

Individual CMNI-46 and Subscales	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i> by Group										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total Measure	0.322	0.032*	0.018*	0.399	0.002**	0.116	0.120	0.699	0.166	0.593	0.217
Winning	0.043*	0.483	0.073	0.593	0.005**	0.025*	0.152	0.104	0.193	0.195	0.318
Emotional control	0.274	0.066	0.089	0.107	0.087	0.006**	0.056	0.008**	0.419	0.014**	0.360
Risk taking	0.623	0.167	0.001**	0.029*	0.387	0.065	0.038*	0.058	0.321	0.112	0.371
Violence	0.883	0.417	0.002**	0.254	0.595	0.046*	0.306	0.003**	0.540	0.024*	0.000**
Power over women	0.270	0.008**	0.009**	0.030*	0.000**	0.033*	0.068	0.003**	0.059	0.069	0.048*
Playboy	0.236	0.072	0.046*	0.391	0.672	0.006**	0.086	0.064	0.439	0.000**	0.159
Self-reliance	0.451	0.054	0.054	0.300	0.010*	0.027*	0.000**	0.009**	0.025*	0.288	0.007**
Primacy of work	0.348	0.324	0.025*	0.141	0.053	0.033*	0.135	0.323	0.351	0.113	0.326
Heterosexual self- preservation	0.892	0.707	0.021*	0.742	0.298	0.258	0.059	0.101	0.165	0.479	0.239

Note. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 31

t-Statistic Assumptions: Normality: New Member Outcome by Group (in reference to Table 11)

New Member Outcome	Shapiro-Wilk p by Group											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Pride	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.004**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Break down psychologically and rebuild	0.001**	0.021*	0.000**	0.090	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Handle challenges	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.063	0.001**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.001**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Succeed academically	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.003**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Leadership skills	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.028*	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Maintain the chapter house	0.011*	0.006**	0.000**	0.000**	0.001**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Experience the same program	0.002**	0.002**	0.000**	0.007**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Maintain the social image	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.005**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.001**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Pledge class unity	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.001**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Intense friendships	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Represent fraternity	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.001**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Earn initiation	0.000**	0.001**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.001**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**

Note. The results above are not surprising given the large sample size and that this was a Likert scale, and therefore, there were only 4 possible responses. The Q-Q plots are generally normal. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 32

ANOVA Assumptions: Homogeneity of Variance and Normality: Desirability of New Member Outcomes and Individual, Group, and Gap CMNI-46 Scores (in reference to Tables 13, 14, & 15)

New Member Outcome	Individual CMNI-46						Group CMNI-46					
	Levene			Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>			Levene			Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>		
	<i>p</i>	V-Un	S-Un	S-D	V-D	<i>p</i>	V-Un	S-Un	S-D	V-D		
Pride	0.642	0.499	0.132	0.007**	0.072	0.105	0.218	0.847	0.741	0.000**		
Break down psychologically and rebuild	0.544	0.015*	0.601	0.010*	0.569	0.423	0.034*	0.044*	0.038*	0.005**		
Handle challenges	0.380	0.185	0.259	0.069	0.051	0.624	0.652	0.064	0.355	0.000**		
Succeed academically	0.263	--	0.085	0.118	0.029*	0.045*	--	0.384	0.000**	0.013*		
Leadership skills	0.235	0.601	0.160	0.084	0.032*	0.141	0.200	0.967	0.001**	0.009**		
Maintain the chapter house	0.064	0.244	0.573	0.003**	0.537	0.627	0.985	0.263	0.119	0.001**		
Experience the same program	0.283	0.078	0.000**	0.402	0.664	0.456	0.305	0.848	0.010*	0.001**		
Maintain the social image	0.185	0.303	0.993	0.012*	0.250	0.183	0.832	0.990	0.017*	0.003**		
Pledge class unity	0.760	0.122	0.009	0.031*	0.049*	0.171	0.925	0.756	0.405	0.000**		
Intense friendships	0.985	0.915	0.010*	0.059	0.075	0.240	0.274	0.270	0.007**	0.002**		
Represent fraternity	0.343	--	0.367	0.041*	0.050	0.058	--	0.743	0.029*	0.005**		
Earn initiation	0.401	0.212	0.045	0.025*	0.080	0.105	0.878	0.864	0.017*	0.002**		

Note. V-Un: very undesirable. S-Un: Somewhat undesirable. S-D: Somewhat desirable. V-D: Very desirable. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 32 (continued)

ANOVA Assumptions: Homogeneity of Variance and Normality: Desirability of New Member Outcomes and Individual, Group, and Gap CMNI-46 Scores (in reference to Tables 13, 14, & 15)

New Member Outcome	Levene <i>p</i>	Gap: Group – Individual CMNI-46			
		V-Un	S-Un	S-D	V-D
Pride	0.790	0.670	0.804	0.002**	0.001**
Break down psychologically and rebuild	0.216	0.000**	0.042*	0.154	0.612
Handle challenges	0.560	0.252	0.293	0.001**	0.015**
Succeed academically	0.107	--	0.705	0.027*	0.000**
Leadership skills	0.436	0.972	0.457	0.007**	0.000**
Maintain the chapter house	0.290	0.384	0.139	0.010*	0.002**
Experience the same program	0.355	0.320	0.380	0.027*	0.001**
Maintain the social image	0.115	0.820	0.908	0.002**	0.000**
Pledge class unity	0.223	0.984	0.435	0.018*	0.000**
Intense friendships	0.318	0.397	0.242	0.150	0.000**
Represent fraternity	0.450	--	0.461	0.123	0.000**
Earn initiation	0.385	0.245	0.652	0.000**	0.001**

Note. V-Un: very undesirable. S-Un: Somewhat undesirable. S-D: Somewhat desirable. V-D: Very desirable.

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 33

ANOVA Assumptions: Homogeneity of Variance and Normality: Relationship between CMNI-46 Scores and New Member Socialization Role

	Individual CMNI-46				Group CMNI-46					
	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>				Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>					
	Levene <i>p</i>	DNP	W	H	A	Levene <i>p</i>	DNP	W	H	A
New member socialization role	0.046*	0.393	0.475	0.136	0.622	0.642	0.710	0.747	0.000**	0.842
	Gap: Group – Individual CMNI-46									
	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>				Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>					
	Levene <i>p</i>	DNP	W	H	A	Levene <i>p</i>	DNP	W	H	A
New member socialization role	0.481	0.314	0.024*	0.001**	0.328					

Note. DNP=Did not participate, W=Watched other do new member events, H=Helped others with new members, A=Asked/told new members. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 34

ANOVA Assumptions: Homogeneity of Variance and Normality: Relationship between CMNI-46 Scores and New Member Socialization Role by Extremity of Hazing (in reference to Table 16)

Hazing Extremity	Individual CMNI-46				Group CMNI-46					
	Levene <i>p</i>	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>			Levene <i>p</i>	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>				
		DNP	W	H		A	DNP	W	H	A
Low: 0-3 activities	0.446	0.947	--	0.709	0.108	0.336	0.951	--	0.077	0.171
Moderate: 4-7 activities	0.214	0.810	0.780	0.147	0.674	0.425	0.308	0.457	0.089	0.052
High: 8-11 activities	0.174	0.303	0.958	0.401	0.129	0.925	0.058	0.783	0.000**	0.879
Very High: 12-15 activities	0.083	0.589	0.621	0.043*	0.563	0.752	0.024*	0.467	0.020*	0.819

Gap: Group-Individual CMNI-46			
Hazing Extremity	Levene <i>p</i>	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>	
		DNP	H
Low: 0-3 activities	0.322	0.600	0.509
Moderate: 4-7 activities	0.386	0.001**	0.003**
High: 8-11 activities	0.844	0.009**	0.114
Very High: 12-15 activities	0.394	0.599	0.294

Note. DNP=Did not participate. W=Watched other do new member events. H=Helped others with new members. A=Asked/told new members.

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 35

ANOVA Assumptions: Homogeneity of Variance and Normality: Relationship between Individual and Group CMNI-46 Scores and Chapter Hazing Participation (in reference to Table 19)

Hazing Activity	Individual CMNI-46				Group CMNI-46				
	Levene <i>p</i>	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>		Levene <i>p</i>	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>		Levene <i>p</i>	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>	
		Absent	Present		Absent	Present		Absent	Present
Tasks	0.063	0.593	0.004**	0.845	0.362	0.000**	0.845	0.362	0.000**
Pledge rules	0.063	0.593	0.004**	0.845	0.362	0.000**	0.845	0.362	0.000**
Label or nickname	0.024*	0.108	0.003**	0.329	0.213	0.000**	0.755	0.124	0.000**
Carrying item	0.091	0.001**	0.049*	0.351	0.043*	0.000**	0.845	0.362	0.000**
Skit, song night, or roast	0.111	0.003**	0.112	0.002**	0.009**	0.000**	0.309	0.067	0.000**
Competition	0.063	0.593	0.004**	0.929	0.001**	0.001**	0.313	0.000**	0.025*
Prank or raid	0.852	0.019*	0.058	0.090	0.067	0.000**	0.090	0.000**	0.296
Come to a location	0.946	0.005**	0.015*	0.710	0.001**	0.004**	0.153	0.000**	0.015*
Rigged test	0.618	0.002**	0.090	0.132	0.000**	0.010**	0.032*	0.001**	0.000**
Interrupted sleep	0.775	0.002**	0.059	0.153	0.000**	0.015*	0.032*	0.001**	0.000**
Kidnapped/ dropped off	0.631	0.001**	0.217	0.153	0.000**	0.015*	0.032*	0.001**	0.000**
Yelled at	0.691	0.002**	0.082	0.153	0.000**	0.015*	0.032*	0.001**	0.000**
Silly/ embarrassing attire	0.540	0.003**	0.019**	0.153	0.000**	0.015*	0.032*	0.001**	0.000**
Spicy/bad-tasting concoctions	0.910	0.012*	0.001**	0.132	0.000**	0.010**	0.032*	0.001**	0.000**
Excessive alcohol consumption	0.809	0.017*	0.013**	0.032*	0.001**	0.000**	0.032*	0.001**	0.000**

Note. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 36

ANOVA Assumptions: Homogeneity of Variance and Normality: Relationship between Hazing Extremity and Play Category (in reference to Table 22)

Play Category	Hazing Extremity				
	Levene p	Shapiro-Wilk p			
		Low	Moderate	High	Very High
Competition	0.008**	--	0.000**	0.001**	--
Game of chance	0.030*	--	--	0.001**	--
Mimicry	0.050	--	0.000**	0.972	--
Structured chaos	0.115	--	0.000**	0.001**	--

Note. Where not reported, the value was constant in the category, and therefore, the Shapiro-Wilk test was not reported. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 37

ANOVA Assumptions: Homogeneity of Variance and Normality: The Relationship between New Member Socialization Role and Number of Play Criteria Met for Activities in Each Play Category (in reference to Table 23)

Play Category	New Member Socialization Participation				
	Levene p	Shapiro-Wilk p			
		DNP	W	H	A
Competition	0.540	0.001**	0.020*	0.000**	0.000**
Game of chance	0.609	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**
Mimicry	0.349	0.000**	0.016*	0.000**	0.000**
Structured chaos	0.008**	0.000**	0.025*	0.000**	0.000**

Note. DNP=Did not participate. W=Watched other do new member events. H=Helped others with new members. A=Asked/told new members. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 38

ANOVA Assumptions: Homogeneity of Variance and Normality: The Relationship between Individual and Group Gender Norm Adherence and the Number of Play Criteria Met (in reference to Table 24)

CMNI-46		Play Criteria Met	
Individual	Levene <i>p</i>		0.345
	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>	ENC	0.003**
		MNC	0.001**
		MC	0.004**
		EC	0.000**
Group	Levene <i>p</i>		0.097
	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>	ENC	0.022*
		MNC	0.000**
		MC	0.004**
		EC	0.000**

Note. ENC=Extreme non-conformity. MNC=Moderate non-conformity. MC=Moderate conformity. EC=Extreme conformity. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 39

ANOVA Assumptions: Homogeneity of Variance and Normality: The Relationship between Group Masculine Norm Conformity and Participation in Hazing by Play Criteria (in reference to Table 27)

Group CMNI-46 by Play Category	Hazing Activity Participation					
	Levene <i>p</i>	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>				
		0 Hazing Activities	1 Hazing Activity	2 Hazing Activities	3 Hazing Activities	4 Hazing Activities
Competition	0.002**	0.362	--	0.086	0.281	0.000**
Game of chance	0.001**	0.362	0.000**	0.151	0.100	--
Mimicry	0.061	0.476	0.065	0.005**	0.296	0.015*
Structured chaos	0.015*	0.067	0.095	0.003**	0.547	--

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

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