COLLEGE STUDENTS' MOTIVATIONS FOR PARTICIPATING IN HAZING RITUALS OF BLACK GREEK LETTER ORGANIZATIONS

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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by
Robert Lay
August 2019

Examining Committee Members:

James Davis, Ph.D.: Advisory Committee Chair, Educational Leadership
Wanda M. Brooks, Ed.D.: Advisory Committee Member, College of Education
Jennifer Johnson, Ph.D.: Advisory Committee Member, College of Education
Walter M. Kimbrough, Ph.D.: External Member, Dillard University

ABSTRACT

Hazing in collegiate settings, both Greek and non-Greek, damages educational institutions' reputations and creates liability as they seek to maintain the safety of their students. This study examines hazing activities that take place during the initiation process of Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs). Utilizing qualitative research, it provides insight into the motivations of undergraduates who participate in BGLO hazing initiation rituals. Using National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC) and Pennsylvania State Law definition of hazing, this study focuses on an underexamined population generally overlooked by researchers in this field. Examining BGLO members' familiarity with hazing prior to taking part revealed three levels of awareness: not aware, moderately aware, and very aware. Participants also indicated what kinds of dangers they were aware of, how they became aware of such dangers, and other facets of hazing they knew about prior to their participation in the activity.

Members chose to join an organization where they believed hazing existed due to various factors: Confidence & Past Success, Intrapersonal Benefits, Societal Benefits, Perceptions of Hazing, Personal Relationships, Compatibility, Lack of Options, and Following Traditions. BGLO members' willingness to undergo hazing sprang from the following factors: Long-term Benefits, Validation, The Bonds of Initiation, Personal Relationships, Acceptance, Perceptions of Hazing, Explanatory Justification. Finally, participants in this study indicated five roles that hazing plays in the initiation process of BGLO: Producing Better People, The Cycle of Re-Creation, Organizational Benefits, Validating Membership and Not Worth It. This project highlights the failure of higher educational institutions to play a key role in protecting students, specifically BGLO

members, from the dangers of hazing and offers remedies for that oversight, including anti-hazing policies, hazing support services, membership intake processes, and fraternal organization advisement implications, as well as areas for future research on this topic.

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, my sisters, and my late father Robert Lay Senior, who have always supported me, and my fiancé Alissa Cheatham, who supported and pushed my every step of the process.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to begin by giving all the glory God, my lord and savior for provided me with the strength, wisdom and knowledge to make it through my journey. For I can do all things through Christ that strengths me.

Also, I would like to thank my advisor and dissertation chair, Dr. James Earl Davis. Dr. Davis' support and encouraged my growth and progression from the beginning, and has provided me with the all the support necessary to put together a body of work that I am proud of. I greatly appreciate his time, energy, and patience while assisting me through my program, even when I was worried that I was not good enough. My success would not have been possible without Dr. Davis calming me down when I was stressed and not giving up on me at my low points.

I would like to also thank committee, Dr. Wanda M. Brooks, Dr. Walter M. Kimbrough, and Dr. Jennifer Johnson for investing their time in me and my research. I am greatly appreciative of them for not excepting anything but the best from me. Special thanks to Dr. Wanda M. Brooks for teaching me the value of qualitative research methods, and providing me the opportunity to perform a mock study that solidified my dissertation topic. Her engaging teaching method and supportive interaction inside and outside the classroom helped guide my interest in qualitative research.

Additionally, I would like to thank my many friends, family members, and colleagues for their love and support of my journey. I greatly appreciate their patience and flexibility while I missed countless of obligations and social gatherings to work on course assignments and write my dissertation. I would also like to send a special thank you to all of my participants that participated in my study.

Finally, I would like to thank my fiancé, Alissa Cheatham. Her support at every stage of my program and process was vital to my success. I spent countless hours laboring on my course work and dissertation, and she put my goals above the time I was able to spend with her to push me to reach my dream. I could have not done this without her and greatly appreciate her unconditional love and support.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

American institutions of higher education have been plagued by hazing rituals for hundreds of years (Nuwer, 1990). Hazing, an activity where an individual consciously or unconsciously endures mental and/or physical abuse to gain a level of acceptance (Kimbrough, 2003; Levesque, 2011; Nuwer, 1990), has led to student injuries and even deaths despite the watchful eye of academic institutions they were attending (Parks, 2012). Hazing can be physically and emotionally brutal for both facilitator and participant, often resulting in devastating consequences for those engaged in it and their institutions (Keilman, 2017; Riggs, 2017; Russon, 2017).

In February 2018, a Delaware State University student named Marlon Jackson died after participating in a hazing event with his fraternity Kapa Alpha Psi (Malafronte, 2019). Only a month earlier, the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity at the University of California-Riverside was temporarily suspended as it faced hazing allegations (Barnes, 2018). Unfortunately, these two incidents are only a snapshot of the outcomes resulting from the prevalence of hazing in higher education (Kimbrough, 2003; Levesque, 2011; Nuwer, 1990). More concerning still, as of 2017, research showed that more than half of college students are involved in some form of campus hazing and 47% of students come to college having already experienced hazing in athletic or social groups and organizations (Allen & Madden, 2008; Babson College, 2017). However, research also suggests that for every ten students being hazed, only one recognizes the experience for what it is while it is happening (Allen & Madden, 2008).

On collegiate campuses, hazing is most prevalent in Greek letter organizations (Fraternities and Sororities) (Silveira & Hudson, 2015). Studies suggest that 73% of students participating in social fraternities and sororities have experienced at least one hazing behavior (Allen & Madden, 2008). By extension, hazing in Greek letter organizations has posed a unique problem for colleges and universities; it is a problem that needs to be addressed.

In an effort to curb hazing in higher education, institutions have implemented anti-hazing polices. For example, Rutgers University, home to over 50 fraternal groups, has established an anti-hazing policy in conjunction with the New Jersey Hazing Law and codified a Pledge's Bill of Rights to ensure implementation and enforcement of the policy (Rutgers, 2014):

- Implementation- (responsibility of student affairs professionals) Hazing Compliance Forms, investigations that may result from hazing allegations, the process of notifying the organization's national headquarters and the charges that may be placed on the parties involved.
- Enforcement- (responsibility of the new member and the president of the organization) During the intake, outlines actions/activities that are explicitly prohibited.

Policies similar to Rutgers' can be found at the majority of schools that have fraternal groups on their campus (Rutgers, 2014). However, some institutions have also gone as far as suspending organizations' membership intake processes or disbanding organizations entirely pursuant to anti-hazing policies (Rutgers, 2014; Slisbury, 2014; Flanagan, 2017). For example, following the 2017 death of a student pledge named Tim

Piazza at Penn State University, the institution suspended the fraternity for three years (Flanagan, 2017).

The most important benefit of anti-hazing policies and suspensions is protecting the students from the consequences of hazing (Rutgers, 2014; Slisbury 2014; Flanagan, 2017). These measures also work to educate students and free the institutions and organizations from any liability that may arise if there is a hazing incident. However, it is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of policies and strategies put in place to address Greek hazing since much of occurs beyond institutional oversight (Gasser, 2014). This difficulty is similar to policing students who cheat on tests; because cheaters seek to avoid detection, rules against cheating only come into play when their transgressions are discovered. Hazing's prevalence within higher education begs the need for further research to better understand its true character and the motivations of those who participate in it.

Statement of the Problem

With hazing prevalent on college campuses, many institutions feel that they can only hope to minimize, rather than entirely curtail, student participation in hazing activities (Dostis, 2013; Kimbrough, 2012; Nuwer, 1990, 1999). In an effort to do so, colleges are implementing many different strategies. One strategy to address hazing is focusing on the role of administrators and support personnel on college campuses. To that end, institutions have invested resources to educate these employees, specifically those unfamiliar with hazing, on what it is and the dangers it poses to college students so they can identify and address the behaviors. Furthermore, colleges are educating students on the best practices to effectively recognize signs that a student has participated in hazing

activities and deal with the specific outcomes of that participation (Etzel, 2006). Despite such efforts, there were at least 60 hazing related deaths between 2005 and 2013 in fraternity organizations alone (Fostis, 2013). Some colleges have gone as far as abolishing fraternities and sororities on their campuses to prevent the hazing activities associated with them (Rosenberg, 2016). However, despite the hazing rituals associated with undergraduate Greek letter organizations, (Yvo, 2015), hundreds of colleges and universities continue to allow them to exist and grow thereby increasing institutional liability (Glovin & Hechinger, 2013).

Minimizing and possibly preventing students from participating in hazing rituals associated with Greek letter organizations is an important goal for both researchers and institutions alike (Dostis, 2013; Kimbrough, 2012; Nuwer, 1990, 1999). In the pursuit of this goal, researches have examined hazing from a variety of different angles. These perspectives include examining the different types of hazing activities that occur and how hazing activities are perceived by individual collegiate institutions, their administration, and both their Greek and non-Greek members (Drout & Corsoro, 2003; Reddick, Anderson, Frazier & Jenkins 2012; Silveira & Hudson, 2015). Institutions have tried to leverage this research to deter hazing activities, but unfortunately met with little success (Allan, 2004). However, as researchers continue attempting to understand why students subject themselves to hazing initiation practices, there is at least one hazing-related death on a college campus every year (Murphy, 2017). This ongoing dilemma has deepened institutional interest in deterring student participation in hazing activates. In the past, institutions leveraged research to build their anti-hazing strategies (Rutgers, 2014; Salisbury, 2014). However, much of the existing research lacks a holistic approach to

examining hazing in Greek life. More specifically, it excludes or overlooks hazing in sororities and in Black and Multicultural Greek letter organizations. It also fails explore the motivations behind student participation in Greek organizations which haze as a part of their initiation process.

Given the diversity of the Greek life landscape, understanding what motivates students of all kinds to subject themselves to hazing rituals for Greek membership is very important to higher education institutions. This research project utilized Expectancy Value Theory (EVT) to explore the motivations of undergraduate students who participate in hazing rituals associated with the initiation processes of Greek Letter Organizations. Jacquelyn Eccles' Expectancy Value Theory (EVT) seeks to explain why individuals choose to take on a task and whether or not they can do it successfully (Eccles, et al., 1983). In addition, EVT emphasizes the importance of outcome expectancies for behavioral decisions by measuring Expectancy and Value, the main two components of the theory. Expectancy describes the probability of success that an individual assigns to an action, while Value concerns the value that an individual places on achieving an outcome (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). EVT is held in high regard as a tool to determine one's behavioral choices, and has been used by numerous studies to examine academic performance, task persistence, and task choice (Eccles, et al., 1983).

To date, no studies on BGLOs have employed EVT. However, EVT may allow this researcher to ascertain whether an individual's choice to participate in hazing rituals in BGLOs is based on the value they place on joining a fraternity or sorority and what they believe about the probability of benefiting from membership (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). As a result, this study not only enriches the literature on hazing in Greek life by

expanding the research to include the entire diverse Greek landscape, but will better inform institutional approaches to hazing prevention strategies. Specifically, collegiate institutions maybe be able to customize prevention strategies based on the type of Greek life organization that interests a student while proactively protecting them from the hazing related threats common to Greek letter organizations before students begin a membership intake process (Rutgers, 2014; Salisbury 2014).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the motivations of undergraduate students who participate in hazing rituals associated with the initiation processes of Greek Letter Organizations. The project focuses on hazing initiation rituals associated with Black Greek Letter Organization (BGLO) populations. BGLOs are the second biggest Greek collegiate population and have over a hundred years of history and a past reputation of incorporating hazing into their initiation processes (Foster, 2008). For the purposes of this research, students' motivations are generally defined as the cognitive process that led to students' decision to participate in hazing rituals associated with the BGLO initiation process.

Research Questions

1. What are BGLOs members' levels of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to participating in hazing activates?
2. Why do BGLOs members choose to join organizations where they believe hazing exists in the initiation process?
3. What are BGLOs members' reasons to proceed through the initiation process after being subjected to activities that are considered hazing?

4. How do members of the BGLO interpret the role of hazing in BGLO's initiation rituals?

Definitions

Included below are brief explanations of important terms used within the context of this qualitative study.

BGLO: Black Greek Letter Organization.

Chapter: An individual branch of a BGLO established and located at an institution of higher education or in a particular geographical location. Each chapter has a secondary name designated by Greek letters attached to the name of the umbrella BGLO.

Financial: A fraternity or sorority member who has paid both the initiation and annual fee required for membership in a BGLO.

Fraternity: A men's undergraduate collegiate organization created around a common purpose, interest or pleasure located on a college campus.

Greek Life: Social/Service male and female fraternal communities on college campuses and sanctioned by that academic institution.

Hazing per NPHC: Any action taken or situation created that involves or results in abusive, physical contact or mental harassment of a prospective fraternity or sorority member (Frazier & Jenkins, 2012).

Hazing per Pennsylvania Law: Any action or situation which recklessly or intentionally endangers the mental or physical health or safety of a student or which willfully destroys or removes public or private property for the purpose of initiation or admission into or affiliation with, or as a condition for continued membership in,

any organization operating under the sanction of or recognized as an organization by an institution of higher education. The term shall include, but not be limited to, any brutality of a physical nature, such as whipping, beating, branding, forced calisthenics, exposure to the elements, forced consumption of any food, liquor, drug or other substance, or any other forced physical activity which could adversely affect the physical health and safety of the individual, and shall include any activity which would subject the individual to extreme mental stress, such as sleep deprivation, forced exclusion from social contact, forced conduct which could result in extreme embarrassment, or any other forced activity which could adversely affect the mental health or dignity of the individual, or any willful destruction or removal of public or private property. For purposes of this definition, any activity as described in this definition upon which the initiation or admission into or affiliation with or continued membership in an organization is directly or indirectly conditioned shall be presumed to be "forced" activity, the willingness of an individual to participate in such activity notwithstanding.

Initiate (pledgee): An undergraduate college student who has been selected by a BGLO chapter and is participating in a BGLO's initiation process as sanctioned by the governing BGLO and its host institution.

Initiation: The act of admitting an individual to a group or organization.

Membership Intake Process: Initiation process sanctioned by a National Pan-Hellenic Council and permitted by a chapter's host institution.

National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC): The umbrella organization for all BGLOs that

governs the nine historically African American Greek organizations, also known as the Divine Nine.

Paddling: The act of being beaten with an object, primarily a paddle.

Pledging: A process where an initiate partakes in prescribed symbolic, subjectively affective, and informative activities that lead them toward eventually becoming a member of a BGLO.

Ritual: A ceremony consisting of a series of predetermined steps.

Sorority: A women's undergraduate collegiate organization created around a common purpose, interest or pleasure and located on a college campus.

Brief History of Hazing

Hazing in America has existed for hundreds of years (Nuwer, 1990). Despite what most people may believe, hazing did not originate with fraternal organizations. Hazing, originally known as pennalism, dates back to the founding of Plato's academy in 387 B.C.E. (Nuwer, 1990). During that era, pennalism was defined as the act of upperclassmen subjecting novice students to physical abuse, cruel jokes, and extortion of money as a means of initiation. In later centuries, this practice evolved and became known as fagging, a well-documented activity in the Middle Ages. Fagging added the element of personal and menial service that was not originally found to exist in pennalism. In the 1800s pennalism and fagging were introduced into American higher education and spawned the term "hazing" (Kimbrough, 2003). Thus, although it has morphed considerably in the past two thousand years, hazing's' origins trace back to the centers of learning during the rise of Plato, as the popular way to teach newcomers respect, policies and rules of the leader (Nuwer, 1990, 1999).

As these actions became a frequent behavior of the male students at these institutions, a cycle emerged which is evident today: those who underwent hazing engage in hazing new members of the group, justifying their behavior on the grounds that they had endured hazing (Nuwer, 1999). Despite its purported purpose to teach newcomers respect, policies and rules of the group, hazing often amounted to nothing more than newcomers being bullied, taunted and embarrassed (Nuwer, 1999; Levesque, 2011). While research suggests that hazing may play a part in establishing group order, creating traditions to increase bonds, and increasing members' performance (Levesque, 2011), many ancient scholars considered it problematic at the time of its inception (Nuwer, 1999). Some two thousand years later, hazing has become a common initiation practice in established colleges and universities (Nuwer, 1999), and presently results in at least one hazing-related death on a college campus each year since 1970 (Allen & Madden, 2008).

Brief History of Black Greek Letter Organizations

BGLOs date back to 1906, to the founding of the first American Fraternity, Alpha Pi Alpha, on the campus of Cornell University. Since then, eight other BGLOs were founded on collegiate campuses across America (Skocpol, 2011). As a product of Jim Crow, laws enacted during the early 20th century to deny equality to Blacks in America, BGLOs were originally created as organizational platforms for college educated African Americans to pursue social activism related to race and equality (Bradley, 2008; Goss, Harris, Spencer, & Hughey, 2014). Some of their most publicized activism occurred during the mid-1900s and consisted of BGLO members participating in Civil Rights-era "Sit Ins," a form of civil disobedience, which were used to protest government policies

(Hohenstein, 2015). Delta Sigma Theta Sorority stands out as the most notable BGLO to participate in the Civil Rights era with their contribution to the 1913 Women's Suffrage March in Washington D.C (Skocpol, 2011). Despite similar beginnings, individual characteristics of each BGLO distinguishes them from one another (Goss, Harris, Spencer, & Hughey, 2014).

Differences between organizations can be found by examining their ideologies, principles, values, symbols, and images that link to their respective organizational practices. Other differentiating attributes include their stepping practices (choreographed dance moves performed by members), organizational calls (loud vocal utterances in public and private), and branding traditions (marking one's skin with a metal iron) (Goss, Harris, Spencer, & Hughey, 2014). For example, the brothers of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity Inc. espouse principles of manhood, scholarship, perseverance, and uplift, and the members wear Royal Purple and Gold fraternity clothing and use barking as their fraternal call. In contrast, the brothers Alpha Phi Alpha's main principles are scholarship, fellowship, good character, and the uplifting of humanity, and their members wear Black and Gold fraternity clothing and use an ape sound as their fraternal call (Jones, 2015).

Attributes such as these, along with each organization's rich history, has drawn millions of students into the ranks of BGLOs over the past century. Some well-known BGLO members include Civil Rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc., poet Langston Hughes of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity Inc., politician Shirley Chisholm of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Inc., and the poet Maya Angelou of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Inc.. The impact of these individuals and many other BGLO

members has made BGLOs a historical staple in the black community (Hughey, 2011; Parks, 2008).

BGLOs today are viewed much differently than they were in the past. While older individuals recall the activist mission of BGLOs, many youth look at BGLOs through the rubric of how they are portrayed in movies such as *Drumline* (2002) and *Stomp the Yard* (2007) where they are mainly glorified for their stepping and party culture (Reddick, Anderson, Frazier & Jenkins, 2012). Apart from how Hollywood depicts them, the most detrimental reputation BGLOs are now known for is their hazing culture. Even with their reputation for stepping and parties diminishing BGLO's history of service, their ever-growing hazing culture is perceived as the biggest threat to these organizations' venerable legacies (Foster, 2008).

Hazing in Black Greek Letter Organizations

"Pain is a matter of mind over matter, if you don't mind then it don't matter!"(Anonymous)

The above quote was originally made famous in 1968 by an anonymous scientific researcher; however, in place of the word "Pain" he used the word "Age" to express his feelings about getting older (Investigator, 2012). Sometime after 1968 the quote was altered to the version seen above and was taught to BGLOs initiates to help them mentally cope with the hazing they were going through during their pledge process (Anonymous, 2015).

Nuwer (1999), defined hazing as "an activity that high status members, individuals with multiple years of membership, force others to engage in or suggest that they engage in an act that in some way humbles or humiliates the newcomer who lacks

the power to resist because he or she wants to gain acceptance or admission into a group" (p. xxv). Greek hazing, specifically, is defined as the practice performed by a fraternal organization that is not congruent with the national organization's outlined intake policy for new members (Gasser, 2014). Such fraternal organizations are located all over the world, but stem from their foundation on college campuses. With more than half of the students that participate in Greek organizations experiencing hazing, Greek hazing on college campuses is becoming a serious concern for Student Affair Professionals (Gasser, 2014).

Justification of hazing within fraternities revolves around teaching prospective members respect for the fraternity and the institution's policies and leaders (Nuwer, 1999, 1990). As Greek Letter Organizations grew in numbers on American college campuses during the Twentieth Century, the practice of hazing was adopted by these extracurricular student groups (Nuwer, 1990, 1999). Prior to the early 1900s, fraternal organizations and fraternal hazing was generally the purview of white males. However, as the profile of colleges changed so did the fraternal landscape, beginning with the founding of the first BGLO, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc. in 1906 (Hughey, 2011; Paeks, 2005; Scott, 2011). In more recent decades, BGLOs 'Membership Intake Process', originally known as pledging, has developed a reputation as synonymous with the hazing culture (Foster, 2008; Govan, 2011).

As a ritualistic process, pledging involves a period of time where an initiate undergoes prescribed symbolic, subjectively affective, and informative activities that lead them toward membership of a BGLO (Foster, 2008). Hazing, as defined by the National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC), the governing body of BGLOs is, "any action taken or

situation created that involves or results in abusive, physical contact or mental harassment of a prospective Fraternity or Sorority member" (Reddick, Anderson, Frazier & Jenkins, 2012, p. 280). Although this definition is very different from the intended purpose of initiation rituals, the pledge process has always been rooted in activities that include hazing (Hughey, 2011). One well-known member of a BGLO (Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc.) who participated in hazing activities was Thurgood Marshall, the first Black U.S. Supreme Court justice and renowned civil rights advocate. During his time at Lincoln University, he was a creative prankster and reputed for coming up with ways to haze new initiates of Alpha Phi Alpha (Hughey, 2011). Marshall participated in shaving the heads of other students against their will and he even paddled other students (Govan, 2011).

Hazing began with members playing minor tricks on initiates and making them participate in strenuous physical activities borrowed from the military, but by the 1950s was becoming progressively more violent (Paeks, 2005). Research suggests that the evolving violent nature of hazing during this time stemmed from veterans of World War II joining BGLOs and incorporating military practices in the initiation process. However, it was not until the 1970s that injuries and deaths among prospective members spiked causing media and legal officials to pay more attention to the activities of BGLOs (Parks, et al., 2012). In 1977, after being beaten and forced to do calisthenics, Robert Brazile died while pledging at the University of Pennsylvania. A year later, in 1978, Nathanial Swinson died at North Carolina Central University after being forced to participate in very strenuous exercises. Both of these young men had pursued membership in a BGLO (Parks, et al., 2011 & 2012).

To curb hazing within BGLOs, the NPHC moved to replace the pledge process with a Membership Intake (MI) process in the 1990s (Brown & Parks, 2005; Parks, et al., 2011). This new MI process decreased the initiation period and required initiates to attend interest meetings, submit applications, accept an invitation to join the organization, and attend initiation activities and voluntary educational sessions. Additionally, the new process eliminated traditions such as initiates "walking in line," greeting people that were already members, and dressing alike, and reclassified these activities as hazing (Govan, 2011). However, NPHC's attempt to ban hazing and pledging led to many BGLOs continuing their pledge process "underground," a term used for a secretive unauthorized pledging process performed alongside the MI process (Brown & Parks, 2005; Parks, et al., 2011; Foster, 2008).

Continuing injuries and deaths as a result of underground pledging since 1990 have led to an increase in public attention and scrutiny of BGLOs (Parks, 2012). Due to this steadily increasing attention many researchers have attempted to further understand the hazing rituals that take place in the initiation processes of BGLOs. The literature on hazing in BGLOs suggests that many members of the organizations perceive a difference between pledging and hazing, despite them being one in the same, and that this difference may play a part in the practice's continued use. The present study examines this possible connection as well as exploring the motivations of undergraduate students to participate in hazing rituals associated with the initiation processes of BGLOs.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review provides a foundation for an examination of the hazing phenomenon by analyzing, synthesizing, and communicating relevant literature pertaining to hazing in BGLOs. It also presents this study's theoretical framework. However, due to the sparsity of existing research into this subject, explicitly hazing in BGLOs, the literature review utilizes a funneling approach to guide this study's focus. It begins by reviewing relevant scholarship on hazing in higher education which explores how hazing is defined in extant research while providing a comprehensive historical context. From there, the review narrows to include a summary of relevant research on hazing in student organizations such as marching bands, intercollegiate athletic teams, and Greek Life Organizations. In addition, the literature review will discuss relevant studies on hazing in BGLOs.

The section also highlights the theory guiding this research, Expectancy Value Theory (EVT). It will provide a brief explanation of what the theory is, the different components that make the theory, and discuss examples of previous research on college students that also leveraged EVT. Lastly, the literature review will conclude with a summary of the dominant themes and findings from previous research, highlight the gaps in previous research addressed by this study, summarize the notable sections of the selected theoretical framework, as well as present my research questions.

Hazing in College

Hazing in the collegiate setting has existed in student organizations, both Greek and non-Greek for hundreds of years (Dostis, 2013; Lehigh University, 2013). In a recent

study performed by the University of Maine, finding revealed that roughly 55% of college students involved in clubs and organization have experienced hazing or will experience hazing while they are in college (Dostis, 2013; Lehigh University, 2013). However, for as long as hazing has existed in a collegiate setting, so has the difficulty in defining hazing and the behaviors that makes it up. (Nuwer, 1990; Yvo, 2015). One comprehensive definition of hazing is an activity that high status members with multiple years of membership, force others to engage in or suggest that they engage in an act that in some way humbles or humiliates the newcomer who lacks the power to resist because he or she wants to gain acceptance or admission into a group (Nuwer, 1999). Hazing activities can be noncriminal, but normally go against the official rules of the institution, are performed without an advisor's knowledge and can result in physical injury or even death (Nuwer, 1999; Kimbrough, 2012).

Hazing occurs widely within organizations and schools and both the victims and perpetrators are negatively affected by its practice. In 2013, a wrestling program faced sanctions from probation to expulsion at York College after being found guilty of hazing (Dostis, 2013). One year later at Bowie State University, a student pledging the BGLO Alpha Phi Alpha was punched and paddled by its members during the initiation process and is currently pursuing a $3-million-dollar lawsuit against the organization (Hayes, 2016). Also recently, a group of students at Syracuse University suffered frostbite after participating in the initiation process of the Asian-American Fraternity Nu Alpha Phi (Hu, 2015). Hazing outcomes such as these have continued to occur at American colleges and universities. However, despite the possible legal and physical ramifications of participating in hazing activities, research suggests the numbers of students that choose to

do so from year to year remain consistent (Hu, 2015; Waldron & Petitpas, 2015). These findings support the need for better understanding of hazing as a phenomenon and the motivations of students that participate in this activity despite the documented risks..

Understanding collegiate hazing activities requires researchers to examine hazing from different perspectives. Dias and Sá (2012), who leveraged a group dynamics perspective for their theoretical framework, did this by analyzing the extent to which initiation practices that are part of hazing stimulate social dependency, not only by transforming identity, but also by promoting effective social bonds among groups of university students. Their particular study was performed in Portugal. Similar to how hazing is viewed in the United States, Portuguese academic hazing is comprised of a range of rituals and other activities which mediate the initiation of freshmen into the higher education student group, symbolizing their integration. Dias and Sá (2012) carried out direct observation and interviews which showed that participants perceived hazing as a relevant and inescapable initiation process to their university. However, the study's use of the Portuguese definition of hazing was only applied to freshman students. In addition, their results did not appropriately illustrate whether the initiation practices that are part of hazing truly stimulate social dependency or enhanced group dynamics. Limitations such as these may prevent the findings from being leveraged in research on hazing in other organizations in a collegiate setting that do not fit the profile of the participants in Dias and Sá's research. Fortunately, these limitations have been accounted for in other examinations of hazing in the collegiate setting.

Silveria and Hudson (2015) found that that the majority of the band members in a collegiate setting experienced hazing, despite acknowledging that they choose to

participate in the activities, and that the most common form of hazing that occurred was public verbal humiliation. Their findings were gathered using an online questionnaire that sampled roughly one thousand female and male band members with classification varying from freshman to senior, and asked questions about their participation in hazing activities (Silveira & Hudson, 2015). Waldron and Petitpas' (2015) study investigated hazing's influence on athletic teams both in high school and the collegiate level to ascertain the influence of competitive level (high school or college), gender, athletic identity, sport type, and team norms on mild hazing, severe hazing, and positive initiations by athletes. Like Silveria and Hudson, Waldron and Petitpas (2015) administered a survey/questionnaire to study participants. They determined that roughly 50% of all athletes participate in a form of hazing, a percentage which increases among college athletes (Waldron and Petitpas, 2015). Because both studies employ a similar American definition of hazing, and both found hazing is most likely to occur in college, the results will be useful while looking at hazing in BGLOs.

Hazing in Greek Life

Although hazing occurs in many aspects of collegiate life (Dostis, 2013; Lehigh University, 2013), research suggests that hazing is most prevalent in Greek Letter Organizations (fraternities and sororities) (Silveira & Hudson 2015). Today, college campuses house thousands of different types of Greek letter organizations that implement hazing rituals in their initiation processes (Nuwer, 1999; Silveira & Hudson, 2015). However, despite Greek organizations' impact on the campuses, research on the hazing rituals associated with them is lacking.

Much of the research that exists on Greek life focuses on individual's (e.g. Greek

students, non-Greek students and Greek advisors) attitudes towards hazing. Drout and Corsoro (2003) looked at the differences between Greek and non-Greek college students' perceptions of a hazing incident that had taken place in a fraternity setting. After providing their participants with hazing scenarios and asking questions to determine who in the scenario was most responsible for the incident that transpired, they found that Greek and non-Greek students placed comparable levels of responsibility on the organization associated with the hazing incident (Drout and Corsoro, 2003). Additionally, Drout and Corsoro (2003) found that sororities were more like to assume higher levels of responsibility than fraternities. These findings suggest that the outlook on hazing does not differ when a student joins a Greek organization and that sororities are less likely to participate in hazing initiation practices then their male counterparts. Although the literature on BGLOs did not directly consider gender differences in reference to hazing, possible motivations based on gender will be important to consider going forward.

While Drout and Corsoro's results are broadly useful in reference to BGLOs, the one glaring limitation in their study is that there was no way to tell whether the BGLO demographic is represented sufficiently in the sample population because the race of the participants and their Greek organization status was not reported. As a result, the study may not be relevant to my research on BGLOs because literature suggests that there is significant difference in how black and white Greeks initiate new members (Whipple, Bair & Grady, 1991). Significant differences include the use of alcohol in the initiation process, which takes place primarily in White Greek organizations (Danielson, Taylor, & Hartford, 2001). Also significant is variation in financial backgrounds of pledges; roughly one third of black Greek members receive need-based financial aid while less

than a quarter of white Greeks do (Whipple et al., 1991). Moreover, pledge's family educational levels are consistent with the difference in financial background (Whipple, Bair & Grady 1991). This would suggest that any findings from research on hazing in Greek life must identify what Greek population is being studied in order to prevent the results from being assumed to represent all Greek organizations.

Cokley et al. (2001), unlike Drout and Corsoro, assessed college students' attitudes to hazing with greater attention to demographic variation. Gathering data via questionnaire, they concluded that participant's attitudes towards hazing varied based on ethnicity, gender, and Greek affiliations (Cokley et al., 2001). Of particular significance for this researcher, Cokley et al. (2001) found that African Americans had a more positive outlook on the purpose of pledging than any other ethnicity examined. This is a very relevant as African American students most typically join BGLOs such as those under discussion in this study. Their study also provided the ethnic composition as well as a Greek association status of their participants, which showed a very diverse sample (Cokley et al., 2001). Unfortunately, Cokley et al. did not parse categories of Greek organizations (predominately white, ethnic, or BGLOs) within their sample which limits its comparative value to this researcher.

Hazing in Black Greek Life

Literature specifically focused on BGLOs comprises similar studies and is bounded by similar limitations to research on Greek Life organizations. Shaw and Morgan, working in the early 1990s, examined Greek Advisor's perceptions of hazing in sororities for a study published in *Association of Student Personnel Administrators' Journal*. They found that the most common hazing activity among women revolved

around initiates obtaining signatures of current members, and that many advisors felt that hazing is very prevalent in sororities despite the preventative measures institutions put in place (Shaw & Morgan, 1990). Similar to Drout and Cordoro (2003), Shaw and Morgan did not identify demographic specifics of particular organizations their participants advised. However, their mention of the National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC), which governs BGLOs, makes this study pertinent to understand hazing rituals that plague BGLOs and overshadow their venerable legacies (Foster, 2008).

Reddick, Anderson, Frazier, and Jenkins (2012) sought to hazing by examining how institutions of higher education respond specifically to BGLO hazing issues. Unlike the other studies, Reddick et al. used a mixed methods approach; the authors obtained data from multiple universities' websites on BGLOs and conducted interviews with administrators in student affairs, Greek life, and multicultural affairs. They found widespread inconsistency between individual institution's definition of hazing as well as the NPHC's definition (Reddick et al., 2012). Moreover, predominately white institutions (PWIs) were not enforcing many of the policies governing BGLO membership intake, while HBCUs payed more attention to initiation but were also more accepting of hazing rituals (Riddick et al., 2012). This study was it did not discuss how the data they captured from the university websites was used to arrive at their conclusion, which is a glaring limitation that weakens its findings. In addition, the results are limited to insights on hazing in BGLOs from the perspective of universities and their officials, which is a perspective this researcher will compliment by examining the student viewpoint. Lastly, like most of the published research on BGLOs and most of the research on student organizations where hazing exists, this study provided minimal recommendations to help

curb hazing practices in the initiation rituals of BGLOs which is the central goal of the present study.

Another study, this one by Parks, Jones, and Hughey (2013) focused on the cognitive and social psychological drivers of hazing consent in BGLOs. Employing quantitative research methodology, they designed a scale to measure both *Hazing Victimization* and an individual's *Personality* (Parks et al., 2013). The researches distributed their tool to approximately 30,000 BGLO members using an email list they compiled surveying organizational websites. The study yielded three important findings: first, personality traits are in fact related to initiates consenting to participate hazing rituals; second, being male had a stronger correlation to individual's participation in hazing activities; third, individuals with greater impulse control, suppression of aggression, and responsibility were less likely to participate in hazing rituals (Parks et al., 2013).

While Parks et al. could be useful for the present study of BGLOs, one limitation is that there is no way to tell what BGLO demographics were represented in their sample. This element is very important because motivations may differ when sampling students that joined a BGLO while in college as opposed to those that were initiated after receiving a bachelor's degree. Parks, et al. (2013) only identified which BGLOs were sampled and how many individuals were contacted. As a result, though valuable for its size and the wealth of information it offers, their study may not be completely applicable to the demographics of participants this researcher selected for the present study.

The work that is most comparable in scope and subject matter to this researcher's study is that of Scott (2011). Undertaken as a Master's thesis project, Scott's work

revealed a series of values that underpin hazing in Black Greek Fraternities. Employing qualitative methodology, he interviewed 20 participants including both Collegiate and Alumni Black Greek Letter fraternity members and found that Tradition/Pressure, Acceptance/Willingness, Bonding, Respect, Intrinsic Values were the main factors that contributed to hazing among Black Greek Fraternities (Scott, 2011) Scott (2011) found that not only was hazing important, but how much hazing one endured was also a key factor and that members who chose not to participate in hazing activities were often viewed as outcasts, confirming earlier theories about hazing versus pledging (Nealy, 2008).

Scott's work is very valuable to this researcher. Similarly to this study, Scott performed interviews with participants, and examined the factors that exist around the hazing phenomenon in BGLOs. However, Scott's work has a couple limitations. First, the results are limited to the Black fraternity's perspective on hazing and may not be transferable to understanding hazing in Black sororities. In addition, the methodology and results section fail to distinguish whether participants answered questions from the perspective of initiates or initiators, a distinction that would have allowed the reader to better understand the results. Lastly, the results sections fail to clearly distinguish between findings gleaned from interviewing participants initiated in a collegiate setting, where hazing rituals in BGFs are most prevalent (Allen & Madden, 2008; Babson College, 2017), or those initiated in an alumni chapter. This is a very important distinction when examining hazing in BGLOs because the factors contributing to hazing's existence may differ from the collegiate level to the alumni level.

This study aims to further the understanding of the hazing phenomenon in BGLOs

by redressing the limitations in Scott's research. This researcher includes sorority members to provide a holistic view of the phenomenon while also focusing solely on the collegiate setting to target where hazing rituals in BGLOs are most prevalent (Allen & Madden, 2008; Babson College, 2017). In addition, this study will increase the validity of its results by exclusively interviewing participants initiated into their respective BGLO, via a hazing initiation process, within the last two years to make it easier for participants to recall and refer to their hazing experience. Lastly, the methodology of this study narrowly examines the hazing phenomenon based upon the participants' recollection of when they were initiated to better frame the findings of the research.

Research shows that hazing exists in many different aspects of collegiate life (Dostis, 2013; Lehigh University, 2013). However, it also indicates that hazing exists primarily in Greek organizations and that the activity is significantly different in the particular organization this study examines, BGLOs (Danielson et al., 2001; Whipple et al., 1991). The current study extends previous research on hazing in the collegiate setting, specifically hazing in BGLOs, by exploring the motivations behind why students participate in Greek organizations with hazing as a part of the initiate process.

Theoretical Framework

Expanding Atkinson's (1964) original Theory of Expectancy Value, Eccles et al. (1983) advanced research into motivation by focusing on cognitive constructs, such as causal attributions, subject expectancies, self-concepts of abilities, perceptions of task difficulty, and subjective task value. Expectancy as a tool to examine the motivations of an individual to choose and perform well on a task has been held in high regard by theorists as a variable in determining behavioral choices (Atkinson, 1964; Edwards,

1954; Lewin, 1938). This study will use both components of Eccles' EVT: *Expectancy* and *Value*. The *Expectancy* component of EVT represents the probability of success that an individual places on an action. The higher the probability, the more likely someone will choose to undertake an action (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000).

The *Value* component represents the importance that an individual places on achieving at action. The higher the value on achieving action, the more likely someone will choose to undertake that action, such as gaining membership into BGLOs that use hazing in their initiation rituals (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). For example, if a student strongly values membership in a BGLO, they are more likely to participate in hazing rituals required to gain it. The value component consists of three sub-components: attainment value, intrinsic value, and utility value. Research suggests that value is a critical determinant of achievement motivation (Atkinson, 1964; Eccles, et al., 1983).

Eccles and his colleagues (1983) defined the Attainment Value of EVT as the importance an individual places on doing well at a task. Research suggests that attainment is subjective due to the value being based on one's perceptions. An individual's expectation is that a task will be self-fulfilling, provide a challenge, a sense of achievement and power, and fulfill social needs (Eccles, et al., 1983). For example, if one student wants to join a BGLO and feels that the associated hazing rituals are beneficial and necessary, they are more likely to participate because of the high attainment value. However, if another student wants to join a BGLO, but feels that the associated hazing rituals not beneficial or necessary, they are less likely to participate because of a low attainment value placed on a task.

The second component of attainment value is the Intrinsic Value, defined by

Eccles and his colleagues (2009) as the anticipated enjoyment from engaging in an activity. Wiglfield (2000) noted that "when individuals do tasks that are intrinsically valued, there are important psychological consequences for them, most of which are quite positive" (p. 72). This is a result of the enjoyment from the intrinsic value arising from our natural need to do an action successfully and be self-fulfilled (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Such a theory suggests that if student is passionate enough about joining a BGLO he/she will likely persist despite being subjected to hazing rituals associated with their initiation process.

The Utility Value of EVT measures the importance one places on a task to impact future goals (Eccles et al., 1983). It has also been loosely defined as the usefulness of participating in activity (Wigfield, 1997; Zimmerman & Schunk, 2008). As such, it is the only part of EVT that primarily focuses on how future benefits of accomplishing an activity will affect one's choice to participate in an activity. For example, research suggests that joining a BGLO provides a member with a network that can be leveraged to obtain jobs after graduation. By extension, a student may choose to participate in hazing rituals to gain membership despite the possible impact of doing so.

For example, in 2004, a group of researchers used EVT to study the relationship between psychosocial and study factors with college outcomes. Davis et al. (2008) found that the best predictors for GPA were one's self-efficacy and achievement motivation. In other words, a student that is strongly motivated to obtain a high GPA and is confident in his/her ability to do so is more likely to actually obtain a high GPA (Davis et al., 2008). In a similar study, Etten, Pressley, McInery, and Liem used ethnography to explore college seniors' academic motivations through EVT. The researchers identified that a

student's goals of graduating and earning good grades were the two primary factors that motivated their academic efforts during their senior year (Etten et al., 2008). Through the lens of EVT, this can be interpreted as a student's probability of performing well based on the grades they have received up to that point and the value each individual student placed on graduating. This probability would in turn reflect a student's motivation to perform well.

A more recent study that used EVT in its research on college students was performed by Luttrell, Callen, Allen, Wood, Deeds, and Richard in 2009. Unlike the previous studies, this group of researchers did not use EVT to look at motivations (Luttrell et al., 2010). Instead, they leveraged the theory's proposition that an individual's choices, persistence, and performance are influenced by their beliefs about how well they will do on an activity and the degree to which they value that activity to ground their Mathematics Value Inventory survey (Eccles, Adler, & Meece, 1984; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). Specifically, the group of researchers developed a self-inventory that measured the differences in students' perceived value of mathematical literacy (Luttrell et al., 2010). Through the development of their Mathematics Value Inventory (MVI) tool, Luttrell et al. (2010) discovered the following: there is not statistical difference between genders in their interest in math; students that had higher scores on their surveys had completed more college math course work; a participant's MVI score was not consistent with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, an alternative tool they used to measure interest. The employment of EVT in this study not only reinforces how applicable the theory is to research on college students, but it also displays a snap shot of the diverse manner in which it can be used.

Applying EVT to a student's motivation could lead to this researcher to similar results, including an assessment of whether a student feels confident about their abilities to persist through hazing rituals in order to obtain BGLO membership, whether they are more likely to participate in the action and will perform as expected, and, if they do not feel confident about being able to endure BGLO hazing rituals, they are less likely to participate or persist after subjecting themselves to hazing rituals. Parks, Jones, and Hughey (2013) found that personality and gender are drivers of hazing consent in BGLOs. However, we have no sense of how motivation drives an individual with particular personality traits and gender classification to consent to participate in BGLO hazing rituals (Parks et al., 2013).

EVT is one the most acknowledged theories on motivations as a predictor of an individual's decision to participate in an activity (Eccles, 2009). Though rarely used in collegiate setting and seldom applied to an activity after it occurs, EVT provides this researcher with a framework to explore the motivations of students to participate in the hazing rituals associated with BGLOs. EVT offers a metric to examine the level of probability that goes into participation in hazing rituals. Moreover, the Value component and its sub components will provide me a lens to understand the value placed on BGLO membership for one to participate in hazing rituals.

Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter encompasses the dominant themes to emerge from studies about hazing in the collegiate setting, as well as research concerning college students that employed EVT. The most prevalent finding in the literature is that hazing in some form or another exists in numerous collegiate student groups and is most

prevalent in Greek life organization (Dostis, 2013; Lehigh University, 2013; Silveira & Hudson, 2015; Waldron & Petitpas, 2015). The literature also indicated that roughly 55% of college students involved in clubs and organizations have experienced hazing or will experience hazing while they are in college (Dostis, 2013; Lehigh University, 2013). These complimentary results illustrate how the potential findings of this study may improve understanding of hazing, and students' participation in it. This is not only in Greek letter organizations, but also in other collegiate organizations where it is prevalent.

As it relates to BGLOs, one of the most pertinent of the findings suggests that students' perception of hazing in Greek Letter organizations varied depending on the ethnicity, gender, and Greek affiliation (Cokley et al., 2001). This was consistent with the literature explicitly concerning BGLOs, which indicates that being a male had a stronger correlation to an individual's participation in hazing activities (Parks et al., 2013). These findings were important to consider during the selection of individuals represented in this study, as well as its analysis phase. The present study takes into account findings that suggest that the individual personality traits of students influenced their perception of hazing rituals in BGLOs. Individual with higher levels of impulse control, suppression of aggression, and responsibility were less likely to participate in hazing rituals (Parks et al., 2013). However, out of all the literature on hazing in a collegiate setting, the most applicable results were those found by Scott's (2011) research on the factors that contributed to hazing among Black Greek Fraternities. Similarly to Cokley et. al's (2001) exploration, Scott's research design to target fraternities in his study is consistent with Parks et al.'s (2013) finding on male's susceptibility to hazing activities making his choice to solely target male participants very strategic and justifiable. Furthermore,

Scott's research is the first of its kind and as result there is no its findings are vital to the analysis of this study's data due to its similarities.

Lastly, the literature on EVT revealed how the theory includes diverse properties applicable to research in the collegiate setting (Luttrell et al., 20010; Davis et al., 2008; Etten et al., 2008). The most notable finding was identified in the research of both Davis and Ettens' research teams. These two teams confirmed Eccles' proposition that expectancy as a tool to examine the motivations can be used to study more than just mathematic achievement, which it was initially developed for; it can also be applied to the motivations of college students (Eccles et al., 1983; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000; Etten et al., 2008). For instance, Davis' research team found that the best predictors for GPA was one's self-efficacy and achievement motivation, and Etten's team found that student's goals of graduating and earning good grades were the two primary factors that motivated their academic efforts during their senior year. Moreover, the literature on EVT displayed how the theory could be used to examine college students in other capacities besides looking at their motivations. Luttrell et al. (2009) showed this by measuring the differences in educational students' perceived value of mathematical literacy.

Though an abundance of applicable findings exists on hazing, previous research lacks a holistic approach to examining hazing in Greek life by frequently excluding hazing in sororities and in Black and Multicultural Greek letter organizations. However, it is important to keep in mind that historically there has been fewer hazing incidents involving sororities which may explain their exclusion in much of the previous research (Foster, 2008). The literature also shows that research specifically regarding hazing in BGLOs is very sparse and that EVT can be successfully applied to college students.

Furthermore, the research is limited in the perspectives in which hazing was previously explored, as well as an absence of theory that lends itself to understanding a participant's motivations to participate in hazing activity.

To address these gaps in the research on hazing in a collegiate setting, and the lag in the research specifically on hazing in BGLOs, this researcher designed the following research questions:

1. What are BGLOs members' levels of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to participating in hazing activities?
2. Why do BGLOs members choose to join organizations where they believe hazing exists in the initiation process?
3. What are BGLOs members' reasons to proceed through the initiation process after being subjected to activities that are considered hazing?
4. How do members of the BGLO interpret the role of hazing in BGLO's initiation rituals?

Though no studies to date have employed EVT to examine at BGLOs, the review of the literature on EVT showed how the theory can be successfully applied to college students (Davis et al., 2008; Etten et al., 2008; Parks et al., 2013), which in turn means that it can also be applied to BGLO members that attend college. Overall, the literature on EVT supports applying the theory to college students and illustrates how it can be applied to BGLOs. Applying EVT will further demonstrate the theory's applicability to a collegiate setting and add to the broader body of research using EVT by simultaneously expanded the knowledge base in the field relating to BGLOs.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This study explores the motivations of undergraduate students to participate in hazing rituals associated with the initiation processes of BGLOs. It utilizes Eccles' EVT theoretical framework to categorize results. Prior literature on hazing in BGLO is rich with quantitative studies, but limited qualitative research has been conducted on the motivations to participate in hazing rituals (Dostis, 2013; Lehigh University, 2013; Silveira & Hudson, 2015; Waldron & Petitpas, 2015). In addition, there are no studies applying EVT to BGLOs in a collegiate setting. This study applied qualitative research methods as well as Eccles' EVT to develop an understanding of how these trends interact. A phenomenological approach allows for an examination of a groups' shared lived experience (Creswell, 2012). Because these experiences are unique and generally unstudied, this project's results will help build an understanding of a problem thereby aligning with the phenomenological research approach (Creswell, 2012). Lastly, this study examined the hazing initiation experiences of participants who participated in this research. That experience was not explored through the realm of gender differences nor did gender differences show up in the data. As a result, gender differences were not targeted or discussed during my data collection process, analysis, or findings.

Participants

Because this study examines illegal activity, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) deemed it highly sensitive. Cautious measures were required in securing participants and the researcher was not allowed to directly recruit individuals (Creswell, 2012). To gain sample participants, the researcher shared information about the study with individuals

identified through his own Greek Letter association. These “key informants” were asked to share information about this study with BGLO members that had joined their organization in the past 24 months and who they felt would be interested in participating in my study. Key informants were also instructed to instruct any interested parties to contact the researcher directly in order to participate. A snowball sampling approach was used in which initial participants were asked to recommend and or reach out to other potential participants (Mertens, 2015). Subsequent participants were informed by initial participants to contact the study team when they were interested in participating in this research project. This initial contact did not include collecting data; it simply explained the study’s purpose, gained background knowledge on the organization’s initiation practices, determined if they were interested in participating, and obtained referrals for other potential participants. In addition, the researcher reviewed the consent form with the participant and answered any questions that the potential participant had about the study.

Individuals who contacted the researcher about the study were informed that to meet the criteria for participation each had to self-report already being a member of a BGLO (which means they cannot be a current pledgee) who has joined the organization within the last 24 months. Moreover, they were not a facilitator of the hazing initiation ritual, and are over 18 years of age. Participants self-reported having been hazed during their initiation into a BGLO a precursor to an informative interview.

During formal participant interviews, all parties were informed that disclosure during this research was not a notification to the school for the purpose of initiating an investigation (see Appendix X) and the information will only be used as part of this

study. Through the informational interview, a sample of 14 consenting participants via snowballing referrals from my "key informants" was obtained. This included eight women and six men who have participated in hazing rituals, and who represent four of the nine BGLOs. This sample provided an appropriate representation of the nine BGLOs and of both fraternity and sorority members represented in this study. The number of participants for this study is based on the sensitive nature of the topic and the limited pool from which to select potential participants.

Data Collection

Primary data for the present study was collected through semi-structured one-on-one interviews. This kind of interview utilized topics and questions carefully designed to elicit organic discuss of motivations and ideas concerning the topic, rather than leading participants toward preconceived choices. This technique mimics that of Dias and Sá (2012) during their study of the extent to which initiation practices that are part of hazing stimulate social dependency. The following dimensions were assessed during interviews: 1) students' levels of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to the initiation process; 2) motivations that lead to a student's choice to join organizations where they believe hazing exists in the initiation process; 3) motivational factors that led to students proceed with initiation after being subjected to hazing activities; 4) members' perceptions of incorporating hazing in the initiation process. The interview protocol includes questions that reflect these dimensions (see Appendix A).

One major concern was whether it would be possible to get participants that feel comfortable enough to truthfully answer interview questions and speak freely about what their experiences during their initiation process. As a result, during initial interviews the

researcher shared his personal experience with the phenomenon as an active member of a BGLO. All participants were provided information about campus resources that were available to students in case they wanted to report a hazing incident. These resources included the available counseling services as well as the contact information for their institution's Title IX representative.

After selecting study participants, two rounds of one-on-one interviews were conducted (approximately two weeks between interviews) lasting between forty-five minutes to an hour. Interviews were recorded to be transcribed following data collection. The first round of questions (See Appendix A) focused strictly on prompting responses that spoke to the four research questions, with follow up questions based on their replies. Initial research questions, along with follow up questions, were not, and could not, be directed at hazing related activities that participants participated in, or mentioned they participated in. This was due to the IRB restrictions that were placed on this research.

All interviews were held in a private conference room at that participant's institution or a location in which participants felt comfortable. Following the first round of interviews, the research performed member checking to maintain and build trustworthiness in this qualitative study (Creswell, 2012). Member checking with interviewees was performed during the second round of interviews. Specifically, the researcher reviewed the first interview transcripts with all participants to ensure their accuracy as well as to provide my participants with the opportunity to reflect on the questions, their responses, and add more information if they felt the need to. In addition, follow up and clarifying questions were asked based on answers received during the first round of interviews. Follow up questions varied by participant, but primarily asked

participants to expand on previous answers to questions, as well as asking new questions that emerged from their initial answers. After completion of the second interview, all the participants chose their own pseudonym and member checking was preformed again via email. All the participants responded that they had received and read the final transcript with only one participant offering a minor addition which led to the transcript being updated to reflect their feedback. My second coder, the Principal Investigator (PI), also reviewed the data collected.

It is important to note that during data collection, the researcher found that the participants had a dissociation between hazing, the activity and term used to label their initiation process during questioning, and the activity they acknowledged participating in, which they labeled as pledging. As described by participants, these two activities are different; hazing is perceived as negative and primarily associated with White Greek Letter Organizations while pledging is a positive activity associated with BGLOs. Nevertheless, the specific activities enumerated took place during their initiation process fit the definition of hazing according to the Pennsylvania state law and the NPHC. This dissociation among participants emerged during the first round of interviews. However, questions continued to include the term hazing to stay consistent throughout my interviews. This further highlights the dissociation because the term is not one that is recognized by their organizations nor higher educational institutions. Furthermore, during data analysis, the researcher equalized the activities and terms, and only made note of the dissociation in an effort to understand and discuss my findings.

Data Analysis

This study utilized a constant comparative approach to analyze the qualitative

data collected. Concepts were labeled and defined and categories developed based on their properties and dimensions. This allowed data to mature organically while allowing the researcher to compare and find relationships among different concepts (Creswell, 2012).

The transcript software Trint, augmented by the researcher's own edits, was used to transcribe the audio files. All identifying information was excluded to protect the identity of the participant and their organization when creating the main data source for the study. Coding was undertaken manually by organizing and inputting the data into an Excel workbook. This required inputting prearranged interview questions and their corresponding participant answer onto spreadsheets within the workbook. The researcher kept in mind that some participants' answers would reflect responses to multiple research questions, and therefore placed some questions/answers on multiple spreadsheets.

In the header of each spreadsheet the research question was written out to constantly refer back to during the coding process. The column titles below the header for each table included: participant alias, interview question, response, 1st round codes, 1st round of codes scale, individual codes, categories, category codes, code description, and themes.

Next, the researcher engaged in open coding responses to interview questions by identifying chunks of meaningful text. Each interview response produced between one and six open codes that were inputted in the *1st round of codes* column. Specifically, the first research question produced 137 codes, the second question produced 172 codes, the third produced 143, and the fourth produced 156 codes. Each code was then filtered to display all original and duplicated codes and then input in the *1st round of codes scale*

column. For example, a few codes employed when examining BGLOs members' levels of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to participating in hazing activates included: very aware, moderately aware, potential injuries, potential fatalities, and legal ramifications. Duplicates were removed, and the unique codes were input in the *individual codes* column. Codes with the same characteristics were then grouped under categories that further sought to answer the research question and logged in the *category* column. For example, looking at the codes provided in the last example presented, the first two codes illustrated levels of awareness that became their own category, while the last three codes illustrated specific dangers participants were aware of and were categorized as such. This produced six categories while examining the first research question, eight categories for the second research question, seven categories for the third research question, and twelve categories based on the fourth research question. Please see example in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1

1. What are BGLOs members' levels of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to participating in hazing activates?					
Participant	Question	Answer	1st Round of Code	Individual Codes	Categories
Participant 1	How do you define hazing?	I'd define hazing as a activity that takes away free will and can lead to death.	Lack of freewill	Lack of freewill	Participants very aware of hazing rituals prior to their initiation process.
			fatality	fatality	
Participant 2	How do you define hazing?	I'd define hazing as a deadly activity where people take advantage of being able to do things that somebody went in you know usually do or were usually allowed.	take advantage of	take advantage of	
			fatality		

Example NOT based on actual data.

Unlike the first three research questions that seek to examine BGLO members' recollections of their knowledge and experiences during initiation, the fourth research

question examines BGLO members' interpretation of the role of hazing. Due to this interpretive structure of the fourth research question, as well as the codes possessing thematic properties, the categories in the *category* column of this research question's workbook were further grouped to determine major themes that emerged from research question and placed in the *theme* column on the research question's spreadsheet. Specifically, the 156 codes found during the first round of coding produced 44 unique codes after eliminating duplicates, 12 categories after being categorized, and 6 themes. The data analysis work book was then reviewed by a second coder, the principal investigator, to ensure agreement about the categories and themes that have emerged. This solidified agreement between the investigator and the researcher on the categories that emerged from the data. EVT was then used to inform and interpret all the categories and themes that emerged from the data.

Positionality

The researcher is a student affairs professional, as well as a member of a BGLO, Omega Psi Phi, initiated in 2009 at the Beta Gamma Chapter of Omega Psi Phi on the campus of the first Historical Black College and University, Cheyney University. The researcher chose to join this fraternity for multiple reasons. First, he related to their cardinal principles, the personalities of the members, and even certain stigmas surrounding the fraternity more than with any social organization. Second, the researcher is a Greek Life "Legacy," the son or daughter of an organization member, in this case his father. Though his father's Greek status did not solely influence the decision to join Omega Psi Phi, or even a Fraternity at all, it unconsciously played a role in the decision making process. Finally, the researcher, which also speaks to his motivation to participate

in the initiation rituals of Omega Psi Phi, was always drawn to overcoming challenges. At that time, it was the desire to overcome the challenges that existed in Omega Psi Phi's initiation practices, particularly those which other felt were physically and mentally demanding.

While the researcher cannot completely separate himself as a member of a BGLO, precautions were taken to unsure it did not adversely affect this study. Although the researcher leveraged his Greek membership to help recruit participants to the study and build rapport with participants, a second coder (Principal Investigator) helped counteract any possible unknown biases. It is important to note that no participant in the study was enrolled at the university where the researcher is currently employed or the chapter where he was initiated.

Ethical Issues

The primary ethical issue of this study was that all the participants had participated in the illegal activity of hazing. Moreover, questions were formulated to evoke answers confirming their participation in an illegal activity. To relieve these ethical issues, the data does not reveal sensitive personal information (e.g., names of hazing participants and institutions). In addition, the participants were not made aware of the names of the other Greek organizations members of which participated in the study, and all participants were provided information about their campuses' resources that were available to students if they wanted to report a hazing incident. All data was kept confidential and was not shared (i.e., any portion and/or the data set as whole) with any external entities. All interviews were recorded with a phone which is both passcode and finger-print protected. In addition, permission was obtained from IRB and the researcher

followed their regulations for protecting human subjects. Lastly, a detailed informed consent document was used in compliance with HRP-802. Also, participants were made aware that they were under no legal or informal obligation to participate in this study (See attached Consent Form Appendix X). Each participant gave written consent at the start of the initial interview. For each study interview, the researcher explained the study, reviewed the initial signed consent form provide details of the withdrawal process and answer any questions.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter details findings from this study's semi-structured one-on-one interviews with 14 BGLO members who self-report having been hazed during their initiation into a BGLO. Following an overview of the categories and themes that emerged from examining each research question, the chapter is broken into four sections, one per research question that discusses the findings related to each. Open coding was used to examine motivations that drove undergraduate students to participate in initiation hazing rituals associated with BGLOs. Data collected from the interviews was analyzed for motivational commonalities and differences. To reiterate, the research questions were:

1. What are BGLOs members' levels of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to participating in hazing activities?
2. Why do BGLOs members choose to join organizations where they believe hazing exists in the initiation process?
3. What are BGLOs members' reasons to proceed through the initiation process after being subjected to activities that are considered hazing?
4. How do members of the BGLO interpret the role of hazing in BGLO's initiation rituals?

Questions one, two, and three produced categories to assist in dissecting motivations and understand participants' awareness of the dangers of hazing prior to participating in hazing activities. The analysis produced six categories which illustrated multiple levels of awareness that can be simplified into three main tiers: not aware,

moderately aware, and very aware. These three main categories along and their sub categories will be discussed in the *Levels of Awareness* section of this chapter.

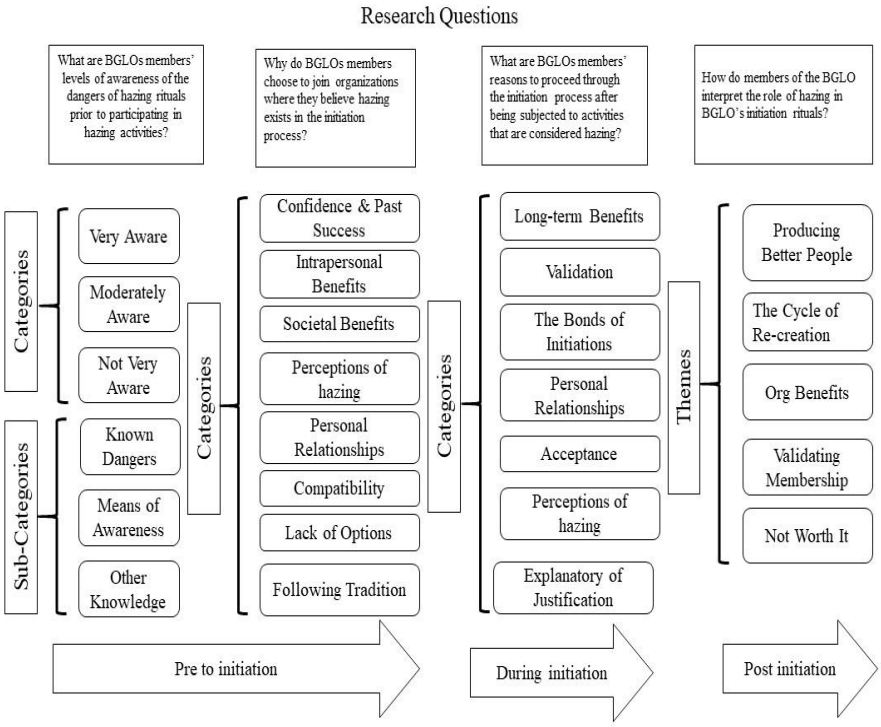
The second research question produced eight categories, three of which can be understood through the lens of EVT, particularly the expectancy and the utility value components of the theory. The other five categories stood on their own. Expectancy holds that an individual is more likely to choose a task based on the probability of success placed on an action, while utility emphasizes the importance one places on a task's impact on future goals (Eccles et al., 1983). The first of these three categories included respondents' assessing how their confidence to succeed in initiation rituals shaped their decision to join an organization that hazed as part of its initiation process. The latter categories included respondents' reporting on how the usefulness of the hazing initiation rituals determined the benefits they would receive from participating. These categories were relatively consistent with Wigfield and Eccles' (2000) and Davis et al.'s (2008) findings on the role of expectancy and utility value on an individual's choice. In Davis et al.'s (2008) study, utility value was found to be one of the best predictors of students' drive to pursue a high GPA. Students who are highly motivated to obtain benefits from performing a task and believe in their ability to succeed are more likely to actually take on that task and succeed at it (Davis et al., 2008; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). The other eight categories that emerged from the analysis of question two, along with the variation in responses, illustrate a wide range of motivations which drive students to join a BGLO where they believe hazing exists. All of these categories will be detailed and discussed in the *Decision to Join* section.

The third research question also produced multiple categories. Analysis of the third research question yielded seven categories, two of which can be interpreted using EVT theory, particularly the utility value component and attainment value components. The first of these two categories included respondents reporting that justification of hazing activities from current members, coupled with their awareness of the long-term benefits from participating in hazing activities, shaped their decision to proceed through their initiation process. This is relatively consisted with Davis et al.'s (2008) contention about the role of future benefits on an individual's decision to take on a task. The attainment value component emphasizes the importance an individual places on doing well at a task (Eccles et al., 1983). The last of these categories that could interpreted using EVT included participants reporting that their involvement in hazing activities was perceived as validation of their organizational membership. This is consistent with Battle and Wigfield (2003) who found that attainment value is a good predictor of an individual's choice to attempt to excel at a task. These findings, as well as the findings that fell outside the realm of EVT, will be discussed in the *Reasons to Proceed* section.

The interpretive nature of the fourth research question resulted in six themes and displayed general agreement between participants' understandings of the role of hazing in BGLO initiation rituals. All six themes, and the positive agreement between the participants, will be presented and discussed in detail in the *Role of Hazing* section of this chapter. With limited research on hazing in BGLOs, the primary literature that will be leveraged to help understand the results of this exploration will be Scott's "Factors that contribute to hazing practices by collegiate Black Greek-Letter Fraternities during membership intake activities" (2011). It is important to note that many participants

reported that they did not participate in hazing as they saw it, but did acknowledge participating in activities this study defined as hazing. The discrepancy between what participants took part in and this study's description of what they participated in will be discussed in detail. See Table 4.1 for a visual depiction of the flow of research findings relating to the research questions and BGLO initiation process.

Table 4.1



Level of Awareness.

Awareness levels are categorized as very aware, moderately aware, and not aware. Participants' awareness is defined as their knowledge of hazing rituals prior to participating in hazing activities.

Category I: Very Aware.

Most participants indicated a high state of awareness and were categorized as 'very aware' of the dangers associated with the hazing rituals prior to their initiation

process. Participants also shared the following: specific dangers that they were aware of, how they were made aware these dangers, their outlook on the hazing rituals prior to joining, and the other aspects of hazing that they knew about prior to being initiated. This additional information shared by the participants produced the sub-categories that will be discussed under in this *Levels of Awareness* section.

Each participant, when was asked to define hazing, described some aspect of hazing as defined by the NPHC and the State of Pennsylvania as outlined in chapter one of this study. Data showed that the majority of participants were very aware of the dangers associated with hazing rituals prior to their initiation process. One interviewee, known as Breezy, described that prior awareness as follows:

> My awareness of hazing was pretty, pretty…. I would say it was it was like the norm. I would say like I didn't really know too much of what hazing exactly was or what I was getting myself into, but I kinda knew it would be stuff that would kind of put me in a position that I've never really been in before because like I said, it has all it's different types of definitions. But when it comes to that I would say that I knew the basics, you know what you hear around, this that and the third.

When asked to elaborate on what they[1] meant "the norm", Breezy gave the following response:

> When I said the norm I pretty much meant like, as in I knew as much as I heard because pledging wasn't always illegal. So people use to say things like they are going to hit you or they are going to make you do stuff, like this that and the third. And when I said the norm I mean like what was usually said or what was usually heard. That's what I meant when I said the norm.

The idea that hazing activities are considered the "norm" was echoed by the majority of the participants in this study. This may be a result of how many college students

[1] Gender pronouns were excluded to decrease indefinable language.

participate in hazing, which literature states is more than half (Babson College, 2017). It is thus the "norm," as is awareness of hazing activities. Another participant who emphasized a high level of awareness as follows:

> I would definitely say more so what I've seen online. Paddling… ummm, I'm trying to think what else. Ummm… eating things that could potentially kill you, drinking, being forced to have sex with somebody that is in a frat or something. But it was more so of me being well versed from what I read online. Like I didn't really have anybody…. I felt like my cousins went to college before I did so a lot of what I knew came from them too. What they said their friends would have to go through like, which was a lot of that especially like sororities having sex with somebody in the opposite frat so that was it for the most part it for me.

This participant, Sap, provided one of the most detailed description of the pre-awareness of the dangers of hazing activities. However, despite very high level of awareness of these dangers, the participant subsequently indicated that they were unaware these practices existed within their particular organization's initiation ritual before joining. Sap replied to the question about awareness of their particular organization's rituals by saying: "maybe eating stuff, but to be honest with you no, I didn't. I was like I really was one that went in kind of blind."

Extrapolating from one statement offers an indication that a student pursing membership in a BGLO can be aware of the dangers associated with hazing generally, while dismissing the probability that these dangers exist in the specific BGLO in which they seek membership. This assertion is supported by the majority of participants' dismissal of the word 'hazing' as an activity primarily performed by White Greek Letter Organizations, and their use of the word 'pledging' to describe their initiation activities. It is important to note that there is no current recognition of pledging in the initiation rituals of the organizations that my participants belong to. BGLOs no longer officially

endorse hazing (Park, 2012). However, the term will be frequently used throughout this chapter to authentically describe and understand participants' experiences.

During Sap's interview they blatantly stated: "Literally when I think about hazing I think about these white frats and white sororities that make people do things." Other participants were more subtle regarding their association of hazing activities with White Greek Letter Organizations. For example, Jasmine stated:

> So the only thing that really knew or I guess understood were things around TV… ummm a lot of the shows like movies I watched there weren't like black organizations represented. They were mostly like white organizations and so it was always dumb things like running around campus naked or like go ask a girl out or like brush a bathroom floor with your toothbrush. Things like that were hazing.

This dissociation of hazing and pledging is supported by Scott (2011). While studying hazing in BGFs, he identified participants who labeled their process as 'pledging,' describing 'hazing' and 'pledging' as similar activities with different purposes. Moreover, research suggests that for every ten students being hazed, only one of them realizes that they have been hazed (Allen & Madden, 2008). Hence, a student pursing membership in a BGLO may not actually view the activities that they plan to participate in as hazing. Moreover, through this dissociation, a student pursing membership may also not consider the initiation process dangerous prior to undergoing it.

Category II: Moderately Aware.

Participants in this study categorized as 'moderately aware' are those who reported a level of awareness that was not as extensive as those highlighted in the 'very aware' category. One of the two participants that fit into this category, known in this study as Quentin, stated the following:

> I guess I would say moderately familiar. I've seen things on the *Burning Sands* movie and then small little videos that people made on Instagram and stuff but I didn't know too much about it. So I guess I would say, little to none but I knew enough I guess… well I didn't know enough, that's not true but I would say little to none.

The movie *Burning Sands* (2017), to which Quentin referred, portrays the journey of a college student during the last week of initiation into a Black Fraternity via underground hazing rituals. It depicts the main character and their line mates being physically and emotionally abused to gain membership. However, despite the movie's graphic depiction of the dangers associated with hazing, Quentin still described a moderate level of awareness, which illustrates that students may place a lower value on movies/fictional accounts of the experience. This impression was supported by the response of another participant, known in this study as JD, who also gathered knowledge from a movie depicting the dangers of underground hazing practices. When asked the same question, JD described their awareness of hazing rituals prior to his initiation process in the following way: "Not very well, literally I just saw *School Daze* and I guessed it was like how it is was in *School Daze* or something and you just gotta be bald or whatever." JD's response bolsters the idea that students, specifically would-be BGLO members, place a lower value on media depictions of hazing. It is important to note that the movie *School Daze* came out in 1988, and the participant may have discounted the accounts of the experience shown in the movie as a result of it be an older film.

Category III: Not Aware.

The third category that emerged from the data was 'not aware.' Participants placed in this category reported having had no knowledge of the dangers of hazing. These participants were able to provide a definition of hazing, but reported that, prior to their

own initiation, they were unfamiliar with hazing rituals. Two participants, Anthony and Wayne, fell into this category. Anthony responded that: "Prior to my initiation process I wasn't aware of hazing at all." Wayne said: "Well I wasn't exposed to it, it was much as a surprise to me, uh yea, it was a surprise attack. Yea." In other words, both lacked awareness of hazing and its dangers.

Anthony and Wayne's responses illustrated that some students pursing BGLO membership where hazing is part of their initiation ritual do so without being aware of hazing at all. However, this research suspects this is a byproduct of dissociation between hazing and pledging; both of these participants indicated that they were vaguely aware their process had characteristics of hazing prior to participation. As such, though the study aims to consistent with what the participants expressed by including a 'not aware' category, there is still some question of whether or not this category truly exists in the case of students pledging a BGLO.

Levels Of Awareness Sub-Category I: Known Dangers

In addition to their level of awareness, participants also shared specific dangers that they were knew about. As documented in the main levels of awareness categories, some participants had a more in-depth knowledge of the dangers that existed in hazing rituals then others. It is important to note that all the specific examples participants offered from the period prior to their initiation were activities that this study defines as hazing. With the 'very aware' category, the most detail description of the dangers that exist in hazing rituals came from Sap who reported being aware of paddling, potential fatalities, drinking, forcible sex and the consumption of dangerous foods.

However, the overarching danger that emerged from the data was the high degree of coercion associated with hazing initiation rituals. Coercion is the act of being made to do something against one's will based upon the threat of force or, in the case of this study, refusal of admission into an organization. 'Coercion' was used as a descriptor in this by the participant known as Quentin. The label that was then used to categorize other participants' descriptions of the dangers they were aware of. When asked to define hazing, Quentin stated:

> Hazing is any physical, mental or emotional coercion. I don't know if that is the right word… but coercion of an individual must partake in in order to join a club or organization. To gain membership into a club or organization.

While Quentin's response spoke directly to the coercion in hazing rituals, other participants described coercion in their description of the dangers they were aware of. For instance, Anthony stated the following when defining hazing: "I'd define hazing as…. Someone asking you to do something and you don't have the free will to answer yes or no."

In both Quentin and Anthony's responses, and the other responses of those surveyed, there was an emphasis on the threat of force and lack of free in student's choice to expose themselves to the dangers associated with hazing rituals. Below is a list of other dangers shared by the participants in this study.

- Being spit on
- Being beaten
- Lawsuits
- Mental abuse
- Emotional abuse
- Sexually explicit activities
- Public humiliation
- Fatalities
- Potential Fatalities
- Over consumption of alcohol

The majority of the dangers listed above can be found in the literature on hazing that takes place in a collegiate setting (Govan, 2011; Hu, 2015; Waldron & Petitpas, 2015).

Levels Of Awareness Sub-Category II: Means Of Awareness

During data collection, participants also shared their means of awareness; specifically, how they became aware of information about hazing. The participants shared four means of awareness; media, rumors, Greek affiliation, and family. Out of these four, the majority of the participants stated they received their prior awareness of hazing rituals from different forms of media. This included fictional TV shows and movies. The aforementioned movies *Burning Sands* (2017) and *School Daze* (1988) are both examples. Quentin was one out of five participants who referenced *Burning Sands* and JD was one of two participants that referenced *School Daze*. Both movies were referenced by Tiffany while describing their awareness of hazing rituals prior to initiation: "Not super aware, I've seen movies like *Burning Sands, School Daze*… so I guess I knew about it from what I saw on TV not necessarily in person." This illustrates the power that Hollywood plays in educating of students on hazing rituals.

The second most prominent means of awareness that emerged from the data was rumors. Rumors are defined in this study as unconfirmed information about experiences circulated between different parties. The participant Anthony specifically used the term 'rumors' after being asked if they knew that hazing rituals existed in their organization prior to initiation: "Yes. There was word around…. I mean words being thrown around like a rumor being thrown around that these events would occur going into my initiation process." When asked the same question, other participants, such as Tristen, only insinuated that their awareness came from rumors: "Oh I just heard stories about what it

might be like from people. Like my parents would tell me you get beat with the paddle. But that's pretty much all I knew."

As mentioned in the opening discussion of this sub-category, other means of awareness that emerged from the data were Greek affiliation and family. Greek affiliation as defined in this study is awareness that was gained through the participants' friendship with BGLO members prior to joining. The designation of family is defined as participants obtaining their awareness from family members whom are either Greek or non-Greek. One means of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals that surprisingly did not show up from this study was any school or Greek organizational resource.

Levels Of Awareness Sub-Category III: Other Knowledge

In examining participants' levels of awareness, they also shared a variety of other aspects of the hazing process that fell outside of those categories. These varied, but primarily focused on how participants interpreted the role of hazing prior to being initiated. The dominant feeling expressed in this data was that hazing was viewed as meaningless. However, it is important to keep in mind that this particular view is a bi-product of all the participants viewing hazing as a process primarily performed by White Organizations. While discussing their view of hazing prior to the initiation, Sap went as far as saying:

> Literally when I think about hazing I think about these white frats and white sororities that make people do things… purposeless things that have no type of meaning, it's just for, and excuse my language but like my line sisters say, it's just for shits and giggles.

Though not all the participants were as straight forward with their description of their view of hazing, the majority voiced discontent at both the act and even the term hazing. The participant known in this study as Star, when asked how they felt about the term hazing, said the following: "I really hate that word hazing specifically because there's a difference between hazing and pledging, and hazing is just people getting beat for no reason." Scott (2011) found the same dissociation in his research. However, Scott's research did not reference the overwhelming association of hazing with White Greek Letter organizations that emerged from this study.

The Decision to Join

Examining the BGLOs members' choice to join organizations where they believe hazing exists in the initiation process produced eight categories. The number of categories that emerged from the data illustrate that there are many motivational factors that lead to a student's decision. Some of these motivations were found to be more concentrated between participants, while others were only reported by one or two. To discuss all of the eight categories, this section will be broken down into three subsections: categories that can be interpreted using EVT; categories that were found to be the most concentrated that cannot be interpreted using EVT; categories that were least concentrated that do not fit into the other sections.

EVT expectancy: Confidence and past success

The expectancy component of EVT emphasizes that an individual is more likely to choose a task based on the probability of success that individual places on the outcome of that undertaking (Eccles et al., 1983). Research has shown that expectancy plays a big

role in individual choice and is one of the best predictors of students' intentions to pursue a task (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). In the present study, the probability of success was gauged through the participants' level of confidence in their ability to successfully make it through the hazing rituals prior to their decision to pursue their respective BGLO. All of the participants were asked if they felt they were going to be successful in their pursuit of membership in a BGLO where hazing rituals were present prior to being initiated and why.

One of the more general replies to that question was provided by Breezy: "Yea I knew I would be successful mainly because like I said I don't give up and I couldn't give up. I'm not a quitter." Breezy's answer was based on not being very aware of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to participating in hazing activates. In the 'very aware' section of this chapter, Breezy was cited as having knowledge of the legal and physical dangers associated with hazing. This high level of confidence was echoed in the responses of the majority of the participants when asked the same question. Sap, also categorized as 'very aware,' stated, "I think I'm going to be successful at all things so I'm just going to say yes I did."

These two quotes, along those of other participants, suggest that a student who is confident in their ability to be successful during a hazing initiation process is more likely to proceed. However, it is important to note expectancy, as gauged in this study, did not completely impact all of the participants. A small number of the participants, specifically three out of the fourteen participants, reported that they were not confident when asked if they thought they would be successful prior to participating in their initiation rituals. NZ,

Quinten and Tiffany all previously stated that they were aware of the dangers of hazing. Tiffany could not pinpoint a reason for her lack of confidence. NZ stated: "Like I wasn't confident because the way in which it was portrayed in media and people talk and looking at TV shows I really going into like, "nah if that happens," I really wouldn't continue on with the process." Quinten offered the following:

> I did not think I would because I know how I am with keeping my mouth closed then being angry all the time. I figured it would be me just being upset and wanting to fight people constantly like being outraged about things. Yea I thought my anger management would have definitely stood in the way of me finishing the process.

While expectancy was not a factor in the actions of these three participants, their minority status in this study does not take away from its impact of on a student's decision to join organizations where they believe hazing exists in the initiation process.

EVT Utility Value: Intrapersonal Benefits

The utility value component of EVT emphasizes the importance one places on a task's impact on future goals (Eccles et al., 1983). Utility value has also been found to be a predictor of students' choice to pursue a task. In this study, the value students placed on their choice was measured through the future benefits participants reported expecting from joining a BGLO where hazing rituals were a part of their initiation process. A variety of questions asked during this study prompted participants to share their benefits and led to the emergence of two categories supported by EVT; *Intrapersonal Benefits* and *Societal Benefits*.

In this study the intrapersonal benefits are defined as benefits that occurred within a participant's mind. Participant highlighted numerous intrapersonal benefits they

expected to gain by joining a BGLO: general self-improvements (discipline, personal growth, time management), validation, the feeling of being challenged, and the desire to earn membership. However, the most prominent benefit shared by participants was their desire to earn and work for their membership into their particular BGLO. An example of how it mattered to the participants whether or not the organization they joined hazed or not was provided by Hilary. “It did matter. I wanted to work hard for something. Honestly, I didn’t just want to join an organization that I can just walk into so easily. I really wanted to earn something. Something like I said would make me a better person at the end of the day.” This sentiment, specifically of participants wanting to earn and work for their membership, was found in the majority of the participants responses throughout the data collection process.

However, many participants were moved not by how they wanted to view themselves after being initiated, but from knowing that those who did not undergo hazing were treated differently as members. For example, Star stated:

> It did, it really did matter to me because I was just like I don't want to be paper (a derogatory term used for those that do not have a process) and I wanted to do it because if not then I was going to be looked at and judged by other Greeks like, “She didn't go through anything,” like you know, or “I heard about your process,” or something like that. I knew a lot of people who are Greek so… and especially in my hometown where I was well known. This is my chapter and a lot of people know people from my chapter and I wouldn't dare do that. So that was the role that it played on me. And I'd even thought about transferring but I was like, “oh but I want to join a sorority and I had to make sure that they get down and that they actually have a process.” But I never transferred so I stayed at [names university].

Star's reply highlights a different perspective. A participant may place value on their participation because it would prevent them from being judged by other Greeks. This is an example of social benefits that a participant would accrue by completing the task, an area that will be discussed in the next section. However, the fact that the majority participants reported that they wanted to work for their membership, along with the other personal benefits that participants hoped to gain, illustrated that students can place a high value on their participation in hazing initiation rituals.

EVT Utility Value: Societal Benefit.

Societal benefits played a big role in participants' choice to endure BGLO hazing initiation rituals. In this study societal benefits are defined as benefits that participants would receive from both Greek and non-Greek individuals after being initiated. The data that led to the emergences of this category was very broad, however the most prevalent benefits participants gain by enduring hazing rituals are: respect, general long-term benefits, positive treatment, and sisterhood/brotherhood.

Out of the four main societal factors, respect and sisterhood/brotherhood played a part in a participant's choice is directly supported the past research of Scott (2011). He found that Bonding and Respect were factors that contributed to hazing in BGFs. Specifically, Scott (2011) found that hazing played a big part in building the bonds between participants and that participating in hazing rituals led to participants being respected by other chapter members. Though Scott did not directly state sisterhood/brotherhood, his description of Bonding fit what was found in this research, and his description of the role of Respect corresponds to that used in this study.

One factor that was indirectly supported by Scott's research was the impact of participants craving positive treatment after being initiated. However, what was unique about the impact of participants hoping to gain positive treatment after being initiated, is that it emerged from participant's fear of being treated negatively if they did not participate. For example, while discussing *Intrapersonal Benefits,* Star mentioned not wanting to be "paper" and when asked how paper people were viewed stated:

> They're viewed with less respect. And I mean it's crazy that I see it, and I saw it firsthand right before even joining. It's like for a person that's not even Greek to know so much information it's like, "where are you getting your information from, who are you talking to?

In this reply Star emphasizes that not only are members who do not participate in initiation rituals treated with less respect by other members, but people who are not Greek notice that those individuals are less respected. Two of the most detailed supporting responses that described the negative treatment that individuals might receive without a process are as follows. According to NZ: " I do feel like they (those who don't participate) are at a disadvantage because one, there are people who will look at you differently or treat you differently if you didn't have that type of process." Wayne offered something similar: "They're pretty much looked at like being soft and not strong or mean enough because they didn't choose to take that path." These descriptions of the negative treatment that one would receive illustrates why the desire for positive treatment played a role in participants' choices. In addition, it creates a level of unintended pressure from those around students to choose to participant in hazing rituals to gain membership into their BGLO.

While this treatment extends to members outside of one's chapter and people who are not Greek, the role of positive treatment is indirectly supported by Scott's (2011) findings. These consisted of benefits participants would receive directly after they were initiated that they would have not have been able to perform if they didn't participate in hazing rituals, such as networking opportunities and the opportunity to perform strolls (choreographed dances perform in a line during parties). The long-term benefits, along with the other benefits presented in this segment, illustrate societal benefits that could lead to student's pursuing membership in a BGLO with hazing initiation rituals due to a high value on the task.

Perceptions of Hazing

Of the eight categories found in the data to deepen understanding of student choice, that were not interpreted by EVT, the most concentrated finding was the impact of student's perception of hazing on their decision-making process. This category emerged from two motivational factors shared by all participants. These were: participant's general outlook on hazing, and prior knowledge of initiation rituals. While describing their general outlook on hazing and their decision to join a BGLO, the majority of the participants shared that they were either unaware that the BGLO had a hazing initiation ritual, or they did not view what BGLOs were doing as hazing. When directly asked if a they viewed the BGLO process as hazing, Warren stated the following:

> I saw things a little bit differently. I actually didn't actually view it as hazing. I looked at it as more opportunities to build and foster relationships with the guys that I was on or going through that period with me. And you know no matter what happened there felt like when it was all

> over I had another story to share with my friends that we can laugh about, you know? And you know it was a life lesson overall.

Warren's outlook on hazing was shared by all the participants in this study and illustrated why hazing did not factor into my participants' choices. As stated previously, this is supported by Scott (2011) who also found that BGF members viewed hazing as an activity that was not in the initiation process of BGFs. However, the participants in this study did describe participating in activities that are defined as hazing, in which participants either viewed the activity as not a factor, or just accepted what they had to do to become a member of their organization.

When asked if it mattered whether or not the organization they joined hazed, Wayne stated, "Ummm… pretty much no, because of the simple fact that if you really want something then you'll go all out for it no matter what." Though other participants were not as straight forward as Wayne, all reported that they were aware they were going to participate in what they labeled as pledging prior to making their choice. This indicates that at some level all of the participants perceived hazing as not a big enough factor to prevent them from pursuing membership, a sentiment that may also be shared by other students.

The second of the two motivational factors that make up this section was participant's prior knowledge of initiation rituals. As discussed in the *Levels of Awareness* section, participants gained their prior knowledge of hazing rituals from a variety of different sources. However, no matter where they received their prior knowledge, participants emphasized that knowing parts of the initiation process before going through it played a

big role in their decision-making process. One way in which the role of prior education emerged from the data was through directly asking participants how they decided to join their BGLO given the knowledge of hazing rituals associated with them. While some participants were indirect with their replies, other participants where very direct. Anthony and Wayne offered the following impressions:

> *Anthony*: It was a long hard decision to sit down and think to myself what I'd be willing to go through with it. And one thing that motivated me to go through was seeing that people that I was close with were also in this organization. And that motivated me and once I learned more about what goes in to doing the initiation process and why I was all for it and after it.
>
> *Wayne*: Well I was first introduced to them during my first week as a freshman and the guys I had relationships with were very transparent. And I'm the kind of guy that likes transparency. In addition, they had a lot of charisma and with how they carried themselves made me interested in the organization. And they kinda sort of told me that there was some sort of hazing that go down, I still was still down to do it.

Both participants placed a high value on the prior knowledge about the process which was shared in some form or fashion by many of the participants.

For example, when asked if they had any idea that hazing characteristics existed in their organization initiation process prior to joining, Warren answered:

> Prior to joining my organization I had a very good relationship with the members of the organization at the school I was at and so they weren't afraid to break down you know exactly what was going to happen to me. And being that we had that kind of relationship they kept it honest and they told me as much as they could about what's going to happen. And you know they assured me that they wouldn't put me through anything that they didn't go through and that this is all you trust kind of thing if you don't trust us then don't do it.

Warren stressed that the prior knowledge about the process offered reassurance and played a big role in their decision. Another motivational factor that stood out in Warren's

reply was the impact of his personal preexisting relationship with members. The impact of this personal relationship was also present in Wayne's answer about a relationship with an existing member who was very transparent concerning the initiation process.

Personal Relationships

The second most concentrated finding on student's choice was the impact of personal relationships. Following the same trend as *Perceptions of hazing*, the finding of *Personal relationships* emerged from multiple motivational factors. As defined in this study, personal relationships are relationships that students have with other individuals (friends, family or mentors) that impacted their decision. This category is made up of two factors, 'general personal relationships' and 'perceptions of members before joining.'

Two of the supporting responses describing the first factor, general personal relationships, can found above via in quotes from Warren and Wayne in the *Perceptions of hazing* section. Both emphasized that their relationship was developed through getting to know members who provided them with prior knowledge that they would have not acquired otherwise. In addition, their quotes indicated that these personal relationships impacted their decision. However, one type of relationship that was not discussed above was those participants whose prior family Greek affiliation played a role in their decision making process.

Out of the fourteen participants surveyed in this study, five had family members who belonged to a BGLO and had participated in a hazing initiation ritual. Two participants had mothers that were Greek, who was a part of the same organization. One participant had brother in the same organization. Another participant had a cousin from a

BGLO different from theirs. The last two participants reported that they were only aware of having Black Greek members in their family (e.g. distant relatives). When Dru Hill was directly asked whether their family Greek affiliation played a role in their decision they quickly answered 'yes.' Other participant's Greek family affiliation and its impact emerged from a less direct questions. For example, while asking participants if it mattered that they joined an organization with an initiation ritual and why, the participant known in this study as JD stated:

> Just because I've had individuals in my family who are a part of a Black Greek Letter societies and just having a base level of knowledge knowing like what they entailed I kind of felt like that was part of the full package and part of the full experience, in a sense, you know?

This reply suggests that JD's family affiliation with BGLO members who underwent hazing led him to view initiation as not a complete experience without hazing. This idea can be used to understand the five other participants in this study that also had a family BGLO affiliation.

In reference to the second factor that made up this category, participants emphasized that their outlook on BGLO members that they had prior relationships with impacted their own decision. In essence, participants felt that, because people they knew were successfully endured the initiation process before them, they were confident that they would too. For example, while asking a participant how they decided to join their BGLOs given their knowledge of the hazing rituals associated with them, NZ stated:

> I went into it with an open mind because obviously there is thousands of other members that joined before me. Some that I knew, and I just feel like they made it through and that I would make it through as well.

In this response the participant emphasized that knowing someone that had been successful in the hazing initiation rituals of their BGLO impacted their own decision to pursue membership in a BGLO. This sentiment, along with those discussed throughout this section cemented the impact that personal relationships had on student's choice to participate in hazing initiation rituals of BGLOs.

Compatibility

Out of the highly concentrated categories that emerged from the data around student's choice to participate in hazing rituals associated with BGLOs, the only category that stemmed directly from an individual code was *Compatibility*. As defined in this study, compatibility is the feeling of being compatible with or fitting in with the members and or principals of a BGLO. Participants emphasized that their compatibility with an organization played a big role in their decision to pursue membership in that it, even if that organization practiced hazing. This emphasis on compatibility was shared by many of the participants in this study and led to its impact being highly concentrated. One of the statements that supported this category was provided JD, whom stated:

> Yes I looked at individuals in my chapter and I saw bits and pieces of who I was and who I wanted to be in them and I felt like the bits and pieces that I really saw of myself were present in me that I thought were present in them than I could do it.

In this reply JD emphasized that his compatibility with the BGLO that he chose to join was a result of seeing himself and who he wanted to be in the members. Another supporting response was reported by Hilary, who stated:

> I didn't want to be a part of something that wouldn't hold my standards for the rest of my life or something that wasn't greater than myself. I wanted to be a part of an organization that had women in it that held the same beliefs as I did.

Both participants mentioned the feeling of fitting in or being compatible with their respective organization prior to joining. JD's mention of being compatible was related directly to him being confident that he would be successful during the hazing initiation process, while Hilary connected it to why they chose a BGLO that they knew had a hazing initiation ritual. Compatibility's high concentration in the data illustrates how impactful it could be on students' choices to participate in the hazing initiation rituals of BGLOs.

Lack of Options

There were two categories that the data revealed as outliers which are very influential in students' choice to participate in hazing rituals. One is impact of participants' desire to follow tradition, and the other is lack of BGLOs without a hazing initiation ritual, with latter being more dominant. As categorized in this study, *lack of options* refers to participants wanting to join a specific BGLO, but the only chapter available for them to join has a hazing initiation ritual. For example, when ask what led them to join an organization that had a hazing process as opposed to one that did not, NZ replied:

> It was honestly like 90% of the process I was just like, no this is just what I want to do. And it was kind of just like, I don't have an option not to do it, like I'm at this school, I'm at this chapter. There is no way around it.

This sentiment was only shared by two other participants out of the fourteen interviewed. However, many students are on campuses where their only option for joining an organizations entails pledging on that practices hazing. This leads to many students choosing to join a BGLO with a hazing initiation ritual.

Following Tradition

The other category that the data revealed as an outlier was the impact of following tradition. As categorized in this study, *Following Tradition* refers to participants wanting to join a specific BGLO with an initiation ritual because of their desire to follow the tradition of pledging that existed prior to the NPHC eliminating the pledge process in the 1990s (Brown & Parks, 2005; Parks et al., 2011). This finding was supported by only two participants in the study, with one reporting that they wanted to follow the steps of their mentor and the other stating that knowing the history of BGLO initiation processes impacted their decision. Despite this finding not being as concentrated, it is supported by Scott (2011) who found that tradition was a factor that has led to the existence of hazing in BGFs. Specifically, Scott found participants justified hazing based on their respective organizations' traditions and hazing acts they experienced during their respective initiation process.

Reasons to Proceed

BGLO members reported reasons to proceed through the initiation process after being subjected to activities that are considered hazing produced seven categories. Like the categories in *Decision to Join,* these illustrate that there are many motivational factors that lead student to proceed. All of these categories were relatively highly concentrated in

the data. To discuss the seven categories that emerged, this segment will be broken down into two sections: the categories that can be understood by using EVT and those that fell outside of the EVT.

EVT Utility Value: Long-Term Benefits

As previously stated, the utility value component of EVT emphasizes the importance one places on a task's impact on future goals (Eccles et al., 1983). The value students placed on their choice is being measured through the future benefits participants expected to gain by joining a BGLO where hazing rituals were a part of their initiation process. A variety of questions asked during this study prompted participants to share their benefits, which led to the emergence of this *long-term benefits* category supported by the utility value component of EVT.

In this study, long-term benefits are defined as benefits that participants would accrue sometime after their initiation. Participant responses presented two different long-term benefits they expected to gain. These consisted of general long-term benefits and self-improvements. The majority of the general long-term benefits and all of the self-improvements that led to participants choice to proceed through the process are identical to those that led the participants to pursue a BGLO with a hazing initiation process. These benefits were previously presented in the *societal benefits* category of this chapter. The long-term benefits were respect, networking opportunities, positive treatment, and privileged to perform strolls, with the last three of these benefits touched on very lightly by participants. The respect benefit was given its own category and previously discussed in *Decision to Join* section. The specific self-improvements that extended into this

segment from the *societal benefits* category were discipline, personal growth, and time management. However, the most nuanced perspective that led to the emergence of this category was the impact of participants' feeling of being invested in proceeding through the hazing rituals once they began.

Many participants emphasized that once they began the process they did not feel as though they could stop because they needed to get something out of their experience. This leads one to presume that a byproduct of experiencing hazing is an increase of the value placed on proceeding through the initiation process. An example of this sentiment was offered by Dru Hill:

> I think I just would have had the mindset like I can't quit. Like I've done something already, I already put in too much time, too much money and too much of my energy to turn back now. So I think that would have had to be my motivation to keep going.

Dru Hill's description of how the preliminary time invested played a role in their decision to proceed was a similar to a response reported by NZ. When asked to describe the factors that contributed to their persistence through the initiation after first being subjected to hazing activities NZ said: "I guess I have the mindset that when I start something I finish it and so it's like, "I made it this far, I can keep going and not give up." In both of these comments participants emphasized the impact of their initial participation in hazing rituals on what they choose to do after, which was to try to receive the benefits of the membership in return. This suggests that a student who is subjected to hazing will put a higher value on completing the task to obtain the rewards that come from their participation.

EVT Attainment Value: Validation

The attainment component of EVT emphasizes importance an individual places on doing well at a task. Research has shown that attainment value plays a big role how well a chosen task is performed (Eccles et al., 1983). During the data collection process many participants emphasized that they had something to prove to either themselves or others when it came to their decision to proceed through the hazing initiation rituals of BGLOs. One of the many participant responses that led to the development of this finding was a response from Hilary. After stating that, "I couldn't stop," when asked why they chose to proceed through the initiation rituals, Hilary elaborated, saying:

> I look back at the reasons why I wanted to join initially and those reasons played the greatest factors along with having my line sister is why I persisted in going through.

Hilary's response suggests that finishing the process would validate participating in the first place. Similar means of validation was also shared by Tristen:

> Ummm… like I said before I wanted to prove it to myself that I could do it and prove to other people too. And also my brothers are in the same organization. So that literally played a really big part to be in the same organization as my brother and it would mean the same when they found out about it.

In these quotes and quotes by other participants, there was an emphasis the high level of importance of completing the initiation process, as it would validate their membership. The need to validate one's membership is potentially a byproduct of the negative treatment that individuals may receive if they do not participate in hazing rituals, a finding discussed in the *Societal Benefits* section of this chapter. It is reasonable to

conclude that a student who feels a greater need to validate their membership may be more likely to participate in the hazing rituals of BGLOs.

The Bonds of Initiation

Of all the motivational factors that emerged from data on participants' decisions to proceed through hazing rituals, the most anticipated motivational factor was the impact of the bonds created during the initiation process. These bonds are created between participants and their line mates, and the participants and their initiators. This was the most anticipated motivational factor for two reasons. First, the finding was supported by Scott's (2011) previous research where he found that bonds created by performing hazing activities influences the existence of hazing in BGFs. Secondly, as a BGLO member, this researcher knows that brotherhood/sisterhood bonds are at the core of all BGLOs whether or not the organization has hazing.

The impact of bonds was the most concentrated finding in this area; twelve out of the fourteen participants pointed out the influence of these relationships on their decision. The most direct pointed response supporting the impact of bonds through participants relationships with their line mates was provided by Quinten.

> Just my line brothers honestly. Not the fear you know, people say they don't want to be known as that one that dropped. I don't give a ***** about that. For me it was my line brothers. If I decided to drop you know and hang out in my dorm chillin smoking a blunt you know doing whatever. I still would have known that my line brothers were still down there still putting in work, still doing what they need to do to get to where they want to be. So it's like I felt like I was obligated to protect them and be there for them. I don't know… even today I'm still focused on protecting my line brothers and that was the only thing that kept me going. You know, while getting paddled I would look up and see my line brothers and think like, "it's cool, I can take a few more which means y'all get hit

> less and just trying to protect them and guard them I guess. But Like I was saying it was my job to do it.

Quinten's reply was the most direct and detailed. Quinten not only provided a sympathetic response on the impact of their line mates, but also a thorough description of the activities that their bonds helped them overcome.

Many participants provided similar responses with equal emphasis on the impact of their line mates. When asked what factors contributed to their persistence through the initiation rituals, Star stated:

> My line sister, and it was just two of us, and she was like, "I don't know what I would do if you weren't here." But I was really the rock so I really had to put her on my back and guide her too. So you know… it's not just me and I stopped thinking that it was just me because it was both us. That's why I was just like, well you know I got to stop thinking about me, it's us two, we work together so we were one. So that's how we persisted through, that's how I persisted through to keep going.

In both of these responses, and 99% of the responses in this study, participants reported that the bond that they built with their line mates played one of the biggest roles in their decision to proceed through the process. The only outlier was a participant who was initiated alone and did not have line mates.

The impact of the participants' bonds that they created with their initiators also impacted participant's decision to proceed. While describing the factors that led to their decision to proceed through the process, JD stated:

> Everything wasn't bad… ummmm. You know part of it is to really get to know the people that are in your chapter and in your organization and I feel like that my chapter did a very good job of balancing the good and the bad. So even when things were hard, you turn around and there was always some type of… I don't want to call it a compliment but just

> something that would keep you looking towards the light and realize that you know it's not, it's not going to last forever so immediately in the moment I would definitely say it was those tiny moments those small victories.

JD's response describes that the relationships they created with their initiators led to them to receiving positive affirmations that influenced their decision to proceed. This positive affirmation was supported by Star, who spoke about the affirmation they offered someone after being asked if they would initiate someone else:

> I did, so yes I would. I would bring people through and I would tell them this is what it is. And I would tell them that if I can do it then you could do it. Like I encouraged my neo (a member that they initiated) all the way through. And she was a solo. So I mean she got it done.

Where JD's response shows the product of bonds created from the initiates perspective, Star's response speaks from the view point of the initiator. Though this perspective was not targeted in this study, it was a response that further supported the impact of that relationship. The impact of the bonds created between initiators and initiates along with those between line mates suggests that students who create these relationships during their initiation are more likely to proceed through the process after being subjected to hazing.

Personal Relationship

The personal relationships built during the initiation process also featured prominently as a motivating factor that led to participants to proceed though their BGLO's initiation process. As defined in this study, personal relationships are those relationships with individuals who were not their initiators or line mates, Greek or not

Greek, that participants had prior to their initiation. As personal relationships impacted participants' decisions to join, and their decision to proceed through initiation. The *Decision to Join* section highlighted that participants had mothers, brothers, and cousins that were both Greek and non-Greek who shaped their decision to join a BGLO with a hazing initiation ritual. While examining their decision to proceed, participants shared that those individuals mentioned, as well as a fiancé, a mentor in the same organization, and friends, played a significant role in enduring hazing initiation rituals of BGLOs.

The impact of these personal relationships was highly concentrated in the data and shared by many of the participants in the study. An example of a motivational relationship dynamic that was not presented previously can be seen in a reply provided by Wayne. When asked about motivational factors that led to their procession through their initiation process: "I was away from my family and my fiancé. The effect it had on them motivated me to finish." Wayne directly connects his relationship with his family and fiancé to decision to proceed through the process. A similar direct connection between participants and their personal relationships showed up frequently in the data. When asked the same question Tiffany referenced a conversation they had with their parents:

> During a conversation I had with my parent, something my mother had told me, she was like, "it was better to have never started at all then it is to start and drop," so I honestly kept thinking about my family, and my mom told me that I wouldn't really be able to handle the repercussions of starting something and not being able to finish it so… just the conversation I had with my parents. So I'm like, "whatever they're talking about is oh so horrible that if I don't finish my mom doesn't really think that I will be able to deal with it," so I just stuck it out. And of course, the bounds that you develop with your sisters and your brother so.

Both participants, and many others, showed a direct a connection between choosing to endure and their supporting relationships. Thus, one can assume that students who have personal relationships with people that support their participation in hazing rituals are more likely to proceed through hazing initiation rituals.

Acceptance

The most telling category that emerged to explain student's decision to proceed through hazing rituals once they are subjected to them, was general acceptance of the activity. One may assume that all participants in this study were initiated via a hazing ritual and all outright accepted it. However, the data showed varied levels of acceptance which illustrate how students experience hazing differently while undergoing it. This was loosely supported by Scott (2011) who found that the existence of hazing rituals in BGFs is partly due to students' willingness to accept their participation in the rituals themselves. The primary question used to gauge if participants generally accepted the activities they participated in was: *Was there any point that you question your participation in these rituals?* Star answered this question by stating:

> I don't think I ever question anything that I was going through. I did think that it was like crazy. But I don't think that I ever questioned it because this was something that I wanted, and you know if that's the tradition within my chapter and that's what they believed in and I'm just going to do it. But not just because someone is telling me to do anything, because it's honestly what I wanted to do.

Star's choice to not question the process and accept the hazing was a sentiment shared by many participants.

However, there were varied levels of acceptance. Some participants questioned some things, but still accepted them at the same time. Dru Hill, when asked the same question, answered it slightly differently.

> I think I questioned a lot of things because it was like, "this is dumb, what is it teaching me why are you doing it." So a lot of times I was questioned it, but then a lot of times I honestly…. just didn't care. Like because I put myself…. I mean not that I put myself in this situation, but I knew why I was here and I knew I was not going to get the answers to everything that I wanted and that's just kinda how it was. So I stopped really just thinking on those thoughts because knew I wasn't going to get an answer.

Both Star and Dru Hill reported being aware of the hazing activities in their respective BGLOs prior initiation, but had different levels of acceptance. Neither questioned participation in the activities; however, unlike Star, Dru Hill questioned the activities themselves while acceptingly participating in them. But, over time Dru Hill began to question the process less and less.

Another level of acceptance that emerged in the data was presented by Jasmine when asked if there was any point that they questioned their participation in their organizations hazing rituals:

> There were definitely some moments, I think it was, I think there were moments where you ask yourself what you're doing it for and you have those talks with yourself consistently and I had those talks with….I can't even say my line, because when I went through I was the only one that went through so I didn't even come out with line sisters or co-initiates or whatever, it was just me so there were nights that I was up against myself and I'm there by myself and I asked myself if maybe this is the time where I should wait until I have line sisters or companions. There were moments like that where there was just loneliness that really had me question whether or not I really want to do this.

Jasmine was also aware of the hazing rituals in their BGLO prior to their initiation. However, unlike the two previous participants mentioned, Jasmine questioned participation in hazing rituals to the point that at times they did not know if they really wanted to continue being subjected to them. In addition, Jasmine did not have line mates as they expected; this suggests that with line mates their decision to proceed would have been an easier one to make. This further supports the impact of line mates which was discussed in the *Bonds of Initiation* section above.

Jasmine attributed continuation to the impact of feeling invested in the time put into the process and as result accepted what was required to become a member. Jasmine, along with the other two participants highlighted in this section, represents the three layers of acceptance that emerged from the study. Some participants accepted the activities and did not question them, or their participation in them. Some questioned the activities, but did not question their participation in them. Others questioned not only the activities, but their participation in them and found acceptance through embracing another motivational factor. Either way, this suggests that all the BGLO members that have been initiated via hazing rituals have in some way or another came to accept the hazing activities they participated in, but not all members participated without questioning.

Perceptions of Hazing

As participants' perceptions of hazing impacted their decision to join, they also emphasized that their perceptions impacted their decision to proceed through the initiation process. Similarly to the discussion of the earlier *Perceptions of Hazing*

category in *The Decision Join* section of this chapter, many participants further supported Scott's (20111) finding on how BGF members view hazing and pledging as two different activities. Participants continued to report that they did not look at the process they endured as hazing. One participant even reported being conditioned to not view their process as hazing and shared a poem that they and their line mates recited during their initiation as part of this conditioning. Due to the poem potentially identifying the participant and their organization, it will not be quoted in in this section. However, the poem's primary message was to deny that the process was hazing. Apart from participants' dissociation with hazing, many reported perceiving their initiation process as "not that bad" and no great obstacle in pursuit of membership in a BGLO. For example, asked about factors that contributed to persistence through the process, Anthony stated:

> People make it seem like it is the worst thing to do but as I just said, those memories help you build a bond with those that you are going through it with and those that are already in it and you building that bond, that brotherhood that is unbreakable that is just an amazing experience after you go through it. So the possibility of building a bond that powerful really motived.

A similar reply came from Sap who felt that the hazing initiation process was good and bad at the same time:

> Everything wasn't bad… ummmm. You know part of it is to really get to know the people that are in your chapter and in your organization and I feel like that my chapter did a very good job of balancing the good and the bad.

Sap and Anthony's responses suggest that they did not perceive hazing as an activity that was bad enough for them to stop participating in it. In addition, Sap credits their

perception of their initiation process to the influence of their initiator's actions, a relationship that helped motivate them through their initiation. The impact of the bonds built during initiation were previously discussed in the *Bonds of Initiation* section of this chapter. However, in both participant's responses, and others in this study, the participants emphasized that their perception of hazing shaped their decision to proceed, suggesting that students who also perceive hazing in a positive light may be more likely to partake in their activities.

Explanation of Justification

Similar to the finding about prior knowledge of hazing rituals impacted participants' decisions to join a BGLO that had hazing rituals, the knowledge gained during the process impacted participant's decision to proceed. Regarding why students chose to proceed, participants emphasized that receiving explanations of the activities during the process helped justify what they were experiencing and their decision to continue. This finding emerged while gauging whether or not a participant's knowledge of hazing grew during their initiation process. For example, participant Q2 stated:

> Definitely, 100 percent…102 percent actually (laughter). Because I think it's necessary. People have their views and there are reasons why they don't like it and all this and all that but I think it's like it really teaches you how to function in everyday life.

Q2's reply suggests that the knowledge gained during the process altered how they viewed the hazing process. A similar sentiment was shared by Breezy, who said:

> Yes totally. Because like I said, the haze it to make you more uncomfortable. So honestly my whole process until towards the end I wouldn't say I was comfortable because I was constantly learning different stuff, doing different stuff. So it was a lot to take in so.

Breezy's quote highlights the view of hazing as a means to make participants uncomfortable, but then credits the ability to stay comfortable during initiation to the knowledge of what was gained during it. This further illustrates the value of receiving explanations on willingness to endure hazing.

The Role of Pledging

Divisive is a word that refers to something that causes disagreement or hostility between people. In this study, that term can describe the participants' outlook on labeling their initiation process as hazing instead of pledging. Because participants view hazing and pledging as two separate activities, the task of examining how members of BGLOs interpret the role of hazing in their initiation rituals was the most difficult question to examine. Therefore, while presenting the roles of hazing the researcher will be use the term pledging to be consistent with the activity the participants stated that they were involved in. However, to reiterate, the activities that the members described in this study were defined as hazing and there is no current recognition of pledging in the initiation rituals of the organizations that my participants belong to.

Unlike the first three research questions that seek to examine BGLO members' recollections of their knowledge and experiences during initiation, the fourth research question examines BGLO members' interpretations of the role of hazing. Due to the interpretive nature of the fourth research question, the data analysis produced themes and not categories like those sections discussed previously. Examining the role of hazing in BGLO initiation rituals produced five unique themes. However, as pointed out by a

participant during data collection, it is important to note that initiation rituals may vary depending on the geographical location of that organization. These themes are as follows: Producing Better People, Living the Legacy, Organizational Benefits, Validating Membership, and No Role at All.

Producing Better People

The most cited interpretation of the role of hazing is that it produces better people. An example of a participant that suggested how it made initiates better, can be seen in a reply from Jasmine who stated:

> Because people they don't know how much greatness they will have at the end of it, they don't know how much better they'll be at the end of it, they don't how much better of themselves that they'll be able to curate at the end of it.

Jasmine's reply speaks to an individual status or growth that comes from participating in the initiation practices of BGLOs. The reply also suggests that a student may not know and may not ever know that they have the capacity for this growth without participating. This idea was supported by Breezy when describing the role of hazing in the initiation process:

> I feel like me personally, this is just me being honest, I feel like everybody should go through that time in life. Because just having that type of discipline whether it's from your parents it just helps you grow, I could put it like that. But I'm not saying everybody should go try to join a fraternity and go get hazed up or try to get hazed up because that's really not for everybody, everybody just can't do it. But I would say that me personally I feel like people should at least try to get their type of discipline in their life rather it's getting hazed or having somebody over your shoulder 24/7 just to make sure you doing something because at the end of the day that discipline you can only learn and once you really learn that discipline you can discipline yourself. And I feel like once you learn that discipline you're going to want to use what you learned to help other

> people with how that discipline can really affect your life and how it can really keep your life positive or whether it can be from being negative.

Breezy's idea extends the notion of growth via initiation, or discipline as they eluded to, to avenues outside of BGLOs, but emphasizes that practices performed by BGLOs is a means to the same end. The idea that everyone should go through some type of initiation was not shared by any other participant in the study, however the sentiment that Breezy and Jasmine share on the role of pledging making initiates better was one shared by the all participants in this study.

In addition to supporting the notion that pledging makes better people, Breezy also spoke of discipline, one of the qualities participants reported that students would gain during initiation. These qualities and self-improving benefits varied from participant to participant, however there was general agreement that the process teaches humility, self-awareness, and general life lessons. The following quote from Jasmine sums these up nicely:

> You never know what you're walking into. I know that goes a lot for life, but in this situation you really don't know what you're walking into and as you go through everything and are experiencing everything you really have that, "what am I doing moment," but at the end you look back and everything you did was for a reason and everything taught you a lesson, whether it was to build your confidence or help you be bolder, or help you step into a room and make you not care what other think about you, or help you think faster and … oh my God now I think more about it has literally changed my mind because I feel like because of the negative tone attached it whether it's hazing or pledging, however people decide to describe it, you don't really get to hear the benefits that come out of it, you just hear the negative things that come out of it in the news but in a situation such as this it helped me become way more confident, way more outspoken. I was able to hold my head up strong in a lot of situations where I normally wouldn't think I could before. It has allowed me to better my skills and better myself as a person and I honestly don't think that I would have gotten that joining a white sorority.

Jasmine presented numerous self-improving qualities that support the idea that a BGLO initiation process makes people better. Other qualities that emerged from this finding are as follows: Accountability, Self-defense, and Mental toughness. The idea that the BGLO initiation process makes people better by endowing them with the qualities presented in this study illustrates why students may participate in BGLOs initiation rituals and why BGLO members continue initiated students.

The Cycle of Re-creation.

The second most concentrated theme that emerged from the data was the cycle of re-creation. The data suggests that the cycle of recreation is BLGOs members attempting to recreate the initiation experience that they either personally identified with, identified as consistent with their organizational chapter, or identified as consistent with other BGLOs. All of these can be considered activities implemented to impart tradition to their initiation rituals. This finding emerged from participants viewing pledging as an activity that is important to membership, a means of being consistent, and a means to maintain tradition.

One of the most concentrated elements of this finding was participants emphasis on consistency. An example of that idea came from NZ. When asked if other BGLOs value an initiation process as much as their organization does, NZ stated: "I believe so yea… I would like to think that other organizations carry out processes the same. I think that it's just the culture in general, like just Greek life in general." In NZ's view, pledging

is a part of Greek life, including BGLOs. Thus, individual BGLOs continue pledging initiation rituals to avoid differentiating themselves and their members from one another. According to Tristen, “I know other organizations that also go through a process and the people that don’t get treated differently than the people that do.” In other words, avoiding negative treatment is strong incentive to uphold hazing traditions within individual BGLOs.

The second most concentrated aspect of this finding is initiation rituals being important to one’s membership. Specifically, many participants emphasized that pledging is a necessity and some even stated very directly. For example, when asked if they would initiate someone else Hilary said:

> Yes I would, because I have taken part in the initiation process of somebody else. And going back to like another answer I gave I do believe that is still necessary. That process is still necessary for a new member wanting to join. So whether that would be done through me or you know somebody else in my organization I do believe that it's still necessary. So not even necessarily answering for myself, but also answering for others.

Hilary’s willingness to initiate someone else was a result of their own participation in the activity. However, participants did not only think the initiation rituals were necessary, but some felt it was a privilege. Q2 who used that specific term when the initiation process:

> I think I've view it more as a privilege. I know that some people don’t always get the opportunity. And I don’t know, I feel like some people don’t always get that opportunity and I feel like the relationships we would've had with our line brothers would have been different if we didn’t have that same process. So I view it now that I'm done as a privilege because I know that not everyone gets that opportunity to take that journey.

This sentiment was shared in a variety of ways by many of the participants in this study. It suggests that if other BGLO members also view initiation as important that they would most likely want to recreate that important activity for the students that are initiated after them.

The last element that makes up this finding is the emphasis on upholding tradition. This element was not as concentrated as the others but may play an equally important role in the cycle of recreation. An example was apparent in Star's reply when asked whether or not they questioned their participation in their initiation rituals:

> No…. there may be…… I probably wouldn't…. I challenged somethings. So I don't think I ever question anything what I was going through. I did think that it was like crazy. The random phone call you know. But I don't think that I ever questioned it because there was something that I wanted and you know if that's the tradition within my chapter and that what they believed in and I'm just going to do it.

This impact of tradition, and participants' desire to recreate their own initiation process, is loosely supported by Scott (2011), who found that the existence of hazing in BGFs is a result of members justifying their actions by maintaining the traditions of the organization and their own experiences. As result, the data suggests that continuation of these activities may have potentially created a cycle of initiation within the pledging/hazing rituals of BGLOs.

Organizational Benefits

Organizational benefits was another factor that emerged from the data. Participants emphasized organizational benefits accumulate to individuals who pledge. These consist of respect, networking opportunities, positive treatment, bonds

(sisterhood/brotherhood), and strolls. All of these impacted participants' decision to join a BGLO where they knew hazing rituals existed and their decision to continue through the initiation once subjected to hazing. For quotes supporting these benefits please refer to the *EVT Utility Value: Societal Benefits* finding in the *Decision to Join* section and the *EVT Utility Value: Long-term Benefits* finding in the *Reasons to Proceed* section of this chapter.

Validating Membership

One of the least concentrated themes reported by participants was that the role of initiation rituals in validating one's membership in their organization. However, the researcher's personal experience suggests this factor may be quietly much more important. Previous benefits discussed in this chapter are only obtainable by individuals who participate in an initiation process; ergo the initiation process itself is a means of validation. However, only a small number of participants in this study directly validated this interpretation. An example came from Wayne who, while describing how they felt about the term hazing in relation to the initiation process of BGLOs stated:

> So normally the word hazing comes off as harsh and negative to society so I really don't like the term hazing, so if I could think of word that would make it sound better I would use the term "term testing your will."

Wayne viewed the process as a test. By extension, passing this test validates the initiates and entitles them to administer the test. An almost identical outlook was shared by Star:

> I wouldn't engage in it anymore, and I always tell people that I wouldn't haze a person because I wouldn't make them do anything extraordinary. I would only test their mindset, their thinking skills and just make sure they know the information more so then putting them in the cut (paddling

> them) for messing up information but also looking at now as being a role model or a leader.

Testing initiates through mental tests as opposed to physical tests suggests a more sophisticated understanding of the initiation process. Although this sentiment was only shared by a small number of participants in this study, it is reasonable to assume this outlook is shared by other BGLO members and may guide the experiences of future initiates.

Not Worth It

The least concentrated theme to emerge was that hazing, to an extent, is not worth it. Out of the fourteen participants in this study only one reported this outlook on initiation rituals. Asked to compare the value placed on initiation from one BGLO to another, Sap replied:

> I'm thinking more of a regional status, I don't know what goes on all over the world or even different parts of the US. But if I'm looking at (name of state) and I'm looking at (name of city) I know specifically in the Divine 9 organizations there's certain chapters where they just are not going to do it, and that's okay because with the nature of what hazing has become and with all the deaths surrounding it I feel that jail time is necessarily just not worth all that. Now if the conditions are right, and you can make it work, and you can bring these people in and teach then that's fine. But if the block is hot then the organization is so much bigger to me than that process because I feel that people need to… or any generation that enters this worlds needs to see, especially black people, they need to see the work that we do. And if we are not around to do that work because of the process then what's the point?

While questioning the value of initiation compared to dangers that exist during initiation rituals, Sap acknowledges that the conditions in which initiates are initiated plays a big

role in whether they personally view it is worth it or not. Sap speaks from the perspective of an individual who reported being very aware of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to initiation and one who understood their BGLO had the characteristics of hazing prior to pursuing membership. Sap also shared that their outlook on initiation rituals changes often. Sap's complex outlook on initiation rituals illustrates the potential for many factors playing a role in how BGLO members view the role of hazing and initiation rituals.

Bracketing

To mitigate any undesirable influence of the researcher's with a BGLO affiliation, a bracketing exercise was performed during data collection. This consisted of the researcher writing journal entries throughout the data collection as a means of examining and reflecting on any possible unconscious preconceptions in relation to this topic (Cutcliffe, 2003). The exercise produced eight journal entries and illustrated numerous things about the researcher and his relation to this topic. Excerpts can be seen in Appendix B.

One of the central things the researcher learned is that, like study participants he uses the term "pledging" to describe his BGLO initiation process. However, unlike the study participants, the researcher does not dissociate the activity of hazing and pledging. Participants' verbal descriptions and expressions of their intuition experiences lead the researcher to conclude that hazing can be seen on a spectrum; though it is all illegal by definition, some forms may be more acceptable because the hazing activities are on the lighter end of the scale. To illuminate this idea in the bracketing journal, the researcher compared how society views child abuse as an example. On the one hand is a parent that

physically punishing their child for acting up in school by slapping their hand lightly; on the other hand is a parent who beats their kid for the same reason and leaves noticeable marks on them. By definition, both of these activities are considered child abuse, but only one of the parents would be viewed as engaging in illegal activity in the eyes of society.

Another important lesson the researcher learned was that, despite this study taking place ten years after he joined a BGLO, the motivational factors for a student to participate in the initiation process of BGLOs has not changed much. One of the motivation factors actually showed up in the data, which was the impact of participants wanting to validate their organizational membership. Furthermore, the researcher learned that many of the participants in this study came from a very similar background to his own and even had some of the same motivational factors. This was a testimony to why the BGLO community is such a tight knit group despite the differences in the ages among its members. However, one of the most important things revealed by the bracketing exercise was the significance of this research on addressing hazing on collegiate campuses. Shortly after the researcher began interviewing study participants, a college student passed away as a result of the hazing rituals of a BGLO. This was an eye-opening death because of the timing in relation to this study. It did not impact the research or recruiting of participants, however it reinforced that this study's findings have the potential to prevent the death of a student.

Based on the researcher's reflection memos and data collection process, it is apparent that BGLO affiliation assisted in every facet of this study. More importantly, the

researcher believes that being a BGLO member that has participated in, and has been recognized as such by other BGLO members, played a bigger role in this research. It aided the researcher in knowing what to look for during the literature review on hazing and helped recruit and build rapport with participants , as well as analyze the data gathered and its implications.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This qualitative study was designed to examine the motivations of undergraduate students' choice to participate in hazing rituals associated with the initiation processes of BGLOs. Using the NPHC and Pennsylvania State Law definition of hazing, the study offered insights on a population that is not regularly examined. It provides a voice to a population that is often overlooked and delves into a topic that is seldom openly discussed. Eccles et al.'s (1983) Expectancy-Value Theory shaped the relevant categories and themes that emerged from the data, and enhanced the understanding of motivational factors that lead students to participate in the hazing rituals of BGLOs.

Understanding students' motivations in this area will influence anti-hazing policies, hazing support services, membership intake processes, and fraternal organization advisement both on and off collegiate campuses. This chapter summarizes and discusses the results presented in the previous chapter as well as highlights the limitations of the study. The primary findings of the study are as follows:

1. Participants described a dissociation between hazing and the activity they participated in. In turn, BLGO members' level awareness of the hazing did not play a key role in in their decision to join their organization.
2. Expectancy Value Theory is useful in understanding why BGLO members pursue and complete hazing initiation rituals.
3. Participants expressed motivational factors that influenced varying facets of their pursuit of their BGLO membership.

4. The term hazing did not accurately describe the BGLO initiation experience in the eyes of study participants.

In addition to discussing these above findings, this chapter will highlight the limitations that arose during the study and any relation to the limited literature on BGLOs.

Research Question Summaries

Research Question One

What are BGLOs members' levels of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to participating in hazing activities?

This research question sought to uncover BGLO members' levels of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to their participation in hazing activities. Understanding their awareness illustrates if undergraduate students who choose to participate in BLGOs' hazing rituals make their decision to do so with the appropriate knowledge of the risks. This research question revealed that participants have varied levels of awareness of the dangers of hazing rituals prior to participating in hazing activates. However, all of the participants in this study were able to provide an accurate definition of "hazing" and the dangers it entails. Many of the definitions varied, but all the definitions provided were consistent with the activities defined by the NPHC and Pennsylvania State legal department. Furthermore, the majority of the participants also reported that they were aware of the dangers associated hazing prior to their initiation process.

The high level of awareness reflected in the data is consistent with literature that suggests more than half of college students are involved in some form of campus hazing, and that 47% of students come to college having experienced hazing in athletic or social groups and organizations (Allen & Madden, 2008; Babson College, 2017). However, each participant also reported that they did not view the initiation process of BGLOs as hazing, and primarily associated the activity with White Greek organizations, despite the activities that they reported participating in being defined as such. As such, participants frequently using the term pledging instead of hazing to describe their initiation experience, an activity that is no longer recognized by the Divine Nine Organizations (Parks, 2012).

Dissociation between hazing and pledging among my participants was fairly consistent with Scott's (2011) previous research on BGFs which also found that BGF members label their initiation process 'pledging' and view hazing and pledging as two different activities. Other previous studies similarly suggest that nine out of ten students who experienced hazing in college do not consider themselves to have been hazed (Allen & Madden, 2008). The findings of the present study in concert with past research illustrate how that dissociation can impact a student's understanding and awareness of the dangers of hazing. At the same time, this finding also indicates that prior knowledge of the dangers of hazing does not play a key role in most student's decision to participate in BGLO initiation because participants conceptualize it as "pledging." This dissociation was reflected in how the participants understood their experience.

This research question also yielded valuable information about participants' prior understanding of the dangers associated with hazing and variations in how they gained that knowledge. Though danger awareness varied greatly, all the reported dangers were considered hazing activities, and the most concentrated risk awareness was that of coercion associated with hazing activities. The existence of coercion and the other dangers reported by participants is greatly supported by past literature describing what hazing entails (Parks et al., 2011 & 2012). Though broadly aware of dangers, respondents reported just four avenues of information which shaped their knowledge. A majority of respondents pointed out one of three movies as a source prior knowledge about hazing dangers: *Burning Sands*, *School Daze*, and *Drumline*. Though the impact of movies does not show up in the past literature on BGLOs, it is no great stretch to imagine all three movies reported shaping the view of students pursuing membership in BGLOs.

Notable and important was the absence of one seemingly crucial avenue of awareness among participants. Education provided by the entities that have banned hazing, specifically academic institutions attended by participants and the NPHC, was not cited by a single interviewee in this study. The implication of this finding will be discussed in the *Implications for Practice* section of this chapter.

Research Question Two

Why do BGLOs members choose to join organizations where they believe hazing exists in the initiation process?

Understanding why current BGLO members elected to pursue membership despite knowing that hazing would be part of their initiation helps illuminate motivational

factors for future students pursuing membership in those same organizations. Responses to this question produced eight categories, many of which could be understood through the lens of EVT. For instance, the majority of participants' past successes and confidence played a role in their decision to subject themselves to hazing. This finding is consistent with the Expectancy component of EVT which, when applied to the focus of this research, suggests that a student who is confident in their ability overcome hazing is more likely to choose that path (Eccles et al., 1983).

Another finding that correlates with EVT, specifically the Utility Value component, was the impact of the intrapersonal benefits participants felt they would gain through their participation in initiation rituals. Utility value component emphasizes the importance one places on a task's impact on future goals (Eccles et al., 1983). Participants in this study reported cited benefits such as self-improvement (discipline, personal growth, time management), validation, the feeling of being challenged, and the desire to earn membership. These expected interpersonal benefits illustrate why students perceive great value in participating in BGLO hazing initiation rituals.

The Utility Value component of EVT was relevant again in relation to the finding that societal benefits shaped participants' decisions to join a BGLO with hazing initiation rituals. Though a variety of societal benefits were mentioned, the ones were respect, general long-term benefits, positive treatment, and sisterhood/brotherhood. In the context of this finding, a binary emerged; on one hand participants envisioned positive outcomes, while on the other hand they feared negative treatment from both Greek and non-Greek individuals if they eschewed hazing initiation rituals. This was fairly consistent with

Scott (2011) who also found that these factors contributed to hazing in BGFs. Similar to the impact of the intrapersonal benefits, the impact of the societal benefits also illustrate why students would place value on the participating in BGLOs hazing initiation rituals.

The most concentrated finding was the impact of students' perception of the activity. As previously stated, the majority participants in this study did not view the process that they had participated in has hazing, but as pledging, which the majority of participants viewed as positive. Thus, students were more willing to pursue membership in a BGLO, precisely because they differentiate between hazing and pledging. Participants' personal relationships, including their ties to friends, family and mentors, was a deeply significant motivator to endure hazing for BGLOs. Many reported having family members who participated in the initiation process of a BGLOs and are now members of either the same organization they were pursuing, or another one. These participants highlighted family affiliation as driving their own decision. Aside from familial connections, participants also believed they could triumph over the initiation process because of their relationship with BGLO members who had successfully done so previously.

Other motivational factors identified by the respondent group was the impact of participants feeling compatible with their organization, the lack of options of BGLOs without initiation rituals on their campus, and the desire to want to follow the initiation traditions that existed within their specific BGLOs. Based on these three motivational factors, participants' compatibility with their chosen BGLO was the most salient, while the latter two factors were outliers only reported by a very small number of participants.

However, it is not unreasonable to suppose, in this researcher's opinion, that, were they asked pointedly whether limited options and tradition were important factors, many participants would have answered in the affirmative.

Research Question Three

What are BGLOs members' reasons to proceed through the initiation process after being subjected to activities that are considered hazing?

Understanding why current BGLO members continue through initiation after experiencing hazing reveals the mindset of those who subject themselves to hazing and could offer clues to those tasked with curtailing its dangers. This research question produced seven motivational categories, many of which were previously presented while discussing the finding of the second research question, and had an equivalent impact on participants' reasons to proceed.

Two of the seven categories that emerged from this question can be understood through the lens of EVT. The first aligns with Utility Value which was used to describe the impact of *Societal Benefits* on a student's decision to choose a BGLO that has hazing initiation rituals. The data showed that perceived long-term benefits of enduring the process impacted all of my participants. The data also showed that majority of the general long-term benefits that participants sought are identical to those that impacted their choice to pursue that BGLO. Moreover, the majority of participants also reported that once they were subjected to activities that are considered hazing, they became personally invested in finishing the initiation rituals. This illustrates how subjecting a student to hazing activities may result in them placing value on completing initiation. Another EVT

component, namely Attainment Value, helps clarify participants' pursuit of validation. Attainment prioritizes importance an individual places on doing well at a task. In the case of validation, many participants saw their initiation rituals as a means to validate their future BGLO membership, which led them, and potentially will lead to future students, placing value on the activity as a result.

The two most heavily cited reasons why students chose to proceed were the emergence of bonds they created during initiation and the emergence of personal relationships that resulted from the process. Respondents reported feeling the formation of bonds between themselves and their line mates, as well as between them and their initiators. This finding was supported by Scott (2011) who found that the bonds created by hazing activities play a key role in the existence of hazing in BGFs. This corresponds to the researcher's personal experience with the importance of brotherhood and sisterhood within BGLOs, no matter if the organization had hazing rituals or not. The impact of personal relationships on participants continuing through their initiation rituals is a continuation of its impact on their decision to pursue a BGLO with hazing initiation rituals. These findings indicate that a student who is pursuing a BGLO with hazing rituals is more likely to persist through their initiation if their process is successful in providing them these bonds.

As impactful as these transcending factors are, the most telling motivational factor was each participant's own level of acceptance of the hazing on their decision to proceed through hazing rituals. All of the participants in this study self-reported undergoing hazing initiation rituals. Thus, it is safe to assume that at some level or another, all of the

participants accepted their participation in the activity. However, the data showed that there were levels of acceptance as reflected in the manner in which they questioned their participation in the hazing rituals. Some participants did not question the activities or their participation in them, some participants questioned the activities, but did not question their participation in them, while others questioned not only the activities, but their participation in them. Finding that participants' acceptance of their participation in the rituals impacted their decision to proceed through the rituals was loosely supported by Scott (2011) who found the acceptance also played a role in hazing's existence in BGFs. However, the fact that all the participants questioned their participation in their BGLOs' initiation rituals, illustrates that students pursuing membership do not do so unthoughtfully, and that students that accept these rituals are more likely to proceed through them.

Other motivational factors identified by respondents group were the impact of participants' perception of hazing and participants receiving justification of rituals. As presented in the examination of the participants' level of awareness of hazing rituals prior to their initiation, all of the participants did not view the activity that they participated in as hazing, and as a result, this outlook on hazing did not impact participants' decision to proceed through activities labeled as such. However, some participants reported that they did not perceive their process as difficult or bad, and as a result their perception impacted the decision to proceed through their initiation rituals.

Research Question Four

How do members of the BGLO interpret the role of hazing in BGLO's initiation rituals?

The final question of this study explored the BGLO members that participated in this study's interpretation of the role of hazing in their initiation rituals. Understanding the role of hazing in BGLO initiation rituals will help uncover the reasons why they continue to employ the activity in their initiation process. This research question was difficult to assess because study participants universally rejected interpretation of the activity they took part in as hazing. Therefore, this summary section uses the term 'pledging' to be consistent with the activity in which participants discussed engaging. Examining the role of BGLO pledging rituals produced five themes. The majority of participants reporting that the initiation process is a means to create better people by instilling initiates with qualities they did not possess prior to being initiated. Many of these qualities that the participants shared were present and supported by the *Intrapersonal Benefits* that participants reported impacted their decision to pursue them. Other qualities included humility, self-awareness, general life lessons, accountability, self-defense, and mental toughness.

Moreover, the initiation process was meant to recreate the initiation experience that initiators either personally identified with, identified as being consistent with their organizational chapter, or identified as being consistent with other BGLOs. The goal is to create a tradition, which was also one of the factors that impacted participants cited for choosing a BGLO with hazing initiation rituals. This finding was also loosely supported

by Scott's (2011) previous research on the impact of tradition on the existence of hazing in BGFs.

Another factor that emerged was that pledging is a means to provide initiates organizational benefits. Organizational benefits, as a motivational factor, also impacted participants' decision to join a BGLO and their decision to proceed through the initiation rituals. Another justification for pledging was to validate initiate membership in the organization. Lastly, at least one respondent asserted that that there is no role to the activity at all. As a result of only a small number of participants reporting these beliefs, both of them could be considered outliers. Broadly speaking, it is reasonable to conclude that certain organizational benefits can only be attained through participation in hazing. Therefore, whether or not study participants stated it as such, validation is actually one of the most central reasons for BGLO initiation rituals.

Limitations of Study

Research Approach

One main limitation of this study was using the word 'hazing' to describe the activity under examination. Hazing is not recognized by members of BGLOs to describe their initiation rituals, despite the activities that participants reported participating in conforming to its broader legal and institutional definition. This limitation is a point of implication for future research on BGLOs as it threatens the authenticity of member responses and ideas. Fortunately, the participants in this study acknowledged how their experience, which they titled "pledging," could be considered hazing by individuals who do not dissociate the two activities. Nevertheless, the researcher's decision to employ the

word ‘hazing’ could, in retrospect, have undermined the data collection process if participants had been unwilling to grant that overlap in perception.

Research Design

In order to ensure my participants could clearly recollect their hazing experience, the researcher sampled only BGLO members who had joined their organization in the last 24 months. However, because of this, it is possible that all of the participants were still near enough to their initiation process that their perception of the activity may be skewed. This might have influenced how they spoke about their experience and the role of pledging in BGLO initiation rituals. Another limitation of the data was that all the participants were BGLO chapter members in close geographic proximity to each other. Thus, some of the findings may not be generalizable to the broader population of BGLOs, a limitation that was highlighted by one of the participants while collecting data. However, with the history of similarity between BGLOs regardless of where they are located, and chapter traditions being fairly similar to each other, the findings from this research offer a guiding framework for practical implications, as well as an expansion of the current knowledge on hazing in BGLOs.

IRB Restrictions

Because this study examined an illegal activity, IRB placed sampling restrictions on the research enjoining the researcher from directly recruiting participants; it was therefore necessary to rely on a snowball sampling approach when finding participants (Mertens, 2015). Though appropriate given the sensitivity of this topic, it limited the number of participants available for interview. Moreover, questions about specific

activities that individuals participated in where forbidden. Existing research has shown that there are multiple dimensions of participants' perception of hazing and that what they think constitutes as pledging is defined as hazing by the Pennsylvania State Law and NPHC. By definition, hazing can range from walking in-line to getting burned or beaten. All hazing is not the same, which created some challenges in interpreting participants' perceptions. Specifically, it curtailed a deeper exploration of participants' dissociation between hazing and the activity that they felt they participated in by asking specific questions about what activities they considered as hazing oppose to what they considered aspects pledging.

Implications for Practice

Higher Education and NPHC

In the 1990s higher educational institutions began adopting policies against hazing on their campuses (Allen & Madden, 2008). At the same time, the NPHC moved to eliminate pledging and the hazing from the initiation process of BGLOs and introduced a Membership Intake (MI) process (Brown & Parks, 2005; Parks et al., 2011). However, this research proves that little has changed. Higher educational institutions, as well as the NPHC, have failed to stop BGLOs members from including pledging and hazing practices in their initiation processes. BGLO members still employ the same symbolic activities to initiate new members into their organization that have been used for over a hundred of years (Foster, 2008). These illegal activities on collegiate campuses are echoed in fictional accounts of the experience via movies such as *School Daze* (1988) and *Burning Sands* (2017) rendering BGLOs synonymous with the hazing culture

(Foster, 2008; Govan, 2011). Both colleges and the NPHC must make drastic changes to how they are addressing hazing in BGLOs.

BGLO members heavily dissociate hazing with the activity that they participate in, which they labeled as pledging. Previous research has shown that this dissociation is not new and has existed since the activity was banned in the 1990s (Scott 2011). This is not surprising because the definition of hazing at colleges and universities has not been consistent from one to another, nor consistent with the NPHC, the BGLO governing organization (Riddick et al., 2012). This dissociation has implications for both institutions and the NPHC. Both entities need to further educate BGLOs on the definition of hazing. This study showed that none of the participants' awareness of hazing was received through the educational efforts of their institutions or their organization. Thus, prospective BGLO members are receiving their knowledge on initiation rituals form inaccurate sources that are indifferent to the goals of educational institutions and the NPHC. Higher education institutions need to work with the NPHC to develop a streamlined definition of hazing, as well as the activates that fall under that definition. This includes the language and activities that BGLO members interviewed for this study used to describe their initiation process.

Another crucial finding was that BGLO members perceived participation in the pledging initiation rituals as the only means to receive the benefits, interpersonal benefits, societal benefits, and bonds, they sought. Research suggests this is a result of traditional practices continuing to be passed down from member to member in the wake of institutional prohibitions of the past twenty years. Neither higher education institutions

nor the NPHC offered a transitional process or similar activity to replace hazing. Hence, BGLO members rely on symbolic and informative initiation practices that have existed for hundreds of years (Allen & Madden, 2008; Parks et al., 2011).

First education institutions and the NPHC need to acknowledge that this the case. Secondly, working together, they must design a membership intake process that is legal and includes some of the historical symbolic and informative activities that participants shared during this research study. For example, higher education institutions and the NPHC might examine theories that underpin boot camps, which are known to provide participants with many of the benefits sought by participants in this study. However, no matter what the activity looks like, this research, as well as past research, highlights a need for the current member intake process to be revamped through higher education institutions and the NPHC working together to find common ground.

Higher Education Specifically

Higher education institutions specifically need to reconsider designing their anti-hazing educational strategies. This could consist of directly targeting each diverse organization represented at their institution, or including the vernacular/jargon of the organizations in their current strategies. For BGLOs specifically, this research, as well as the research by Scott (2011), illustrated how relevant the term "pledging" is in defining the BGLO initiation process, despite the term no longer be recognized by the Divine Nine (Park, 2012).

In addition, the motivational factors that emerged from participants' decision to pursue a BGLO with hazing initiation rituals can be applied to identify students that are

most likely to seek membership in similar organizations. One way this can be achieved is administering a survey prior to the intake period to collect data around the motivational factors presented in this study. Once students are identified, institutions can further educate those specific individuals on how they could receive the qualities and benefits that the participants in this study sought through hazing rituals without themselves participating in hazing initiation practices.

PWIs and HBCUs

Due to the sensitivity of this research, the types of institutions participants attended during their hazing was not identified, nor was it used to guide the research. As a result, this current study does not have implications in that area. However previous research suggests that predominately white institutions (PWIs) are not enforcing many of the policies connected to BGLO membership intake on their campuses, and that HBCUs payed more attention to the initiation process but were also more accepting of hazing rituals (Riddick et al., 2012). Interacting with undergraduate BGLO members from both PWIs and HBCUs has led the researcher to believe that this is true. As a result, this requires further research to substantiate the past and its potential implications on both types of institutions.

This research suggests that much students participation in hazing is a result of their fear of being treated negatively by their institutions and both Greek and non-Greek communities if they do not. This may look different based on the institution type, specifically with research suggesting that HBCU are more accepting of the behaviors (Riddick et al., 2012). However in an environment where hazing may exist across

organizations (e.g. BGLO, White Greek Letter Organizations, athletics), students may be more likely to be engage in some sort of activity based on how it is perceived on that campus. As a result, both PWIs and HBCUs need to invest in examining their current campus culture around student outlook on hazing initiation practices to better understand the mindset of the students that perpetuate the practice, as well as the hazing culture that exist on the campus.

Policy

Policies against hazing in BGLOs at the collegiate level have been in effect since the 1990s (Brown & Parks, 2005; Parks et al., 2011).. However, despite attempts to educate and protect students, this research, as well as past research, shows that they are not working. These policy efforts are not preventing hazing in BGLOs. This research suggests that this lack of effectiveness maybe linked to how colleges and universities and the NPHC are defining hazing. This inconsistent meaning as well as under estimating the cultural significance of hazing rituals for participants are critical to the effects of policy.

Higher education institutions, in conjunction with the NPHC, must review, develop and improve current anti-hazing documents and codes. This would involve streamlining policies to create consistency between institutions and the organizations that is both legal, and maintains the cultural significance of the initiation process that was expressed by the participants in this study. Lastly, the same approach to improving policies may help administrators reimagine protocols that address hazing initiation activities in other organizations (i.e. Sport teams, non-Black Greek Letter Organizations, and other non-Greek organizations).

Implications for Theory

This study is framed by Expectancy Value Theory (EVT) which seeks to explain why individuals choose to take on a task and whether or not they can do it successfully (Eccles et al., 1983). Much of the past research that leveraged this theory was not performed in a collegiate setting with none of the research examining Greek letter organizations. As this is the first study of its kind to use the theory to explore BGLOs, it illustrates the further applicability of the theory in a collegiate setting and with a diverse population of students.

Future Research

Alternate Research Approach

As presented earlier in this chapter, one of the biggest limitations of this study was using the word hazing to describe the initiation rituals of BGLOs, instead of members' preferred term, pledging. The data has illustrated that framing BGLO members' initiation experience differently then they prefer can impact every facet of research performed on BGLOs. As such future research on BGLOs should approach the population using the term 'pledging,' regardless of it being a term that is not currently recognized by intuitions or endorsed by the Divine Nine. Engaging this population in this manner has the potential to encourage more participants then this study and produce more authentic results.

Future research on this topic should be designed with attention to how recently participants underwent hazing. This can have influence how participants reflect upon their experience and perceive the role of pledging in BGLO initiation rituals. Future

research on BGLOs should account for this potential impact by expanding its sampling approach to BGLO members beyond the 24-month criteria used in this study. In addition, it would be valuable to employ a student development theory to assist in the interpretation of participants that are younger, due to the impressionable nature of students in college.

Differences that may exist in BGLO members' outlooks and interpretations of their initiation rituals based on the type of institution that they are initiated at. As a result, future research on this topic should either directly target an institution type, PWIs or HBCUs, in their research approach, or further examine their differences. This would allow researchers to provide their chosen institution type with substantial findings that can be applied to their distinct BGLO population, or further substantiate previous findings on the different outlooks on hazing in BGLOS at these institutions.

The types of organizations this study's participants belonged to, fraternity or sorority, did not create substantial differences in results. However, research suggests that there are differences between how the groups interpret and perceive hazing activities. Specifically, other research suggests that males are more likely to participate in the hazing rituals associated with BGLOs (Parks et al., 2013), while sorority hazing activities are more diverse that fraternities (Shaw & Morgan, 1990). As such, future research performed on this topic should take a similar approach to that suggested in the last paragraph about PWIs and HBCUs, when exploring fraternities and sororities. This could consist of exploring the differences in the initiation practices of the two types of

organizations or intersectionality an individual's gender identity and going through their process. Both would provide a nuanced understanding of participant's experience.

Longitudinal Approach

A more radical approach considered prior to settling on this research method was to perform a longitudinal approach that followed students through every phase of their initiation. This approach, however, was not practical or workable for this study because of the difficulty of finding participants and multiple organizations that would permit the researcher access to their initiation rituals to perform such as study. However, this type of longitudinal research could be highly illuminating. Longitudinal research on the BGLO initiation process would provide key findings that could be used to further build anti-hazing strategies, create policies, or reimagine the initiation process to further address the hazing phenomenon.

Another longitudinal approach that could be performed on this topic would be following BGLO members who participate in hazing rituals from the time they join to a number of years (i.e. 5 to 10 years) after to explore how their interpretations of hazing may change over time. This research suggests that the proximity of a BGLO member to their initiation process might influence how they how they perceive hazing and their outlook on their motivations. As a result, exploring these potential changes of a BGLO member's outlook on hazing could further understanding of the phenomenon, as well as further substantiate or disprove that the limitation highlighted in this research.

IRB Considerations

The IRB placed countless restrictions on this current research. Out of these restrictions, potentially the most impactful and limiting was the researcher's inability to ask about specific activities individuals participated in. This study does, however, illustrate the importance of asking questions about their initiation activities to further understand what participants define as pledging as opposed to what is defined as hazing by the Pennsylvania State Law and NPHC, and why they have their specific outlook on the activity. Understanding these aspects why students participate in the hazing rituals will further assist institutions of higher education and the NPHC in their efforts to prevent participation in hazing rituals. That prospect alone might be enough to move IRB toward a more relaxed position on what questions can and cannot be asked.

Non-BGLOs

Prior to selecting the target population, this researcher considered looking at hazing on collegiate campuses as a whole. He chose BGLOs as a result of his position in relation to the experience of BGLO members. However, future researchers exploring hazing initiation rituals on collegiate campuses should consider other Greek populations that employ hazing in their initiation rituals. Engaging the broader Greek Life community could be just as informative as the BGLO Greek population examined in this study, while also providing data for a comparison between the different Greek Letter populations. A similar approach can also be used while examining other student organizations that haze during their initiation rituals.

Conclusion and Significance of Study

Current higher Education anti-hazing policies and strategies do not work. The NPHC's efforts to eliminate the pledge process and the hazing attached to it by introducing a MI process in the 1990s did not work (Brown & Parks, 2005; Parks et al., 2011). To quote one of the researchers dissertation committee members, Dr. Kimbrough, "we have not moved the needle in our progression to prevent hazing activities in the collegiate setting. BGLO members are still using the same initiation process that they have done so for over a hundred years, and are saying the same things about their outlook on pledging that they said since pledging was abolished."

That said, the purpose of this study is to get the needle moving, not only through a better understanding hazing in higher education, but recommendations about reeducation concerning hazing on the campuses of colleges and universities. The dangers associated with hazing initiation practices threaten institutional reputations and create growing liabilities for the safety of students. Without progress in understanding hazing, these liabilities and threats will persist, especially in conjunction with the annual Greek membership intake (Glovin & Hechinger, 2013). Historically, institutions have relied heavily on their Student Affairs offices and institutional policies to police Greek letter organizations' initiation hazing practices. However, hazing rituals in Greek letter organizations, specifically BGLOs, and the dangers associated with them, persist.

Unfortunately, the BGLO 'Membership Intake Process', originally known as pledging, has become synonymous with hazing culture. To date, little research has been

conducted to understand the motivations of the individuals who take part in the activity. The findings of this study provide a new insight into the ways in which institutions of higher education can enhance and inform higher education leadership, policies, programs, future research, and institutional practices. Finally, the significance of this study is to provide a voice to a population, BGLO initiates, that is often unheard and highlight a topic that is often scrutinized, but is seldom discussed in a scholarly setting.

Additional research is needed to further substantiate these findings and provide a greater breadth of knowledge on student organizations that use hazing in their initiation rituals. Efforts for administrators and researchers are needed to fully understand and create ways to better protect students from the dangers of hazing rituals on college campuses. The demand is there, and so are the human resources to take the next steps to support and protect students during their higher educational experience.

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APPENDIX A

1ST ROUND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Questions:

1. How do you define hazing?
2. Describe your awareness of hazing rituals prior to your initiation process into (Name of Organization)?
3. Per your definition of hazing, do you believe your process had characteristics of hazing?
4. Did you have any idea that these characteristics existed in your organization initiation process prior to joining (If yes see sub question)
    a. How did you decide to join your BGLOs given your knowledge of the hazing rituals associated with them?
5. Was there any point that you question your participation in the hazing rituals? (If yes see sub questions)
    a. Describe the factors that contributed to your persistence through the initiation after first being subjected to a hazing ritual (or after you questioned your participation)?
6. Can you describe that point in time for me?
7. Has your knowledge of hazing changed since completing the initiation process?
8. Since joining your BGLO how do you feel about the hazing rituals associated with the initiation process?
9. How would you describe the role of hazing in the initiation process of your organization?
10. Did it matter to you whether or not the organization you joined hazed or not and why?
11. Prior to joining going through an initiation process did you think that you would be successful and why?
12. How do you feel about the term hazing in reference to the initiation process of BGLO?
13. Knowing what you know now and with your experience would choose to go through it again.
    a. Would you initiate someone else?
14. Is there any other information or experiences you would like to share to explain your motivations to participate in hazing rituals?

APPENDIX B

BRACKETING EXCERPTS

Journal Entry 1 Excerpt:

"One of the caveats of studying hazing initiation rituals in BGLOs is that many of the members believe that there is a difference between hazing and pledging. As a BGLO member myself, I do not agree with that line of thinking. However, I do believe that pledging is only a small sector on the spectrum of activities that make up hazing rituals. The best example I can use to explain my line of thinking is the way in which much of society views beating their children vs. what the law says about child abuse. When a parent physically punishes their child for acting up in school by slapping there hand lightly, one would say that is "beating their child" despite it also being under the umbrella of child abuse. However, that parent most likely will not go to prison for that light slap on their hand because it is on the more socially accepted spectrum of child abuse. Now if that same parent slaps that child on the hand, and proceeds with slapping their face repeatedly and leaves multiple marks, that parent will most likely go to prison. Why is this? Both of these cases fit under the realm of child abuse, but only one of the cases would land that parent in prison. I would say this is because there is a spectrum to what is accepted vs. not accepted child abuse, and I believe that same spectrum exists in terms of hazing."

Journal Entry 2 Excerpt:

"As my participants spoke it was as if they were reciting my own story back to me and I had become a spectator to my own life. At times they would speak about motivations that I once had before, had during my own initiation process, and some I have long forgotten. However at the same time, I heard motivations and perspectives that in the almost ten years of being a member of a BGLO I found to be very refreshing and unique leading to me at times smiling during the interviews. One sorority member even stopped mid-sentence during a interview and spoke about how this opportunity to reflect on her experience felt so good because it made her further appreciation her initiation process, and I couldn't help but feel a great moment pride for my work and my own process. Many times, I even found myself wishing that I was on the other side of the table being interviewed after just becoming a member and had the opportunity to reflect through someone asking me the questions that I was asking. There were also times where I found myself predicting in my head how my participant would finish answering a question based on my own experience. I have gotten great answers and so far and collecting great data and hope that this continuous through my other interviews."

APPENDIX C

DISCLAIMER

Hazing is an illegal activity and counters to the ideals, values, and principles of Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO). This doctoral dissertation is an investigation of the motivations to participate in BGLO's hazing initiation rituals. If you feel uncomfortable at any time while participating in this study, you are not obligated to continue. This study will not ask and not expect you to identity the organization or university in which you are affiliated. We ask you not to use any names or other personal identifiers in your interview. If you use a name, we may be required to report that individual for illegal activity.

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM

Disclaimer

Hazing is an illegal activity and counters to the ideals, values, and principles of Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO). This doctoral dissertation is an investigation of the motivations to participate in BGLO's hazing initiation rituals. If you feel uncomfortable at any time while participating in this study, you are not obligated to continue. This study will not ask and not expect you to identity the organization or university in which you are affiliated. We ask you not to use any names or other personal identifiers in your interview. If you use a name, we may be required to report that individual for illegal activity.

Title of research: College Student's Motivations in Participating in Hazing Rituals of Black Greek Letter Organizations

INVESTIGATOR AND DEPARTMENT: **DR. JAMES EARL DAVIS (PRIMARY INVESTIGATOR) ROBERT LAY (STUDENT INVESTIGATOR)**

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

I, the student investigator, invites you to take part in a research study because you have self-identified yourself as a member of a BGLO whom has participated in pledging/hazing rituals associated with the BGLO initiation process.

WHAT SHOULD I KNOW ABOUT THIS RESEARCH?

- Someone will explain this research to you.
- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- You can choose not to take part.
- You can agree to take part and later change your mind.
- Your decision will not be held against you.
- You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

WHO CAN I TALK TO ABOUT THIS RESEARCH?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, contact my research advisor Dr. James Earl Davis (Primary Investigator) at 215-204-3002 or e-mail him at: james.earl.davis@temple.edu for any of the following.

This research has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board. You may talk to them at (215) 707-3390 or e-mail them at: irb@temple.edu for any of the following:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

WHY IS THIS RESEARCH BEING DONE?

The purpose of this study is to explore the motivations of undergraduate students' to participate in pledging/hazing rituals associated with the initiation processes of Black Greek Letter Organizations.

HOW LONG WILL I BE IN THIS RESEARCH?

I, the student investigator, expect that you will be in this research long enough to participate in 2 interviews which I intend to last 45 minutes to an hour each.

WHAT HAPPENS IF I AGREE TO BE IN THIS RESEARCH?

As of now the location of our meeting place for our 2 interviews (estimated 2 weeks between interviews) and the date is to be determined but will last anywhere between 45 minutes to 1 hour where I, the student investigator, will be asking you at least 10 questions each. I, the student investigator, will be the only administrator of the interview. I will begin the first interview by providing you background of my study and will answers any questions that you may have about the interview and my topic.

All interviews/data will be recorded with my personal phone which is both passcode and finger-print protected to maintain confidentiality. Data will be stored on my personal computer that is password protected. In the event that my cell phone is lost or stolen, it not able to be accessed without my fingerprint or passcode.

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE INFORMATION COLLECTED FOR THIS RESEARCH?

To the extent allowed by law, we limit the viewing of your personal information to people who have to review it. We cannot promise complete secrecy. The IRB, Temple University, Temple University Health System, Inc. and its affiliates, and other representatives of these organizations may inspect and copy your information.

***Note* Disclosed information during research will not be a notice to the school for the purposes of initiating an investigation. Greek organizations participating in the study will not be represented or identified in the research. All Transcripts will also be reviewed by a second coder, the principal investigator.**

Signature Block for Adult Subject Capable of Consent

Your signature documents your permission to take part in this research.

Signature of subject	Date
Printed name of subject	
Signature of person obtaining consent	Date
Printed name of person obtaining consent	

APPENDIX E

IRB APPROVAL FORM

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
Office of the Vice President for Research

Research Integrity & Compliance
Student Faculty Center
3340 N. Broad Street, Suite 304
Philadelphia PA 19140

Institutional Review Board
Phone: (215) 707-3390
Fax: (215) 707-9100
e-mail: irb@temple.edu

Certification of Approval for a Project Involving Human Subjects

Date: 13-Apr-2018

Protocol Number:	24628
PI:	DAVIS, JAMES
Review Type:	FULL COMMITTEE
Approved On:	13-Apr-2018
Approved From:	13-Apr-2018
Approved To:	12-Apr-2019
Committee:	A1
School/College:	EDUCATION (1900)
Department:	ED LEADERSHIP: HIGHER EDUCATION (19031)
Sponsor:	NO EXTERNAL SPONSOR
Project Title:	College Student's Motivations in Participating in Hazing Rituals of Black Greek Letter Organizations

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The IRB approved the protocol 24628.

If the study was approved under expedited or full board review, the approval period can be found above. Otherwise, the study was deemed exempt and does not have an IRB approval period.

If applicable to your study, you can access your IRB-approved, stamped consent document or consent script through ERA. **Open the Attachments tab and open the stamped documents by clicking the Latest link next to each document**. The stamped documents are labeled as such. Copies of the IRB approved stamped consent document or consent script must be used in obtaining consent.

Before an approval period ends, you must submit the Continuing Review form via the ERA module. Please note that though an item is submitted in ERA, it is not received in the IRB office until the principal investigator approves it. Consequently, please submit the Continuing Review form via the ERA module at least 60 days, and preferably 90 days, before the study's expiration date.

Note that all applicable Institutional approvals must also be secured before study implementation. These approvals include, but are not limited to, Medical Radiation Committee ("MRC"); Radiation Safety Committee ("RSC"); Institutional Biosafety Committee ("IBC"); and Temple University Survey Coordinating Committee ("TUSCC"). Please visit these Committees' websites for further information.

Finally, in conductiing this research, you are obligated to submit the following:

- **Amendment requests - all changes to the study must be approved by the IRB prior to the implementation of the changes unless necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to subjects**

- **Reportable new information - using the Reportable New Information form**, report new information items such as those described in the Investigator Guidance: Prompt Reporting Requirements HRP-801 to the IRB **within 5 days**
- **Closure report** - using a closure form, submit when the study is permanently closed to enrollment; all subjects have completed all protocol related interventions and interactions; collection of private identifiable information is complete; and Analysis of private identifiable information is complete.

For the complete list of investigator responsibilities, please see the Policies and Procedures, the Investigator Manual, and other requirements found on the Temple University IRB website: : http://research.temple.edu/irb-forms-standard-operating-procedures#POLICY

Please contact the IRB at (215) 707-3390 if you have any questions