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ABSTRACT

BROS LIKE ME: ADHERENCE TO MALE ROLE NORMS IN FRATERNITY MEN

by Christopher Taylor

Although there is a large body of research on the intersection of college fraternities and toxic masculinity, much of this research examines the impact of a particular performance of masculinity in terms of sexual aggression, misogyny, homophobia, and hypermasculinity. Few studies however have quantified levels of masculinity in fraternity men and sought to correlate these to experiences in fraternity culture. The purpose of this study was to quantify masculinity in fraternity-affiliated men as compared to their non-affiliated peers by examining their adherence to male role norms using the Male Role Norms Inventory-Revised (MRNI-R). MRNI-R Scores were regressed on a series of questions relating to fraternity experiences, for the affiliated group.

This study found that fraternity-affiliated men possessed significantly higher rates of adherence to male role norms as compared to their non-affiliated peers, but very few of the factors related to fraternity experiences explained the difference. This likely indicates that men who join fraternities possess higher adherence to male role norms prior to joining fraternities and join in an effort to be validated by like-minded peers. Implications for practitioners are discussed in an effort to assist these men as well as suggestions for future research.

BROS LIKE ME: ADHERENCE TO
MALE ROLE NORMS IN FRATERNITY MEN

A DISSERTATION

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Dedication

For Elizabeth

Chris Cooper said it best, "You took on all the burden, thank you."

You are the glue, the Queen, and the rock. I love you so.

For Sam and Will

Watching you grow into men is the delight of my life.

I love you and now we can get an X-box.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In today's college environment, many view Greek social fraternities as organizations where young men can make connections to peers and alumni who will better their future careers, pave a path to future success, and teach them how to be men (Pike, 2003). Greek social fraternities are "self-perpetuating groups which provide an organized social life for their members in college and universities as a contributing aspect of their educational experience" (Anson & Marchesani, 1991, p.6). Many fraternal organizations claim to foster the development of men who enact the values of the organization and claim as much in their promotional materials. Common values among fraternities include loyalty, scholarship, service, democracy, humanity, and numerous others. Beta Theta Pi's "Men of Principle" (Beta Theta Pi, 2012) and Sigma Phi Epsilon's "Balanced Man" (Sigma Phi Epsilon, 2012) are two examples of programs that demonstrate how two national fraternities seek to instill values and a pathway to being a better man. Many would argue that bettering oneself is a positive reason to join any organization. However, the dissonance between stated values and lived values within fraternal organizations appears to be strong.

Despite the stated values and programmatic efforts of fraternity chapters and national fraternity headquarters, the prevalence of behavioral issues, lawsuits, injuries, and deaths (Jaschik, 2005) indicates that many Greek social fraternities are inculcating other, darker lessons. In the 2004-2005 academic year, the following fraternity-related incidents were noted in the press: a student died after a hazing incident at the Chico State University Chi Tau fraternity involving drinking five gallons of water and doing pushups to exhaustion, a Sigma Phi Epsilon member at Baldwin-Wallace College died from head injuries sustained in a fight with a fraternity brother, and a male student at the University of Oklahoma died with a blood alcohol level five times the legal limit after drinking at the Sigma Chi house (Jaschik, 2005). Recently, several fraternities fell under investigation for participation in racially motivated incidents such as singing racist songs and sending racist emails (Fabris, 2015). Each of these instances represents examples of male power, male competition, and male violence that is socially enforced and policed within these organizations.

While deaths and lawsuits are perhaps the most visible sign of problematic behavior, deeper issues related to masculinity abound in fraternity culture. One study found that the fraternity men under study promoted hostile views of women, treated women as passive

participants in sex, and exhibited homophobic attitudes (Rhoads, 1995). Rhoads concluded that fraternity culture enacts hegemonic masculinity and that gender in fraternities is performed to the detriment of women, gay men, and men who do not fit the definition of hegemonic masculinity. Men who fail to meet idealized male norms often turn to negative male socialization (i.e., drinking to excess, casual sex with multiple partners, and fighting) as the only path to success in the male world (Blazina, Eddins, Burrige, & Settle, 2007).

Fraternity involvement and its potential impact on the masculinity of its members are worthy of consideration. College fraternities are not open organizations; there exists a layer of secrecy to their internal workings and ritual that is known only to members. Thus research on fraternities can be difficult to conduct and there has been little research on identity development in students affiliated with Greek organizations (Molasso, 2005). Many of the research studies involving fraternity men appear to focus on a narrow range of issues surrounding the negative impact of masculinity within fraternities (Hesp, 2006; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Rhoads, 1995; Sanday, 1990). The majority of these studies focus on sexual assault perpetrated by fraternity members and the rape culture existing within fraternities, as well as homophobia and heterosexism within the fraternity system. Each of these qualitative studies implies that problematic masculine role norms are a root cause of the issues they discuss. One quantitative study (Corprew & Mitchell, 2014) also correlated hypermasculinity and sexual aggression with fraternity membership.

There appears to be little research, however, that seeks to quantify the level to which men in fraternities embrace potentially problematic masculine role norms and whether their involvement with and attitudes about their fraternity has an influence on their willingness to embrace these norms. This study fills that gap in the knowledge about masculinity in fraternities.

Significance of the Study

By exploring the level of adherence to male role norms in Greek-affiliated men and how aspects of affiliation shape that adherence, the results of the current study may provide insight related to combatting the level of toxic masculinity that appears to exist within the fraternity system. To that end, if college administrators, faculty, and others can assist fraternity men in recognizing themselves as gendered beings and considering the role that their enactment of gender plays in their cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal development, perhaps these students can follow different developmental paths. Men can be encouraged to recognize the

stereotypes regarding traditional male roles that they may unwittingly adopt. It may also be that individual men will become advocates within their own fraternity chapters. This will take recognition of gender as a salient factor by both the men themselves as well as by faculty and staff who can assist them in making these transitions.

Purpose of the Study, and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to determine whether differences exist in levels of adherence to male role norms between Greek-affiliated and non-affiliated men. Additionally, the study investigated whether individual involvement in the fraternity chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between the individual and the chapter predict adherence to male role norms.

The research questions guiding this study were:

- 1) Is there a difference between Greek-affiliated men and non-Greek-affiliated men at the research site in terms of adherence to male role norms?
- 2) To what extent do fraternity experiences (individual involvement in the chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between individual and chapter) contribute to adherence to male role norms for Greek-affiliated men at the research site?

I hypothesized that Greek-affiliated men would demonstrate a higher degree of adherence to male role norms than their non-affiliated male peers and that level of individual involvement in the fraternity chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between the individual and the chapter would predict adherence to male role norms among Greek-affiliated men.

Method

This study utilized the Male Roles Norms Inventory-Revised (MRNI-R), a series of demographic questions, and a series of supplemental questions pertaining to fraternity involvement and fraternity perceptions. The MRNI-R and supplemental questions were offered to participants as an anonymous online survey. The participants in this study were all matriculated, male students at a 4-year public university in the Midwest; some affiliated with a fraternity, and some not affiliated, all of whom were at least 18 years old. The research site holds a unique place in the world of Greek social fraternities in the United States due to a rich history of fraternity life and a highly active fraternity community, and it was chosen for this reason.

Two groups of potential participants were (a) all members of predominantly White fraternities at the research site who have been initiated members of a fraternity for at least six months, and (b) an equal size group of non-affiliated men. All participants were offered the opportunity to complete the MRNI-R and the demographic questions, while only the affiliated men were offered the questions on fraternity involvement and perceptions. The MRNI-R scores of the two groups were compared using a *t* test and MRNI-R scores were regressed on the supplemental questions for the affiliated men.

Assumptions

Several assumptions underlie this study. First, I assumed that the self-reported demographic information was relatively free of error. Second, I assumed that participants answered questions to the best of their ability and in an honest manner. Third, based on prior research, I assumed that the MRNI-R is an effective instrument for measuring adherence to male role norms.

In addition to these assumptions there are others inherent to my role as the researcher. I am a person who is focused on life as a journey and this is mirrored in my path to research. I entered the doctoral program assuming I would use qualitative methods in my research as were the majority of my colleagues. At one point, I approached this study from a mixed methods approach. After exposure to a series of quantitative classes, I now believe that quantitative methods are the best way to answer the questions I have in this particular study. In my department and in the field of educational research, tension exists between qualitative and quantitative research and as might be apparent, I have followed the path of this tension and find this tension within me. The heart of my tension has much to do with my worldview and paradigmatic approach to this work.

The struggle to find my way between quantitative and qualitative methods made me realize that I am likely what Gage (1989) and Morgan (2007) have referred to as a pragmatist or pragmatic researcher. Pragmatists make use of a variety of methods and often move between inductive and deductive reasoning as well as using abductive reasoning (making causal inferences then assessing them through action). This paradigm, which seems to fit well with my career as a practitioner in student affairs, has been called a practitioner-based research paradigm. This paradigm offers “intuitive appeal, permission to study areas that are of interest, embracing

methods that are appropriate and using findings in a positive manner in harmony with the value system held by the researcher” (Armitage, 2007, p. 3).

Who I am is the reason I come to the research I have chosen. My experiences, both as an undergraduate member of a predominantly White fraternity and as an administrator who regularly works with fraternity men, create a passion in me; in this case, a passion to confirm anecdotal thought and to help transform members of a particular culture toward a more positive end.

Scope and Delimitations

The study was limited to a single site due to the rich fraternity history and expansive Greek culture at the study site, as well as the researcher’s history with and knowledge of the institution. Additionally, the group of affiliated participants only included members of predominantly White fraternities. The study purposefully excluded historically Black fraternities and other predominantly non-White fraternities at the institution due to a desire to focus on male role norms in White majority culture. The masculinity displayed in fraternities intersects with issues of power and dominance inherent in White culture (Kiesling, 1996; Martin, 2014) and Greek life radically differs in both its structure and purpose for non-White fraternity members (Ray & Rosow, 2012). Both the intersection of power and dominance as well as the role of masculinity in non-White fraternities will be discussed in a later chapter. An additional delimitation of the group of affiliated men was that they must have been fraternity members for at least six months at the time of the study.

Operational Definitions

Several terms are central to this study and are defined below. Each is explained in greater detail in chapter 2.

1. *Masculinity* refers to a performed, socially constructed gender identity (Kimmel & Messner, 2007) that is often, but not always, acted out by boys and men. Emotional detachment, dominance, stoicism, and aggression are often attributed as traits that are characteristic of masculine identity (Kimmel, 2008).
2. *Gender performance* has its roots in the work of feminist philosopher Judith Butler. Butler (1999) concluded that gender is the repeated act of performing and thus creating a gender that the individual and others collectively agree to perform and sustain, leading to the creation of dichotomous gender norms for males and females.

3. *Hegemonic Masculinity* is the presence of practices and structures of belief that promote men as being in the dominant social position and women being in a subordinate social position (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). “Hegemonic” refers to the Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony, defined by a ruling class in society (in this case, men) that so dominates ideology, mores, definitions, and explanations that their rule and worldview became the cultural norm for that society (Gramsci, 2010).
4. *Masculine role norms*, for the purpose of this study, were defined using a definition from the MRNI-R instrument. This includes: (a) avoidance of femininity; (b) restricted emotions; (c) sex disconnected from intimacy; (d) dominance; (e) self-reliance; (f) strength; (g) aggression; and (h) homophobia (Levant & Kopecky, 1995).

Chapter Summary

This chapter demonstrates the need for further research to quantify the extent to which men in predominantly White fraternities adhere to hegemonic masculine role norms as well as the potential influence their fraternity involvement may have on that adherence. While anecdotal information suggests that men in fraternities often subscribe to a toxic version of masculinity that is perpetuated in the fraternity system, this chapter has previewed scholarly research that confirms the issue and frames it by denoting detrimental effects on both the men involved as well as others who surround them.

The next chapter examines literature relevant to the broad topics of gender, including men as gendered beings, hegemonic masculinity and its performance, performance and policing of hegemonic masculinity in male groups, predominantly White fraternities as a performance site, and finally, the performance of hegemonic masculine roles in predominantly White fraternities.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review focuses on seven areas in order to gain an understanding of how gender-related social constructions contribute to the perpetuation of masculine role norms in predominantly White college fraternities. I cover each of the following topics in this chapter: (1) a brief discussion of the concept of gender and the performance of gender, (2) men as gendered beings, (3) defining hegemonic masculinity, (4) the performance of hegemonic masculinity, (5) the performance and policing of hegemonic masculinity in male groups, (6) White fraternities as a group site for developing and performing hegemonic masculinity, and (7) the performance of hegemonic masculinity in fraternities.

Gender and Its Performance

Gender has been studied in a variety of ways that include biological models (emphasis on reproductive/biological differences), anthropological models (emphasis on the cultural construction of gender in a particular society), and sociological models (emphasis on sex roles and behaviors explicit to each gender) (Kimmel & Messner, 2007). In each of these models, gender is viewed in a binary sense, or as a “demarcation between biological sex differences and the way these are used to inform behaviors and competencies, which are then assigned as either masculine or feminine” (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004, p. 56).

Classic gender roles attributed to men include being in charge, being strong, protecting women and children in the face of danger, being the main source of wage-earning labor to provide for the family, using intelligence to make decisions, and doling out punishment when necessary. Society has typically viewed women as being weaker, having an inability to participate in dangerous activities, staying home or working only part time, reliant more on emotion than reason to make decisions, and being the primary caregiver for children (Hartley, 1959).

Societal questioning of gender roles in the United States occurred at various times in history. Beginning with the Civil War and in subsequent wars, women took on a variety of roles in society and the workforce traditionally reserved for men. After the Civil War, women who had campaigned for the abolition of slavery began to campaign for women’s rights, particularly the right to vote. These efforts, ending with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1919, are largely considered as the first wave of feminism in the United States (Freedman, 2002). Men returning from World War II experienced a changed home front, in

which women were more self-reliant and had taken on many roles normally performed by men. This is one of the factors that brought about the era of second wave feminism (1960s-1980s), a time when, as women looked at their defined gender role, the gender role of men came into question as well (Kimmel, 1996). The Gay Liberation movement, ignited by the 1968 Stonewall Rebellion, also aided in the destabilization of gender roles and norms by providing alternative definitions of masculinity and was closely linked to the radical elements of second wave feminism (Connell, 1995).

As gender came to be considered a more malleable concept than in the past, the thought that gender is socially constructed or performed by individuals began to gain ground. We are not born knowing how to behave (or perform) like men or women but learn these roles from our parents and family members, teachers, peers, and from society. Butler (1999) points to the notion that we all agree to this performance, albeit tacitly, and that the policing of gender aids in the perpetuation of the false gender binary due to the penalization of those who refuse to conform. This is especially true in all- or primarily-male groups such as the military, the Boy Scouts, men's sports teams, and fraternities. Consideration of the performance of gender in men and how men construct gender is a recent phenomenon and examination of men's gender roles is only possible if men are considered gendered, which has not always been the case.

Men as Gendered Beings

Much of the work on cisgendered (individuals whose expression of gender matches the gender they were assigned at birth) masculine identity formation has its philosophical roots in the work of Sigmund Freud and his advancement of the "Oedipal Complex" (Freud, 1949). Freud introduced the concept of a male gender identity crisis springing from a rivalry with one's father, terror of castration, and a sexual desire for the mother; however, this concept only partially explains masculine identity formation. The study of masculinity owes a greater debt to Freud's later work involving the "Wolf Man" case (Connell, 1995). This case involved, among other things, the subject's relationship with women beyond his mother and his desire to impress another man, his father.

The "Wolf Man" (Freud, 2010) was the privileged son of a Russian landowner whom Freud treated for depression. Freud believed the depression was based on an early interaction with the subject's parents in which the subject viewed them having sex. Freud deduced that this led to an intense rivalry with the father, coupled with a need to impress the father. Additionally,

Freud believed that the subject sought out women whom he could control, often servants or women of a lower social class.

Finding these women were poor substitutes for his mother, the patient treated them with cruelty and what we would now call misogyny. Freud believed that this man, as well as others, came to define their success at being a man in relation to their ability to impress their fathers, often in contests of dominance over women or lesser men. Freud believed that lack of success in this arena led to depression for men. These themes dominate masculinity theory and contain the seeds of hegemonic masculinity.

After Freud, others examined issues surrounding masculinity. Parting from Freud's emphasis on a binary, Carl Jung was one of the first to focus on a balance between masculine and feminine persona. Alfred Adler also broke from Freud by being one of the first to acknowledge that the feminine side of the masculine/feminine binary was devalued by society (Connell, 1995). The study of masculinity relied on these early scholars for years and men's roles changed little in that time. Hacker (1957) was among the first to discuss the need for men to be skilled at then-traditional male roles such as being the provider and family disciplinarian as well as the traditionally female roles of expressing emotions and child rearing. A decade later, the advent of the women's studies movement created an opportunity for questioning the existing structure of gender roles.

Spawned by the political and cultural upheaval of the 1960s that brought about second wave feminism, women's studies was created in the United States as women began to notice a lack of females in academic positions as well as a need for women in research (Bradley, 2013). Female scholars began to use research and inquiry to ask questions concerning the role of women and issues of power, agency, and oppression. Eventually, these questions led men to question their own gender roles and the changing nature of them, and gave birth to the men's studies movement.

Although men's studies was at first a reactionary response to women's studies and feminism in general and the motives of researchers were questioned (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004), it eventually became recognized as a legitimate field. An early focus was on changing gender roles for men, particularly as they applied to working class men and changes in industrialism that led to men being present in the home more than ever before (Bradley, 2013).

Eventually, men's studies evolved to use a critical lens to examine men. Scholars

realized it was necessary to study power relations as they applied to men and that it was of equal importance that masculinity not be studied from a singular perspective but that intersecting issues including race, sexual orientation, class, and other parts of men's identities must be considered as well (Brod, Kaufman & Men's Studies Association, 2004). The application of a critical lens to men as gendered beings became of paramount importance in the field (Hearn, 2004). The critical consideration of men as gendered beings also led to questioning of traditional roles played by men and labeling of these roles as problematic. This led to the creation by Connell (1987) of the term hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is the presence of practices and structures of belief that promote men as being in the dominant social position and women being in a subordinate social position (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The term hegemonic masculinity has been in wide use in the field of gender studies since the late 1980s and has roots in other examinations of power. Early researchers including Connell (1987) applied the Gramscian/Marxist concept of "cultural hegemony" to scholarship examining men and masculinity. Cultural hegemony is defined as a ruling class in society that so dominates ideology, mores, definitions, and explanations that their rule and worldview become the cultural norm for that society (Gramsci, 2010).

When considering Gramsci's (2010) concept of dominance by a ruling class it is difficult to think of two characteristics more central to power relations in U.S. society than being White and male. These two characteristics work together in ways that affect dominance and marginalization. For example, men of color have no influence on the creation of hegemonic masculinity but instead are marginalized by it (Connell, 1995). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) noted the influence of female scholars of color who questioned the possibility of bias when power is considered purely through the lens of sex differences and not with an intersecting lens of race, prompting the question of whether or not men of color can perform hegemonic masculinity. Though marginalized men may perform in ways that are hegemonic, this is largely an attempt to gain privileges implicit in patriarchy and can be seen as passing behavior (Cheng, 1999). In stating the case for why Black men can never be full participants in hegemonic masculinity, Collins (2004) noted exceptions but wrote:

The best that Black men can do is to achieve an honorary membership within hegemonic masculinity by achieving great wealth, marrying the most desirable women (White),

expressing aggression in socially sanctioned arenas (primarily as athletes, through the military, or law enforcement), and avoiding suggestions of homosexual bonding. (p. 193).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity also borrows from second wave feminism's (1960s to 1980s) examination of patriarchy and its effects on society, and from theories concerning the subordination of gay men by other men that arose from the gay liberation movement (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Each of these examinations of power indicates dominance by men to subjugate women and men who do not fit into idealized gender definitions (Donaldson, 1993). Therefore, hegemonic masculinity implies that women exist as sexual objects for men, women's own sense of sexuality is negated through social control, and competition among men for sexual validation of manhood is fierce. This competition also prescribes relationships with other men. Because of that prescription, hegemonic masculinity also implies the control of other, lesser men.

Less masculine men are complicit in perpetuating this view of hegemonic masculinity, because they benefit from it (Kiesling, 1996). These men who do not fit the hegemonic ideal are often controlled, not by violence, but by enticement (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Less masculine men become “cheerleaders” of hegemonic masculinity who will not subvert it or even question its existence, due to social policing. Much of the control of these men is exerted through acts, both overt and subtle, as men “perform” hegemonic masculinity in each other’s presence. This can be seen early in life as boys police each other’s masculinity in elementary and secondary school via name calling and defining what is and is not masculine (Martino, 2000; Pascoe, 2007) as well as in the post-secondary setting where additional behavior occurs, such as a greater willingness by men (as compared to women) to be passive bystanders to acts of misogyny and potential sexual violence (Amar, Sutherland, & Laughon, 2014). A study of Greek-affiliated men and women (Bannon, Brosi & Foubert, 2013) indicated that Greek-affiliated men were far less likely to intervene than Greek-affiliated women to prevent a sexual assault.

The Performance of Hegemonic Masculinity

Masks, Exceptions, and Conflict

In an effort to live up to society's demands regarding masculinity, college-age men put on a “mask” to cover the ways in which they fall short of those demands; this “mask analogy” is a clear illustration of the performance of hegemonic masculinity. In a study leading to this analogy,

participants self-defined masculinity as competitive, unemotional, aggressive, authoritative, and lacking vulnerability (Edwards & Jones, 2009). All participants described not being able to remember a time when they did not know this definition of masculinity. The masks, a performance of hegemonic masculinity, provided the men in the study a way to navigate the heavily policed social worlds in which they existed. The societal definition of masculinity was found to be so powerful that this performance (characterized by misogyny, alcohol abuse, and homophobia) was found even in college-age men who espoused non-stereotypical definitions of masculinity (Harris, 2008).

Despite the seeming inability to overcome the societal definitions of masculinity, limited examples of inclusive masculinity exist in college men and in the Greek community that could potentially be utilized to influence the culture. In one instance, members of a national gay fraternity were able to challenge and resist aspects of stereotypical masculinity within fraternity culture by constructing a collective identity in ways that eschewed hazing as a form of bonding and allowed men to form intimate relationships in a variety of healthy ways (Yeung, Stompler, & Wharton, 2006). Another study argued that the definition is in fact not as monolithic as other research has indicated, instead stating that masculinity in fraternities can be varied in its definition, less homophobic and misogynistic, and healthier (Anderson, 2008). While these exceptions are noteworthy and may provide a basis for change, research indicates the need to examine the cultural aspects of fraternities that would have men perform in ways that may conflict with their true selves.

The act of men performing in ways that may meet societal expectations but differ from their authentic selves has been described as “gender role conflict” (O’Neil, 1981). Behavioral manifestations of this performance may include violence, homophobia, alcohol abuse, sexual aggression, and a host of other stereotypical male behaviors. The results of this conflicted performance can be emotionally, psychologically, and physically devastating for the men engaged in the performance as well as for those with whom they interact. Gender role conflict can lead men to view anger as a tool for gaining control as opposed to an expressive emotion and also has been proven to lead to increased alcohol use as well as negative attitudes toward help-seeking (Blazina & Watkins, 1996).

Guyland

Gender role conflict is highly pronounced during a gap in men’s development from

childhood to adulthood. This gap comprises both a social space (the interaction between people and their environment) as well as a stage in life, and Kimmel (2008) named it “Guyland.” The stage is a delayed adolescence in men that is growing longer with time. Because of societal pressure and media influence, adolescence in men is starting earlier, and for economic reasons, men are staying in college longer, as well as putting off marriage and having a family. The men who occupy this space are 16 to 26, typically White, middle and upper class, and they have a code of behavior, which Kimmel (2008) labeled “Guy Code.”

The Guy Code consists of rules that stress the importance of men not acknowledging their emotions, seeking out dominance in everything they do, being stoic in the face of pain, and being aggressive, all rules that define the performance of hegemonic masculinity (Kimmel, 2008). Kimmel and Davis (2011) expanded upon the rules:

You must show a face that indicates everything will be fine, that everything is under control. Winning is crucial when the victory is over other men who have less amazing or smaller toys. Kindness is not an option, nor is compassion. These sentiments are taboo, but are part of the rules that govern men’s behavior in Guyland, the criteria that will be used to evaluate whether any particular guy measures up. (p. 9)

Bound up in the Guy Code are the three cultures of Guyland: silence, protection, and entitlement (Kimmel, 2008). Each of these tend to perpetuate the forced culture of masculinity embodied by Guyland; men who fail to embrace the culture can suffer socially and mentally at the hands of the larger group.

The Cultures of Guyland

One reason it is remarkably easy to perpetuate the code is the culture of silence (Kimmel, 2008). Men who do not participate in acts of violence, harassment, or hazing will not likely say anything about these acts when witnessed due to an overwhelming fear that they will become socially marginalized by the larger group. Speaking out against the code can lead to social ostracism which can be devastating for a college-age male who is already struggling to find a place in the world. The silence implies at least tacit agreement with both the code and its accompanying manifestations.

Men who engage in acts influenced by the culture of hegemonic masculinity, in addition to having no reason to fear being called out by male peers, can rely on a bulwark of parents, girlfriends, administrators, and even media who will rally around perpetrators to defend their acts

as “poor judgment” and “boys being boys.” Kimmel (2008) described this as a culture of protection, which not only protects individuals, it perpetuates the culture. This fits within the notion of hegemonic masculinity as a White concept as Whites receive vastly different treatment in how their behavior is discussed as well as in consequences. For example, media outlets recently featured photos of three White defendants in coats and ties while publishing the arrest photos of three Black defendants, despite the fact that each group was charged with burglary and all had mug shots taken (Ferguson, 2015). Similarly, the term “thug” is often applied to Black men (both accused criminals as well as men protesting police abuse) and almost never applies to Whites in any situation (Ohlheiser, 2015). One study discovered that Black fraternity men were generally held more accountable than their White peers for the same type of behavior and were also often blamed for the behavior of other Blacks including those that were not students (Ray, 2013).

Conforming to the “Guy Code” has its rewards according to Kimmel’s (2008) culture of entitlement. If boys and men conform to the aforementioned rules of manhood and prove their masculinity, they expect to gain power by virtue of their gender. In the college setting, this may be viewed as men having an expectation that they will lead group projects or be elected to positions in organizations more readily than women. It also manifests in expectations that men may have regarding deserving sex from a woman they invited to a social function such as a fraternity date party. In addition to an internal sense of entitlement, men have historically been rewarded by society with positions of power and influence, and expectations of entitlement often become reality.

While those outside a man’s peer group are complicit in the perpetuation of these cultures, masculine roles are primarily constructed and reinforced by an individual's contact with male peers. These roles are therefore socially constructed or brought about, not solely by the individual, but in coordination with others. The consideration of masculinity as a socially constructed aspect of identity is relatively new, coming at approximately the same time as the consideration of men as “gendered beings” (Herek, 1986). The interaction of men and boys in groups is where this construction is most pronounced and maintained.

Performance and Policing of Hegemonic Masculine Roles within Groups

The military encompasses what is perhaps an über institutionalization of hegemonic masculinity and male role norms. Within the military, the ideals of discipline, obedience,

compliance, and exacting detail are praised as masculine concepts. They are often used to “other” women and homosexuals (Barrett, 1996). Policies and culture within the military create heteronormativity, reinforcing the idea that heterosexuality is the norm and that homosexuality is deviant. The military has cited troop morale and a possible drop in recruiting numbers to justify the now-overturned ban on openly gay men and women serving, as well as slow progress on including gays in the military. However, research suggests that there is no real evidence that supports banning gays in terms of military necessity. Instead, a desire to perpetuate heterosexual norms has formed the basis of the resistance to change (Britton & Williams, 1995; Belkin, 2001).

The military has also played a strong role in shaping societal definitions of masculinity, with popular recruiting slogans such as “we’re looking for a few good men” and “an army of one,” used by the Marine Corps and U.S. Army respectively. Both slogans personified soldiers using traditional definitions of masculine roles. Barrett (1996) also pointed out that a key factor within military organizations is the belief that organizational structure and procedure shape masculinity and that masculinity is perpetuated and constructed relationally through collective practice.

Boys’ sports teams also exist as a collective place where masculinity is formally inculcated through competition and conditional self-worth predicated on one’s physical prowess (Messner, 2008). Participants in Messner’s study indicated that failure to engage in sports meant there was something wrong with a boy. There was also an overriding theme that sports were “natural” for boys. An implication that can be drawn is that a lack of physical accomplishment or lack of desire to engage in sports is unnatural. As with Barrett’s (1996) study of the Navy, masculinity is defined here as relationally constructed through interaction with individual peers, teams, coaches, and family members.

Homophobia, the dislike of gay and lesbian people, also appears to be rampant in boys’ sports, with one study showing that boys participating in high school sports were three times as likely as their male peers who did not participate to express homophobic attitudes (Osborne & Wagner, 2007). A similar study on college athletes’ attitudes toward gays and lesbians (Roper & Halloran, 2007) indicated that male athletes were far more likely to hold homophobic attitudes when compared to female athletes.

The Boy Scouts of America organization is also a place where the production and maintenance of male role norms occurs collectively. In what is possibly the strongest illustration

of these ideas, Hantover (1978) quoted Dan Beard, one of the pioneers of the Boy Scouts in America:

The wilderness is gone, the buckskin man is gone, the painted Indian has hit the trail over the Great Divide, the hardships and privations of pioneer life which did so much to develop sterling manhood are now but a legend in history, and we must depend upon the Boy Scout movement to produce the MEN of the future. (p.189)

The Scouts have a systematic way in which masculine ideals are passed from one generation of boys to the next through an ordered system. The leadership structure of scouting serves to pass on scouting traditions that are based on traditional, pioneer definitions of male roles. The boys are inculcated to become leaders in their own right, continuing the perpetuation a monolithic view of masculinity (Vroorman, 2007). Much of this tradition is passed on through the use of male-oriented folklore. In addition to passing on masculine ideals to campers through the use of stories, adult leaders act in ways that affirm traditional masculinity. Some male leaders in the Scouts who seek scoutmaster positions do so in an effort to validate their own masculinity that is denied them in their work setting due to a perceived feminization of the workplace (Hantover, 1978).

Similar to the military, from which it borrows a great deal of structure and philosophy, the Boy Scouts appear to have a deeply ingrained sense of homophobia and heteronormativity. The ban on gay scouts and openly gay adult leaders, only recently lifted, was predicated on the idea that gay men and boys could not live up to the Scout Laws of being morally straight, brave, clean, and trustworthy (Goodman, 1999); traits that can be included in a broad definition of hegemonic masculinity.

Finally, predominantly White, Greek-letter social fraternities in the United States fit squarely into a narrative of collective male performance of masculinity. Similar to the military, male sports teams, and Boy Scouts, group unity and cohesion are of paramount importance to fraternities (Hall & La France, 2007). The performance of masculinity in fraternities, as well as homophobia and heteronormativity, are enacted in ways similar to these other organizations.

Predominantly White Fraternities as a Group Site for Developing and Performing Hegemonic Masculinity

U.S. colleges and universities have hosted student clubs and organizations since the beginning of the nation. The first Greek-letter society in the United States, Phi Beta Kappa, was

founded in 1776 and has inspired many other student organizations based on academic or professional pursuits (Phi Beta Kappa, 2015). Some years later, groups bound solely by the common friendship of their members were created and defined as social fraternities. The defining characteristics of these organizations are membership of college men, rites of initiation (that are often secret), a primarily social purpose, and names comprised of Greek letters (Anson & Marchesani, 1991).

The creation of social fraternities as a distinct entity in the United States can be traced to Union College in New York in 1825. Five former military men, seeking to fill a void in their lives, created a secret association called the Kappa Alpha Society. A short time later they inducted additional members and two rival organizations sprung up on campus in response (Syrett, 2009). Fraternities began to rapidly appear at most colleges in the United States, some an extension of organizations that existed at other colleges and others wholly new groups.

In the late 1800s, fraternities began to purchase off-campus houses, which became an incentive for men seeking freedom from what they considered to be a stifling atmosphere on campus (Torbenson & Parks, 2009). Since students were typically not wealthy enough to purchase houses on their own, fraternities relied on alumni and others to form housing corporations to purchase the houses and hold the mortgage. The need to attract paying tenants led directly to the modern methods of recruiting new members and contributed to an atmosphere that foreshadowed the modern era of hazing since the majority of the work of maintaining a house fell to new members (Horowitz, 1987). While membership waned during the World Wars that occurred during the 20th century, fraternities continued to grow, both in numbers of members and chapters (Syrett, 2009).

Hegemonic masculinity became a defining characteristic of the modern (predominantly White) fraternity by the late 19th century (Kimmel, 1996). In response to the land grant college edict to admit all state residents, large state university campuses in the Midwest were founded and began to admit diverse student bodies (Cross & Cross, 1999). Fraternities became a place to preserve a sense of homosocial (men engaging in same-sex, non-romantic relationships) and White identity in an environment that was quickly diversifying (Sedgwick, 1985).

In contrast, Black Greek letter organizations (BGLOs) were founded by men who were barred from membership in White fraternities on the basis of race. These organizations provided a space for unity among Blacks in the largely White environment of higher education and

allowed for confrontation of sociopolitical issues in the Black community (McClure, 2006). In addition to different historical roots and purpose, members of BGLOs typically have a different Greek experience than their White peers. Men in BGLOs are typically more career oriented, often burdened by the predicament of Blacks in larger society, and less apt to engage in many aspects of typical college life. They are often held to different standards of behavioral accountability, are more visible at largely White institutions, usually do not have fraternity houses and therefore rely more on the university for space to interact, and may suffer more financial strain as an organization (Ray & Rosow, 2012).

In their most recent survey the North-American Interfraternity Conference (2014), a governing body of fraternities in the United States, estimated that 372,090 men were members of 6,136 chapters on approximately 800 campuses. With just over 9 million men attending college in the U.S in 2014 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015), these men made up just over 4% of the total number of men in college. The attention, often negative, given to fraternities by campus administration, as well as the numerous examples of risk-laden behavior belies their relatively small numbers.

Almost from their advent, fraternities vexed campus administrators. Only twenty years after the founding of social fraternities, there is record of the president of Amherst College inquiring of the president of Williams College as to whether fraternities should cease to be recognized on their respective campuses (Rudolph, 1962). Miami University had a famous incident called the “Snowball Rebellion” in 1848 when the president of the college banned all fraternities. The fraternity men at the time used snow and firewood to block access to the main administration building halting all activity on campus. The institution’s response was to expel the fraternity men involved, constituting approximately two thirds of the student body (Havighurst, 1969).

While these incidents occurred at the outset of the founding of fraternities in the United States, numerous examples exist of the often tenuous relationship between fraternities and campuses throughout their history, including a very recent example from the fall of 2014. After a now-retracted story of an alleged gang rape at a University of Virginia fraternity house received national attention (Erdely, 2015), the university reacted by suspending all fraternities and introducing far stricter policies for the organizations. As serious doubt was shed on the facts of the incident, fraternities refused to sign on to the new policies and demanded reinstatement

(Thomason, 2015). While recent data indicate that fraternity membership is on the rise (Mangan, 2015) college administrators view fraternities as one of their top liabilities (Klinksiek, 2015).

Despite constituting a small population relative to the size of the overall student body, the growing population of fraternities at many colleges and universities cannot be overlooked. Their influence ranges from determining the social atmosphere at many colleges to providing large portions of donor money. This influence simultaneously reifies hegemonic masculinity and aids in its production.

Performance of Hegemonic Masculine Roles in Predominantly White Fraternities

The process of granting manhood and the performance of hegemonic masculine roles in a fraternity begins at the outset of men joining a fraternity and during the inculcation of new members. Echoing comparisons to hegemonic masculinity in the military, Kiesling (2001) noted that during a fraternity's new member or "pledging" process, pledges are typically treated like new army recruits in that they are denied autonomy, often feminized through the language used to address them, and act subordnately to full members of the fraternity. The pledging period typically includes a variety of hazing rituals and activities, many involving alcohol. These rituals and activities are characteristic of the tenets of hegemonic masculinity in that they are designed to force men into subordinate positions forcing them to earn approval and thus, their manhood. In some instances men are also subordinated by being forced to "perform femininity," such as being required to dress in feminine clothing as an act of humiliation and emasculation (Yeung, Stomblor, & Wharton, 2006). Nuwer (1990) noted the prominence of competition, toughness, and both physical and emotional submission by pledges to full members of the fraternity as pecking orders are established within each group of men or "pledge class" joining the fraternity. In another instance that is analogous of the military, the entire class may be punished for the faults of an individual.

Despite the attitudes a new member may possess regarding masculinity, the fraternity is such a compelling force that the beliefs of new members are quickly subjugated. The group socially punishes those displaying alternative masculinities, such as crying while discussing a life situation or sharing too much personal information. Additionally, men who fail to engage in competition such as rivalry for women, amount of alcohol ingested, or sports, generally suffer a loss of status within the group (Bird, 1996).

The pledge process is only an introduction to the socialization that occurs within a

fraternity and a variety of other mechanisms exist for ensuring this socialization occurs. Socialization to the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the organization occurs through chapter meetings, viewing the social norms at a party, fraternity ritual, and conversation with individual members (Rhoads, 1990). In a study of the effect of homosociality, fraternity men displayed an adherence to male role norms despite that fraternity having disbanded its pledge system for inculcating new members (Rhoads, 1995). Rhoads found that the pledge program was incidental to the maintenance and perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity. Despite the fact that the organization he studied granted full membership at the outset of joining the fraternity, Rhoads viewed many of the same expressions of toxic masculinity among members that were observed in fraternities that maintained a traditional pledge process.

Rhoads (1990) also noted that self-selection may occur as potential members meet existing members. Potential members may bring with them qualities and values, including aspects of traditional male role norms, which they view in current members of a fraternity. The fraternity provides a welcoming place where like-minded peers exist and the views of new members are affirmed.

The drinking culture of fraternities is another collective performance of masculinity in groups of college-age men (Grazian, 2007), often related to seeking out potential female sexual partners in bars and clubs. In an effort to build confidence, group rituals, such as drinking together and listening to loud music, are often performed in preparation for a night out. Additionally, once out for the night, these men move in packs, akin to wolves, seeking out women.

Men trade the role of “wingman,” helping to separate women as they are culled from groups, boosting each other’s confidence, and strategizing about how to “hook up” with a woman for sex. This is aided by the strength of group thinking in fraternities in which male members (fraternity brothers) are given favor over unknown women (Boswell & Spade, 1996). This echoes the saying “bros before hoes” that has become part of the fraternity lexicon and has even been the theme of fraternity parties on some campuses. In this phrase, “bros” or brothers stand in unity, regardless of the situation, and are more important than “hoes,” a derisive term to describe women originating from the term “whore.”

Fraternity parties are often deliberately structured in ways that make it easier to procure female partners for sex (West, 2001). In her book, *Fraternity Gang Rape: Sex, Brotherhood, and*

Privilege on Campus (1990), Sanday offered an example of the structure and purpose of many fraternity parties:

Admission to the parties is usually a dollar or two for men, nothing for women. The posters advertising the parties announce this with loud lettering, saying “Women Free.” The implication on many posters is that women pay for their booze with sex. On one poster a woman is depicted scantily clad with the frat dog tugging at the bottom of her bikini. Another, particularly offensive poster showed a woman's pair of legs portrayed as a bowling lane with a frat brother depicted as the ball ready to roll down the lane. (p. 57)

Sanday went on to provide an inside glimpse of a typical party at a college fraternity house describing binge drinking and the serving of alcohol by men to women as a means of lowering inhibitions in an attempt to obtain sex.

A study of perception of personal safety at fraternity parties as compared to non-Greek parties (Menning, 2009) noted that while both male and female students reported the same level of alcohol consumption at both Greek and non-Greek parties, they felt less safe at fraternity parties. Factors considered in the study included the number of men compared to women at the party, the level of sexually suggestive dancing, the number of people who appeared intoxicated, the level of music being too loud to permit conversation, and whether women were treated with respect. All of these are aspects that appear to be controlled, at least to some extent, by the organization hosting the party.

While the group performance in the aforementioned setting seems to be about impressing women in an effort to dominate them, it actually speaks to men seeking approval from other men. Kimmel (1994) added:

What men need is men's approval. Women become kind of a currency that men use to improve their ranking on the masculine social scale...Masculinity is a homosocial enactment. We test ourselves, perform heroic feats, take enormous risks, all because we want other men to grant us our manhood. (p. 34)

Likewise, the desire to cultivate male-male relationships in a fraternal setting also serves the purpose of policing men who are perceived as feminine and assumed to be homosexual and refusing to grant them manhood.

As the literature has noted, hegemonic masculinity and the inherent gender roles that accompany it most definitely exist in the culture surrounding predominantly White fraternities.

These roles are often introduced at the onset of involvement with a fraternity and continue to be perpetuated and policed in a variety of ways.

Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed previous research relevant to the current study. The review started broadly by examining the history of gender as a male/female binary, traditional roles ascribed to each gender, the questioning of gender roles that came with both feminism and the gay rights movements, and the performance of gender. Male identity formation, the consideration of men as gendered beings, the rise of men's studies, and the critical consideration of hegemonic masculinity were discussed next. The review then narrowed topically to discuss how individuals perform hegemonic masculinity, typically to their own detriment and the detriment of others while being rewarded for its performance. Hegemonic masculine performance in groups of men and boys including the military, men's sports teams, and the Boy Scouts was discussed with all of these settings serving to reinforce and police hegemonic masculine norms. Finally, performance within the culture of fraternities was discussed, echoing the themes evident in other groups including the maintenance of hegemonic masculine roles. It also included a short section discussing the history of predominantly White fraternities in the United States and the structures of power and dominance within them. The next chapter discusses the methodology used in the current study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine if differences existed in levels of adherence to male role norms between Greek-affiliated and non-affiliated men. Additionally, the study investigated whether individual involvement in the fraternity chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between the individual and the chapter predict adherence to male role norms.

The study was conducted at a 4-year public university in the Midwest with a strong Greek community. Both Greek-affiliated and non-affiliated men completed the Male Role Norms Inventory–Revised (MRNI-R) (Appendix B) and the samples were compared. All participants answered a series of demographic questions and affiliated men answered additional questions about individual involvement in the chapter, chapter involvement with campus Greek life, and values congruence between individual and chapter (Appendix A).

Research Questions

My research questions were:

1. Is there a difference between Greek-affiliated men and non-Greek-affiliated men at the research site in terms of adherence to male role norms?
2. To what extent do fraternity experiences (individual involvement in the chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between individual and chapter) contribute to adherence to male role norms for Greek-affiliated men at the research site?

Sample

The target population for this study was men at a 4-year public university in the Midwest who are members of predominantly White fraternities (PWFs) and had been initiated for at least six months. The six-month period was important because most men become members in the late spring of their first year of college; six months allowed for summer to pass and for at least three months of involvement with the fraternity to occur. The study purposefully excluded historically Black fraternities at the institution due to my focus on hegemonic masculinity in the White majority culture. Non-White participants who are members of predominantly White fraternities were included in the study.

The study used total population sampling of all PWF chapters at the research site. The sampling frame consisted of names and email addresses obtained from the Greek Life office at the research site for all men who were members of their chapters for at least 6 months. The survey was provided via email to 1,633 Greek-affiliated participants and 377 participants responded, representing a 23% response rate.

As a comparison group, a sample of 2,800 non-affiliated male students who had completed at least three semesters of enrollment at the research site were also surveyed. A larger sample size was sought for the comparison group in an attempt to overcome a potentially low response rate from this group. Non-affiliated men may have less of a vested interest in completing a survey that, for them, did not directly link to an organization to which they belong. Additionally, this group did not have the same network that existed for affiliated men for marketing of the survey. Three semesters of enrollment represented comparable criteria to the time period during which men seek to affiliate, join a fraternity, and are affiliated for 6 months.

The names and email addresses of potential non-Greek affiliated participants were obtained from the Office of Institutional Research at the research site. Their names were checked against the list of affiliated males to insure that participants did not appear on both lists. The Office of Institutional Research selected non-affiliated participants randomly after taking into account the criteria provided. The survey was provided via email to 2,800 non-affiliated participants and 582 participants responded, representing a 21% response rate.

Data Collection

Data collection took place over a six-week period, during which participants received an email invitation to take a web-based survey using Qualtrics software. Reminder emails were sent at three intervals during the collection period. Consent for participation was obtained using an online consent form (Appendices C & D). I provided incentives for participation in the form of an opportunity to enter a raffle to win one of several \$100 gift cards as well as an opportunity for the fraternity with the most participants to receive a \$150 gift card. To preserve the anonymity of participants, identifying information was stored in a separate file from the survey data.

Dependent Measure

The dependent measure was a score derived from the Male Role Norms Inventory–Revised (MRNI-R) by Levant and Fischer (1998) (Appendix B) and is used as a measure of

hegemonic masculinity. The MRNI-R is a valid and reliable instrument that includes 53 normative statements regarding traditional and non-traditional male roles to which participants indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement on a 7-point Likert-type scale. Examples of statements include, “Homosexuals should never marry,” and “The President of the US should always be a man.” The statements are divided into seven ideological sub-scales: (1) Avoidance of Femininity, (2) Fear and Hatred of Homosexuals, (3) Extreme Self-Reliance, (4) Aggression, (5) Dominance, (6) Non-Relational Attitudes Toward Sexuality, and (7) Restrictive Emotionality. The inventory was scored by computing the mean for each subscale, as well as the total score. Higher scores indicate greater endorsement of traditional masculine roles.

While the MRNI was not specifically designed for use with college samples, it has been widely used with that population (Levant & Richmond, 2007). Although it has not been previously used with a population of fraternity men, it has been used in studies to positively correlate adherence to traditional male role norms and negative attitudes toward women's equality, sexual harassment, sexual aggression, and relationship violence (Levant & Richmond, 2007). All of these traits have been similarly correlated in fraternity men (Blazina, Eddins, Burridge, & Settle, 2007; Rhoads, 1995; and Sanday, 1990).

Reliability

The original MRNI (which preceded the MRNI-R) received reliability evaluation in three studies. The Cronbach's alphas for the total scale in the three studies were .84, .88, and .84 (Levant & Richmond, 2007). Temporal stability of the MRNI was also evaluated over a three-month test-retest period with both men and women (Cronbach alpha = .65 for men and .72 for women) (Heesacker & Levant, 2001).

The MRNI-R, which was used in the current study, is a revised and updated version of the MRNI. In reliability tests of the MRNI-R, the Cronbach alphas ranged from .73 to .91 for the subscales and from .94 to .96 for the total scale (Levant, Smalley, Aupont, House, Richmond & Noronha 2007). Additionally, the subscales each correlate more strongly with the total scale than with other subscales, suggesting that the subscales measure distinct aspects of the traditional male role norms construct (Levant et al., 2007).

Validity

In order to test the construct validity of the MRNI, a comparison to two previously validated measures, the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) and the Masculine Gender Role

Stress Scale (MGRSS), was conducted. The MRNI was significantly (though moderately) correlated with the GRCS ($N = 190$; $r = .52$; $p < .001$) and the MGRSS ($N = 190$; $r = .52$; $p < .001$) (Levant & Richmond, 2007). In another study, the MRNI was tested with the Personal Attributes Scale (PAQ), which focuses on expressive personality traits vs. gender ideology. As hypothesized, the MRNI and the PAQ were not correlated (Levant & Richmond, 2007). Additionally, the MRNI has demonstrated discriminant validity based on sex, race, ethnicity, and social class (Levant et al., 2007; Levant & Richmond, 2007).

Independent Variables

The survey questions related to the independent variables were created based on experiential knowledge relating to fraternities. Demographic questions, as well as a question relating to gender salience were asked of all participants (Greek and non-Greek) due to a desire to have additional comparative factors between the two groups. The remainder of the questions, asked only of Greek-affiliated participants, related to fraternity involvement and values congruence and were created in an attempt to gain information relating to various aspects of fraternity culture and structure. The independent variables used in this study are defined in Table 2 (p. 35).

Demographic Information

Demographic information collected from participants was used to create several variables. The question regarding the race of the participants was recoded into the dummy variable “White” (non-White was the reference category). A variable titled “Salience” stemming from a question concerning the importance of gender as part of a participant’s identity was recoded from a single variable into three categorical variables called “Salience High,” “Salience Medium,” and “Salience Low” (which was the reference category). Finally, “Semesters Completed” was also recoded from a single variable into three categorical variables representing “2 to 4 semesters,” “5 to 6 semesters,” and “7-plus semesters” (which served as the reference category). The variables for age and sexual orientation were not used in the analysis due to a lack of variance in the responses.

Individual Involvement in the Chapter

Additional variables were created using participant responses to questions concerning their level and type of involvement in their fraternity chapter. The variable “House” was a dummy variable based on whether a participant had lived in the fraternity house at any point

(those who had never lived in the house were the reference category). The variable “Primary Reason for Joining–Social” was included (the reference category was those indicating another primary reason for joining). “Lead” was a variable based on a participant indicating that he had held a leadership position in the fraternity (those not holding any position were the reference category). Reported levels of participation in non-social fraternity events (chapter meetings, philanthropy, and community service) led to the creation of the variable “Participate Non-Social High” (the reference category was those participants reporting other levels of participation in non-social events).

A variable titled “Participate Social” stemming from a question concerning the level of participation in fraternity social events (parties, pub crawls, and formals) was recoded into “Participate Social Medium” and “Participate Social Low” (“Participate Social High” was the reference category). The following variables were discarded because of low variance: number of semesters living in the fraternity house, reasons for joining a fraternity (academic support, friends were joining, leadership opportunities, a friend or family member had been a member, networking, and service opportunities), and specific leadership positions in the fraternity.

Chapter Involvement in Campus Greek Life

Variables were also created relating to participants’ perception of their fraternity chapter’s involvement in the larger Greek community at the research site. “IFC” (Interfraternity council) was a dummy variable indicating that a participant’s chapter held leadership positions in the governing council for all fraternities on campus (the reference category were those participants indicating that their fraternity did not hold such positions). A dummy variable, “Tier 1,” was created in reflection of participants who rated their fraternity as such on the unofficial fraternity rating system (all other ratings were the reference category). Variables regarding participation in Greek community events and competitiveness compared to other fraternities were discarded because the survey questions were too similar to each other and may have been unclear to respondents.

Values Congruence

Finally, two independent variables were created based on participants’ sense of value congruence with their fraternity. “Values” was created based on a reported high degree of congruence between the participant and other members of their fraternity (other levels of congruence was the reference category). “Values Man” was created based on strong agreement

that a fraternity chapter's stated and written values (mission statement, creed, etc.) informed a participant's sense of what it means to be a man (other levels of agreement served as the reference category).

Data Analysis

Both the MRNI-R Total Traditional Scale score as well as sub-scale scores (Avoidance of Femininity, Fear and Hatred of Homosexuals, Extreme Self-Reliance, Aggression, Dominance, Non-Relational Attitudes Toward Sexuality, and Restrictive Emotionality) were calculated for all participants by adding together the response values for the questions that comprised each scale. *T* tests and multiple regressions were used to analyze the data.

Group Differences

Group differences were analyzed on the MRNI-R sub-scales and total scale using an independent samples *t* test comparing fraternity men and non-affiliated men. This analysis determined whether either group was more adherent to male role norms in order to answer the first research question: *Is there a difference between Greek-affiliated men and non-Greek-affiliated men at the research site in terms of adherence to male role norms?*

Regression Analysis

Possible influences on adherence to male role norms among affiliated men were analyzed by running a regression model to examine which fraternity experiences predict the overall MRNI-R score. Astin's (1991) I-E-O College Impact Model, used in a variety of research studies involving college students, has demonstrated that inputs and environment affect student outcomes. In Astin's model, inputs (I) are demographic information, background, and prior experience. Environment (E) is everything the student experiences while in college. Outcomes (O) are values, beliefs, characteristics, and knowledge that exist for a student after completion of college. This analysis was consistent with the I-E-O model, with the exception that no pre-test/post-test was used.

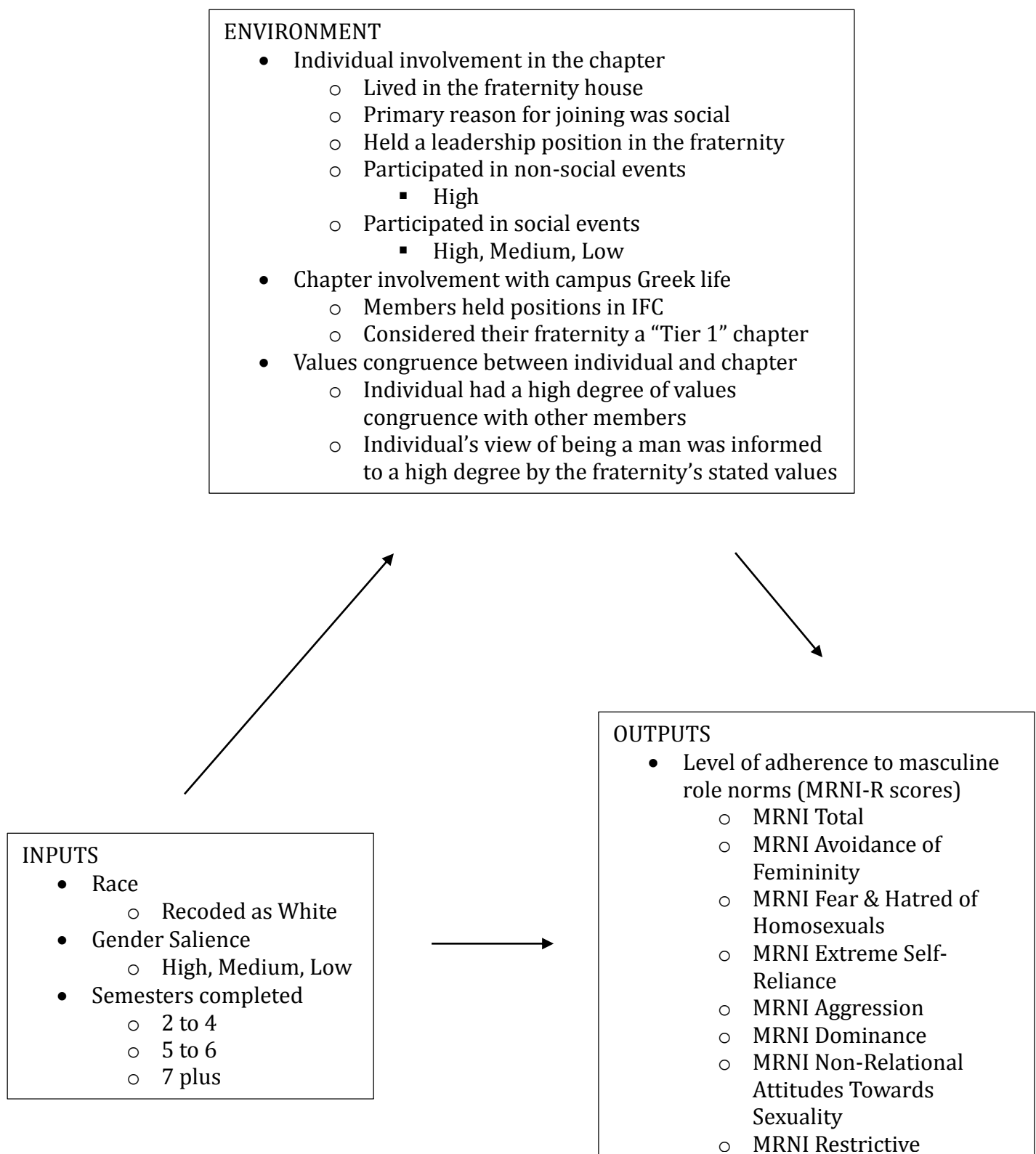
In this study demographic information collected from participants was an input (I). Environment (E) included individual involvement in the chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between the individual and the chapter. Levels of adherence to masculine role norms derived from the total MRNI-R score served as an outcome (O) (see Figure 1). The MRNI-R was regressed on input and environment variables for affiliated men. This regression analyses provided answers to the second research question: *To what extent do*

fraternity experiences (individual involvement in the chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between individual and chapter) contribute to adherence to male role norms for Greek-affiliated men at the research site?

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a synopsis of the methods used for the current study. The research design was explained, including the sample and data collection method. Measures, the MRNI-R and supplemental questions, were discussed, and the reliability and validity of the MRNI-R was noted. The quantitative analysis was described: *t* tests were used to determine whether Greek-affiliated and non-Greek-affiliated men differ in terms of adherence to male role norms and secondly, regression analysis was used to determine to what extent fraternity experiences contribute to adherence to male role norms for Greek-affiliated men at the research site.

Figure 1. Astin's (1991) I-E-O Model (modified) as used in this study.



CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Purpose of the Study, Research Questions, and Hypotheses

The purpose of this study was to determine whether differences in levels of adherence to male role norms between Greek-affiliated and non-affiliated men exist. Additionally, the study investigated whether individual involvement in the fraternity chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between the individual and the chapter predict adherence to male role norms.

The research questions guiding this study were:

- 1) Is there a difference between Greek-affiliated men and non-Greek-affiliated men at the research site in terms of adherence to male role norms?
- 2) To what extent do fraternity experiences (individual involvement in the chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between individual and chapter) contribute to adherence to male role norms for Greek-affiliated men at the research site?

I hypothesized that Greek-affiliated men would demonstrate a higher degree of adherence to male role norms than their non-affiliated male peers and that level of individual involvement in the fraternity chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between the individual and the chapter would predict adherence to male role norms among Greek-affiliated men.

Descriptive Statistics

Demographic information from all participants (Greek and non-Greek) was collected, including age, race, sexual orientation, and number of semesters completed at the university chosen as the study site. Additional data on gender salience was collected from all participants utilizing the question, “When considering your identity, how important is gender as part of your identity?” All demographic data is reported in Table 1. Descriptive statistics for other independent variables collected from affiliated men are reported in Table 2.

Results

Research question one was, “Is there a difference between Greek-affiliated men and non-Greek-affiliated men at the research site in terms of adherence to male role norms?” I hypothesized that Greek-affiliated men would demonstrate a higher degree of adherence to male role norms than their non-Greek peers. This was confirmed by the study, as Greek-affiliated men

did exhibit a significantly higher degree of adherence to male role norms than their non-affiliated peers in all aspects of the MRNI-R.

An independent samples *t* test was conducted to compare adherence to male role norms using the MRNI-R Total Scale in Greek-affiliated men and non-Greek-affiliated men. There was a significant difference ($p < .05$) in scores on the MRNI-R Total Scale for Greek-affiliated men ($M = 168.40$, $SD = 50.49$) and non-affiliated men ($M = 147.17$, $SD = 57.37$). Additionally, there were significant differences ($p < .05$) in each of the MRNI-R subscales: Avoidance of Femininity (Greek-affiliated men $M = 25.44$, $SD = 9.03$ and non-affiliated men $M = 20.34$, $SD = 10.03$), Fear and Hatred of Homosexuals (Greek-affiliated men $M = 25.85$, $SD = 11.38$ and non-affiliated men $M = 20.44$, $SD = 11.88$), Extreme Self Reliance (Greek-affiliated men $M = 28.78$, $SD = 7.55$ and non-affiliated men $M = 26.46$, $SD = 9.33$), Aggression (Greek-affiliated men $M = 29.03$, $SD = 8.40$ and non-affiliated men $M = 26.40$, $SD = 9.78$), Dominance (Greek-affiliated men $M = 20.07$, $SD = 9.23$ and non-affiliated men $M = 16.6$, $SD = 8.75$), Non-Relational Attitudes Toward Sexuality (Greek-affiliated men $M = 16.53$, $SD = 7.00$ and non-affiliated men $M = 13.5$, $SD = 6.59$), and Restrictive Emotionality (Greek-affiliated men $M = 22.64$, $SD = 8.95$ and non-affiliated men $M = 20.44$, $SD = 9.69$). As hypothesized, Greek-affiliated men scored higher on all scales than non-affiliated men. The results of the *t* tests are presented in Table 3.

The second research question was, “To what extent do fraternity experiences (individual involvement in the chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between individual and chapter) contribute to adherence to male role norms for Greek-affiliated men at the research site?” I hypothesized that variables including individual involvement in the fraternity chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between the individual and the chapter would be predictive of Greek men’s higher degree of adherence to male role norms. Only three variables (Salience High, Salience Medium, and Tier 1) proved predictive of higher adherence.

Multiple regression analysis was used to test if the environmental factors involved in fraternity life and culture significantly predicted participants’ adherence to male role norms as indicated by their scores on the Male Role Norms Inventory–Revised. The model accounted for 13% of the variance in adherence to male role norms on the MRNI-R Total Scale ($R^2 = .13$). The results of the regression analysis indicated that only three predictor variables had a significant ($p < .05$) effect on MRNI-R scores. The variables Salience High ($b = 37.950$, $SE = 10.783$, $t = .373$,

Sig = .001) and Salience Medium ($b = 26.42$, $SE = 11.032$, $t = .254$, Sig = .017), compared to those with low salience, each correlated with higher levels of adherence to male roles norms on the MRNI-R. Additionally, those who reported to be a member of a Tier 1 fraternity, compared to those in a Tier 2 or 3 fraternity, scored higher on the MRNI-R ($b = 24.383$, $SE = 7.516$, $t = .211$, Sig = .001). Counter to the hypothesis, race, number of semesters of college completed, values congruence with peers in the fraternity, values congruence with stated fraternity chapter values, stated reasons for joining a fraternity, holding a leadership position in the fraternity, participation in either social or non-social fraternity events, and fraternity chapter participation in the campus governing council for fraternities did not have a significant effect on MRNI-R scores.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided demographic descriptive statistics on the sample and described in detail the independent variables and dependent variables used in the analysis. A t test was run and determined that Greek men are significantly more adherent to male role norms than their non-affiliated peers. Multiple regression analyses found that three variables (Salience High, Salience Medium, and Tier 1) contributed to higher adherence to male role norms in Greek-affiliated men. Tables were presented for the demographic descriptive statistics, the variables used in the regression, the t test results, and the results of the regression analysis.

Table 1

Demographic Information for the Samples

	<i>Greek-Affiliated Men</i> <i>n = 357</i>		<i>Non-Affiliated Men</i> <i>n = 582</i>	
Age	N	Percent	N	Percent
18-19	27	8%	98	17%
20	120	34%	124	21%
21	123	34%	120	20%
22+	79	22%	138	24%
Did not answer	8	2%	103	18%
Race	N	Percent	N	Percent
Black	14	4%	10	2%
Native American	2	<1%	2	0%
Hispanic	9	3%	12	2%
Asian	11	3%	22	4%
White	304	85%	414	71%
Other	8	2%	18	3%
Did not answer	9	3%	104	18%
Sexual Orientation	N	Percent	N	Percent
Heterosexual	334	93%	413	71%
Non-Heterosexual	9	3%	52	9%
Did not answer	14	4%	118	20%

Table 2

Description of Independent Variables Used in the Regression Including Mean, and Standard Deviation

Variable Name	Definition	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Inputs (I-E-O Model)</i>			
White	Dummy variable based on reported race of majority of participants in the study (the reference category was non-White)	.885	.319
Salience High	Categorical variable based on participant placing a high level of importance on gender as part of their identity (the reference category was Salience Low)	.507	.500
Salience Medium	Categorical variable based on participant placing a medium level of importance on gender as part of their identity (the reference category was Salience Low)	.393	.489
Semesters 5 to 6	Categorical variable based a participant reporting having completed 5 or 6 semesters at the university (the reference category was 2 to 4 semesters)	.374	.484
Semesters 7-plus	Categorical variable based a participant reporting having completed 7-plus semesters at the university (the reference category was 2 to 4 semesters)	.267	.443

Table 2 continued

Environment (I-E-O Model)

Individual Involvement

House	Dummy variable created based on participants reporting living in the fraternity house at any point the (the reference category was participants who reported never living in the house)	.713	.452
Join Primary Social	Dummy variable created based on participants reporting the primary reason they joined a fraternity was social interaction (the reference category was those indicating another primary reason for joining)	.675	.469
Lead	Dummy variable created based on participants reporting holding a leadership position in their fraternity (the reference category was participants who had not held a position)	.702	.458
Participate Non-Social High	Categorical variable created based on participants reporting a high frequency of participation in non-social events (chapter meetings, philanthropy, and community service) held by the fraternity (the reference category was those participants reporting lower levels of non-social participation)	.301	.459
Participate Social Medium	Categorical variable created based on participants reporting a medium frequency of participation in social events (parties, pub crawls, and formals) held by the fraternity (the reference category was high participation)	.469	.500
Participate Social Low	Categorical variable created based on participants reporting a low frequency of participation in social events (parties, pub crawls, and formals) held by the fraternity (the reference category was high participation)	.164	.371

Table 2 continued

Chapter Involvement

IFC	Dummy variable created based on the participant reporting that members of their chapter held positions in the campus governing council for fraternities (the reference category was those participants indicating that their fraternity did not hold such positions)	.584	.493
Tier 1	Categorical variable created based on the participant reporting that their fraternity was a “Tier 1” fraternity in the unofficial fraternity ranking system (the reference category was all other rankings)	.263	.441

Values Congruence

Values High	Categorical variable created based on the reported extent to which the participant feels their values are similar to other members of their chapter (the reference category was lower reported levels of congruence)	.290	.454
Values Man High	Categorical variable created based on the reported extent to which the participant feels their chapters stated values (creed, code, mission statement, etc.) informs their view of what it means to be a man (the reference category was other levels of agreement)	.358	.480

Table 3

T Test Results for MRNI-R Differences in Scores Between Greek-Affiliated Men and Non-Affiliated Men

	<i>Greek-Affiliated Men</i>		<i>Non-Affiliated Men</i>		<i>T-test Significance</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Sig</i>	<i>t</i>
Total Scale	168.40	50.49	147.17	57.37	.002**	4.930
Avoidance of Femininity	25.44	9.03	20.34	10.03	.003**	6.916
Fear and Hatred of Homosexuals	22.85	11.38	20.44	11.88	.007**	2.715
Extreme Self Reliance	28.78	7.55	26.46	9.33	.000**	3.494
Aggression	29.03	8.40	26.40	9.78	.000**	3.705
Dominance	20.07	9.23	16.6	8.75	.000**	4.875
Non-Relational Attitudes Toward Sexuality	16.53	7.00	13.5	6.59	.000**	5.665
Restrictive Emotionality	22.64	8.95	20.44	9.69	.002**	3.095

** p<0.01

Table 4

Regression Coefficients for the Effect of Fraternity Experiences on MRNI-R, n=276, R²=.13

<i>Variable</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig</i>
White	4.472	10.143	.441	.660
Salience High	37.950	10.783	.373	.001**
Salience Medium	26.425	11.032	.254	.017*
Semesters 5 to 6	-9.034	7.554	-.086	.233
Semesters 7 Plus	-8.123	8.001	-.071	.311
House	-4.703	7.032	-.669	.504
Join Primary Social	1.547	6.906	.014	.823
Lead	4.144	7.103	.037	.560
Participate Non-Social High	-8.126	7.259	-.073	.264
Participate Social Medium	-4.446	7.385	-.044	.548
Participate Social Low	-17.338	9.933	-.126	.082
IFC	-6.058	6.687	-.906	.366
Tier 1	24.383	7.516	.211	.001**
Values High	3.286	7.313	.029	.654
Values Man High	-1.169	6.728	-.011	.862

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

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter is divided into four sections: a brief summary of the study, a discussion of the conclusions of the research, a discussion of implications, and suggestions for future research. The summary includes a brief restatement of the problem, a short review of the procedures used in the study, and the research hypotheses that were tested. The discussion of the conclusions highlights the findings and goes into detail regarding each of the hypotheses. The final sections discuss the implications for practice as well as possible future research.

Summary of the Study

Background and Research Problem

Greek letter fraternities profess a variety of advantages for their members including the opportunity to form strong social bonds with others, networking to further future careers, building a sense of manhood, engaging in philanthropic and community service efforts, and building leadership skills (Beta Theta Pi, 2012; North-American Interfraternity Conference, 2014; Pike, 2003; and Sigma Phi Epsilon, 2012). Despite these laudable and well-intentioned benefits, it is clear that fraternities are also troubled organizations. Since their inception they have aggravated university administrators, created environments where alcohol abuse, misogyny, racism, and homophobia are rampant, have been subject to countless lawsuits, and have engaged in activities that have caused numerous deaths and injuries to fraternity members and others (Fabris, 2015; Havighurst, 1969; Jaschik, 2005; Rudolph, 1962). Much of this appears to relate to a sense of toxic masculinity that exists in fraternities (Blazina, Eddins, Burridge, & Settle, 2007; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Rhoads, 1996).

The purpose of this quantitative research study was to determine whether there are differences in levels of adherence to male role norms in Greek-affiliated and non-affiliated men. Additionally, the study investigated whether individual involvement in the fraternity chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between the individual and the chapter predict adherence to male role norms.

Research Methods

A valid and reliable instrument measuring adherence to male role norms, the Male Role Norms Inventory–Revised (MRNI-R) was used in this study, in addition to a series of demographic questions and questions regarding fraternity involvement. The instrument and demographic questions were administered to a sample of Greek-affiliated men and non-Greek-

affiliated men at the research site through the use of an online survey. Greek-affiliated men also received additional questions related to fraternity involvement.

The target population for this study was men at a 4-year public university in the Midwest who are members of predominantly White fraternities (PWFs) that had been initiated for at least six months. The sample frame for the target population was a list of approximately 1,400 fraternity men at the study site. The study purposefully excluded historically Black fraternities at the institution due to my focus on hegemonic masculinity in the White majority culture. Non-White participants who are members of predominantly White fraternities were included in the study. As a comparison group, a sample of 2,800 non-affiliated male students who had completed at least three semesters of enrollment at the research site were also surveyed.

The study was designed using Astin's (1991) I-E-O College Impact Model as a framework. In Astin's model, inputs (I) are demographic information, background, and prior experience. Environment (E) is everything the student experiences while in college. Outcomes (O) are values, beliefs, characteristics, and knowledge that exist for a student after completion of college.

In this study, demographic information (age, semesters of college completed, sexual orientation, race, and gender salience) collected from participants was an input (I). Environment (E) included Greek affiliation, individual involvement in the chapter (residency in the fraternity house, holding a leadership position, reasons for joining, and participation in chapter events), chapter involvement in campus Greek life (chapter social status relative to other fraternities, chapter participation in Greek community events, chapter leadership in the governing fraternity council, and perceived level of chapter competitiveness relative to other fraternities), and values congruence between the individual and the chapter (sharing similar values with other chapter members and comparison of the stated values of the chapter as it relates to the individual's view of being a man) were experiences (E). Levels of adherence to masculine roles norms derived from the total MRNI-R score served as an outcome (O). The results of the survey were tested using quantitative methods including *t* tests and multiple linear regression.

The Specific Research Hypotheses

The two specific research hypotheses were:

1. Greek-affiliated men will demonstrate a higher degree of adherence to male role norms than their non-affiliated male peers.

2. Factors including individual involvement in the fraternity chapter, chapter involvement in campus Greek life, and values congruence between the individual and the chapter will predict adherence to male role norms among Greek-affiliated men.

Conclusions

Research Hypothesis 1

As predicted, the current study confirmed that Greek-affiliated men displayed significantly higher adherence to masculine role norms on the MRNI-R instrument as compared to non-affiliated peers at the research site. Significant differences were found on the MRNI-R Total Scale as well as each of the sub-scales (Avoidance of Femininity, Fear and Hatred of Homosexuals, Extreme Self-Reliance, Aggression, Dominance, Non-Relational Attitudes Toward Sexuality, and Restrictive Emotionality).

The MRNI-R sub-scales (Appendix C) are each representative of a variety of stereotypes, beliefs, and opinions concerning male role norms. The Avoidance of Femininity sub-scale focuses on what men should prefer as entertainment (football and action movies versus talk shows and romantic novels), how boys should play (action figures and trucks as opposed to dolls), and feminine behavior men should avoid (the use of make-up and holding a purse). The Fear and Hatred of Homosexuals sub-scale expresses the thoughts that gay men should not marry, serve in the military, teach, play sports at the professional level, or congregate in gay bars. Further, it outlines that affection between men is not acceptable. The sub-scale regarding Extreme Self Reliance includes a general sense of stoicism in terms of pain, not relying on others for assistance financially or otherwise, and being able to repair things. The Aggression sub-scale regards responding to provocation by other men, contact sports, confronting danger, risk taking, and toughness where the Dominance sub-scale discusses men being in leadership positions as well as a man being the provider, disciplinarian, and decision maker in the family. The sub-scale for Non-Relational Attitudes Toward Sexuality places high libido, sexual persuasion, and sexual selfishness among desirable sexual traits for men. Finally, the Restrictive Emotionality sub-scale stresses that men should not cry or express emotion, should mask fear, and should readily express caring feelings toward others.

Of all the sub-scales, Avoidance of Femininity (5.1 mean difference), Dominance (3.47 mean difference) and Non-Relational Attitudes Toward Sexuality (3.03 mean difference) had the

largest mean differences. This aligns with the presence of misogyny, control of women and lesser men, entitlement, and non-committal sex in both hegemonic masculinity and in turn, predominantly White fraternity culture (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Donaldson, 1993; Harris, 2008; Kiesling, 1996; Kimmel, 2008; West, 2001).

Most practitioners would predict that Greek-affiliated men would display higher adherence to male role norms based on anecdotal and experiential evidence. It is also predictable in light of a wide body of research that links the masculinity performed by many fraternity men to greater sexual aggression, homophobia, hypermasculinity, rates of sexual assault perpetration, and misogyny (Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Hesp, 2006; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Rhoads, 1995; Sanday, 1990).

While confirmation of this hypothesis may have seemed a forgone conclusion, it is important to have research-based verification. This confirmation may provide evidence to justify dedicating additional resources (space, staff, and funding) to the issue of problematic masculinity in fraternity men and the mean differences on the subscales provide direction for where to focus those resources.

Research Hypotheses 2

Very few of the variables relating to either demographic information or fraternity experiences that I assumed would predict greater adherence to masculine role norms among fraternity men actually proved significant. Two related variables that did prove predictive were Salience High and Salience Medium (both compared to Salience Low) which were created from the question, "When considering your identity, how important is gender as part of your identity?" When creating this question, I acknowledged that men are privileged in this aspect of their identity and that many likely do not consider gender when thinking of their identity. I assumed that men who would place higher levels of importance on gender as part of their identity would have given a great deal of thought to what gender meant to them. After conducting the study I have arrived at a different conclusion.

I now believe that the men who did not report their gender as particularly salient to their identity may have been the participants who considered gender and reached the conclusion that while gender is part of who they are, it does not constitute the entirety of their being. In contrast, men who placed gender as more salient to their identity may have been caught up in societal definitions and expectations regarding gender and what it is to be a man. Men who reported high

and medium levels of gender salience made up 90% of the sample of Greek-affiliated men. Thus, the majority of men in the sample consider gender a salient aspect of their identity and their definition of masculinity seems to embody those things we associate with hegemonic masculinity (avoiding the appearance of femininity, belief that men are the dominant gender, the pursuit of women for sex rather than relationships, acting aggressively, disdain for those who identify as gay, fixation on self-reliance, and hiding one's emotions). They have embraced the definition of toxic masculinity and that definition may represent the totality of their thoughts on the subject. That said, to not describe themselves first and foremost as a man would likely cause them angst, hence the higher level of salience.

The other variable that proved predictive was Tier 1 (compared to all other tiers), which was derived from the question, "When thinking about the unofficial 'fraternity tier system' at the research site, would you consider your chapter a Tier One, Tier Two, or Tier Three fraternity?" The "Tier System," which exists at many colleges and universities, is an unofficial ranking system among members of Greek letter social fraternities and sororities. Although factors such as how a fraternity competes in sanctioned activities such as intramural sports, philanthropy competitions, and others may play a small role in determining status, my experience suggests that the most important factors contributing to a Tier 1 designation appear to be a fraternity's ability to access and distribute alcohol as well as the ability to attract women to parties. The tier system is largely a popularity contest that appeals to the general sense of competition against other men, greater levels of substance abuse, and the pursuit of women for easy, non-committal sex all of which are inherent in hegemonic masculinity (Bird, 1996; Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Harris, 2008; Messner, 2008; Nuwer, 1990). In considering this result, I believe that the predictive power of this variable lies in the possibility that those who achieve a Tier 1 rank are more likely to embody those traits we associate with hegemonic masculinity.

General Conclusions

As previously discussed, the vast majority of variables related to fraternity experiences did not prove predictive of higher rates of adherence to masculine role norms according to the MRNI-R instrument. This indicates that there is little that is unique to the fraternity experience including living in a fraternity house, reasons for joining, levels of participation in fraternity events (both social and non-social), as well as other fraternity experiences that play any role in determining adherence to masculine role norms. Yet, in this study, Greek men displayed

significantly higher rates than their non-affiliated peers. This leads me to believe that the Greek-affiliated men in this study possessed higher rates of adherence to male role norms prior to joining a fraternity and then self-selected into these organizations based on a sense of like-mindedness as well as a feeling that their performance of masculinity would not only be supported but even fostered. This seems to confirm Rhoads' (1995) assertion that self-selection may occur as potential members meet existing members. Potential members may bring these qualities and values, including aspects of traditional male role norms, which they view in current members of a fraternity. A longitudinal study could help confirm this supposition and determine if Greek affiliation increases levels of adherence by determining the levels of adherence to masculine role norms prior to joining a fraternity and at various points in a participant's fraternity career.

It is important to note that it may be the totality of the fraternity experience (as opposed to individual factors) that contributes to higher levels of hegemonic masculinity rather than any singular experience. As it regards implications for practice, it is somewhat more difficult to target interventions, and efforts may have to be more widespread. For future research suggestions, as I was not able to isolate specific factors, other aspects of fraternity life need to be studied using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Some examples of additional aspects to consider are the role of fraternity advisors on men in a chapter, the relationship between a chapter and its national headquarters, and the size of a fraternity. On the whole, qualitative methods may be better suited to analyze the holistic phenomenon of Greek-affiliation and its relationship to hegemonic masculinity.

Research Limitations

While the study site is ideal for a variety of reasons, a one-site study raises questions about generalizability. It could be argued that the research site's deep history of fraternity involvement and culture, as well as the strength of the Greek community, created a situation that skews the data, as fraternities may be more competitive at the research site and thus, potentially more adherent to male role norms. Students at the research site are also known to be more conservative than their peers at other institutions (Higher Education Research Institute, 2014), which may affect adherence to traditional male role norms. Therefore, the results of this study should not be generalized beyond the study site, although the findings suggest potential areas of research for other institutions.

Because the study was cross-sectional there was no opportunity to observe change over time in the surveyed population. The lack of a longitudinal approach also limits the ability to ascertain adherence to masculine role norms prior to affiliation with a fraternity. Additional research, particularly a test-retest approach over time or after an intervention such as gender role education in the Greek community, could overcome these limitations. Despite these limitations, some implications are warranted for practice and research.

Implications for Practice

It should be recognized that the findings in this study may not be generalizable; therefore these implications are especially pertinent to the study site, but could possibly be transferable to other institutions with similar contexts. One overarching implication is that other campuses could administer the MRNI-R to determine if similar issues exist at their institution.

The indication that men who join fraternities possess higher rates of adherence to masculine role norms than non-affiliated men informs the following implications as do the three variables that proved predictive of higher rates of adherence to masculine role norms (Salience High, Salience Medium, and Tier 1). Additionally, implications are informed by reflection on the three MRNI-R subscales with the highest mean differences (Avoidance of Femininity, Dominance, and Non-Relational Attitudes Toward Sexuality). My research suggests several implications for practitioners.

It is important to determine the climate regarding hegemonic masculinity on campuses. We should consider longitudinal assessment using the MRNI-R or other instruments as a means of gauging levels of hegemonic masculinity on campus. This should ideally be done prior to enrollment and after each year of completion for men on campus and cross-referenced with men's involvement in campus activities (fraternities, sports teams, student government, being a resident assistant, etc.) This can aid in recognizing trends regarding higher degrees of hegemonic masculinity and intervening by focusing educational efforts on particular groups or an incoming first year class.

We should use these findings to help create a climate that recognizes that resources must be dedicated to assisting college age men. The climate should encourage examination and interrogation of hegemonic masculinity and help create a less toxic version of masculinity. This is important due to the perception that men do not need help, particularly White, affluent men who hold a place of high privilege in society and at most colleges. These men may not need help

in the traditional way we think of supporting marginalized students, but helping them redefine what it means to be a man may have a positive impact on their lives, the college environment, and society in general. In helping men confront issues inherent in hegemonic masculinity (misogyny, homophobia, and hypermasculinity), others affected by hegemonic masculinity (women, gay men, and men who do not fit the hegemonic mold) can in turn be helped. As the behavior of the men exhibiting toxic masculinity changes, their actions that affect these groups may decrease in severity or end. By way of example, in the performance of hegemonic masculinity, men use language (i.e., bitch, fag, sissy) to other women, gay men, and men they perceive as less masculine (Pascoe, 2007). While seemingly benign to the user of such language, the impact can be devastating and men who are exposed to a different sense of masculinity could eschew this language to profound effect.

Kimmel (2008) describes the current climate of hegemonic masculinity in his three cultures of Guyland: silence, protection, and entitlement. The culture of silence supports hegemonic masculinity when fear silences men from speaking out against it. These men need to be given a voice. Similarly, the culture of protection aids men who engage in hegemonic masculine behavior in not being held accountable for their behavior. We need to stop saying and believing that “boys will be boys.” Lastly, we need to break the culture of entitlement by acknowledging and defining male privilege, pointing out its relative invisibility for the men who possess it, and helping men recognize it in themselves. McIntosh’s (1988) work on White privilege and male privilege could serve as a framework for these efforts.

Creating changes to this climate should begin with training for staff and faculty on issues surrounding men and masculinities to increase knowledge and gain buy-in for the work. I have personally discovered many times that I cannot assume that my colleagues in Student Affairs, Diversity Affairs, or other university areas are well-versed in concepts pertaining to masculinities. I (along with others doing this work) have also encountered outright hostility toward focusing resources and energy on privileged individuals. For some colleagues, this training may need to include a baseline level of information on the gender binary, the concept of hegemonic masculinity and its effects, men as gendered beings, and exposure to alternative masculinities. Any training must also include information on the necessity for this work and its potential impact on all who are affected by hegemonic masculinity.

This information can be provided passively through written materials but could also be

incorporated into existing diversity trainings for staff and faculty. Staff with high contact with male students who may be exhibiting toxic masculinity (residence life, Greek life, student conduct, and university police) should be among the first trained. While the responsibility for creating a new climate should be universal, the work involved seems most suited to divisions of student affairs in partnership with college student personnel graduate programs and gender studies departments (where available) to guide the student development and gender based theoretical framework used.

As Laker (2005) indicates and I have experienced, there is a tendency among university staff to "bad dog" men, which he describes as shaming men who are performing in ways they have been taught and for which they have been previously rewarded. This tactic does not provide a true challenge to men to examine their behavior and in many cases causes men to dismiss the person confronting them. I was guilty of "bad dogging" early in my career as a residence life staff member. Working in an all-male residence hall, I encountered daily examples of misogynistic speech and tended to confront (sometimes publically) the men engaged in the speech in ways that chastened them for their behavior. The men would rarely provide resistance and I considered this a victory. In hindsight, I have realized that these men would subsequently keep their distance from me and now recognize that I did nothing to engage them about where they had learned the behavior and why it was part of their identity. This is not to say that men should not be held accountable; we must however do so in a way that is developmental and honest.

Training should include recognition of the practice of bad dogging as well as tactics to positively engage men in conversations about masculinity. The training should assist faculty and staff in understanding the need for ongoing developmental approaches to engage men and the understanding that merely providing information does not undo behavior that has been internalized over years. Laker (2005) notes that in bad dogging men, practitioners fail to recognize that men are performing in ways that have been deeply ingrained in them and that they may not even recognize. He also points out that in doing this, we may run the risk of isolating ourselves from the part of a male student that is vulnerable and seeking help. Instead, he suggests that we engage men authentically, address behavior directly in a non-shaming way, acknowledge the root causes of the behavior, and help male students recognize the performance they are enacting and its impact on them and others. While this should not be solely the work of

male staff and faculty, we need to acknowledge that men seek approval from other men (Kimmel, 1994) and use this to our advantage by empowering men in these roles to engage male students.

This study can also be used to justify the creation of opportunities and spaces on campus for the discussion and presentation of alternative masculinities that are outside the singular performance ascribed to hegemonic masculinity. A variety of approaches that may appeal to different learning styles and interests such as showing films, discussion groups, academic classes, the creation of a center for masculinities, and invited speakers should be included. There are positive examples of behavior change in men related to both the use of media (Foubert & Perry, 2007) and discussion groups (Barker, Ricardo, & Nascimento, 2007). Content should include explanation of the gender binary and its pervasiveness in our culture, examples of toxic masculinity and its impact on men who practice it as well as others, and an explanation and recognition of male privilege. It is also important to offer examples of alternative masculinities such as men who are successful but do not exhibit hegemonic masculine behavior. Recent examples include “geek culture” (men who have become hugely successful in the field of technology) yet were likely derided a generation ago for eschewing sports to play with computers.

In addition to specific content, it is important to create both the opportunity and the physical space for men to give voice to their masculinity in an atmosphere that is welcoming and forgiving. Facilitators trained to help overcome the restrictive emotionality found in many men should guide these discussions. Male peer educators should be included in this effort in order to appeal to other male students. An excellent example of this is the Vanguard program at Bowling Green State University (BGSU Vanguard, 2015). While focus on the entire campus community would likely prove helpful, ensuring that Greek-affiliated men are included in the efforts is essential. They should not however be the sole focus lest they feel shamed as noted above.

Ideally, much of this work should engage men early in their college career (before fraternity recruitment for those who are considering joining a fraternity) in an effort to help them consider their reasons for joining the Greek system as well as any particular fraternity that interests them. We need to emphasize aspects of fraternity involvement that are positive (networking, leadership opportunities, service opportunities) and to directly discuss the negative elements of fraternity culture (misuse of alcohol, misogyny, homophobia) as well as any plans to

confront these negative aspects by both administrators and student leaders. Additionally, we need to provide evidence for the detrimental effects of these negative aspects. There has been some success in this area using social norms strategies regarding alcohol (Perkins & Craig, 2006) as well as interventions that focus on misogyny (Schwartz, Griffin, Russell, & Frontaura-Duck, 2006) and homophobia (Walters & Hayes, 2008).

My research also indicates that we need to pay attention to informal climate indicators such as the tier system as a means of monitoring the Greek community regarding problematic masculinity. This can be accomplished by monitoring a variety of social media platforms (YikYak, Facebook, Total Frat Move, Greek Chat, and Greek Rank) where students openly discuss these issues as well as the tier system. Student leaders in the Greek community with whom we work can be especially helpful in understanding these platforms and can also help us tie into the word-of-mouth networks that exist on every campus. This can aid us in pinpointing where efforts should be focused in terms of pre-recruitment and general education regarding masculinities. Knowing which fraternities identify as a Tier 1 fraternity could lead to direct discussions with the leadership of those organizations as to what leads to that identity and what elements in their chapter culture contribute to that designation.

Future Research

The current study confirmed that in the sample of men surveyed, Greek-affiliated men had higher MRNI-R scores than non-affiliated men. The majority of fraternity-related experiences that were potential predictors of stronger adherence in Greek-affiliated men were not however, confirmed. This indicates the possibility that, instead of the fraternity experience influencing adherence to male role norms, men who already have a higher adherence may self-select into fraternities. It is also possible that other variables related to fraternity involvement may have yielded different results or that a holistic effect exists regarding overall fraternity experience. As a result of the current study, there are several recommendations for potential future research.

Future research should administer the MRNI-R to a sample of men prior to joining a fraternity and then again during their fraternity experience as well as near the end of their undergraduate fraternity experience. This could yield valuable longitudinal data on how men might change in relation to adherence to male role norms during their time in a fraternity.

Another important consideration for future research is to conduct a multi-institutional

study. This was a one-site study. The site was a good choice in many ways due to a rich fraternity history and expansive Greek community at the study site, as well as the researcher's knowledge of the institution. However, one could argue that history of fraternity involvement and culture as well as the strength of the Greek community at the site created a situation that skews the data.

Conducting multi-institution research and comparing the results could allow researchers to potentially confirm if Greek-affiliated men elsewhere exhibit stronger adherence to male role norms than their non-affiliated peers. Additionally, if supplementary data were collected at other sites such as the level of diversity at the institution and in fraternities, differences in Greek life, and the campus climate regarding Greek life, it may yield data as to how the campus environment of a given site influences Greek life and in turn, adherence to male role norms in fraternities. Examining other sites may also produce exemplars of institutions where fraternity life is not fostering hegemonic masculinity that could be studied for intervention ideas. Existing research exists regarding members of a national gay fraternity who were able to challenge and resist aspects of stereotypical masculinity within fraternity culture (Yeung, Stomblor, & Wharton, 2006). Other research indicates that masculinity in fraternities can be varied in its definition, less homophobic and misogynistic, and healthier (Anderson, 2008).

In addition to duplicating the study at other research sites, it would be worthwhile to repeat the study with other masculinized settings such as men's sports teams, Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), and others. This would potentially determine if men with higher adherence to male role norms also self-select into these groups or if there are predictors inherent in these groups that effect adherence. One may also be able to compare groups to focus educational efforts regarding men's issues on campuses as discussed in the section on implications for practice. While the study of other masculinized groups is important, studying the role sororities play in contributing to the hegemonic masculinity fostered in fraternities could be of interest. Administering the MRNI-R, which has been used with females (Levant & Richmond, 2007), to samples of sorority women when administering it to fraternity men on the same campus may give a more complete view of the campus climate regarding these issues.

While the study purposefully excluded members of historically Black fraternities, repeating the study at the research site and other sites with the inclusion of this group would potentially yield valuable data regarding the Greek experience for these students as it relates to

adherence to male role norms. This could also lead to the ability to compare historically Black fraternities and predominantly White fraternities regarding adherence to male role norms and determine if there are factors inherent in either type of fraternity that could be used to shape the growth of the other.

Collecting additional data through the use of exploratory qualitative work such as focus groups may provide data on other factors in the lives of participants that may influence adherence to male role norms and could also provide depth. One additional factor of interest might include prior or current involvement with largely male organizations such as the Boy Scouts, sports teams, or the military. This information could then be used as the basis for collecting additional quantitative data to isolate the causes of increased adherence.

Lastly, consideration of the research method presents another potential for future research in that the current study would gain additional depth if repeated as a mixed methods study. If participants were tracked throughout the process, it would give researchers the ability to contact men who had either high adherence or low adherence based on a quantitative portion of the study. Researchers could then interview participants using qualitative methods to gain a richer understanding of their fraternity experience and what role it may have played in influencing their degree of adherence to male role norms. Additionally, this method could indicate if common themes are present among men with the same levels of adherence. It would also offer the opportunity to discuss in detail participants' pre-fraternity experience and their reasons for joining, perhaps confirming that men self-select to join these organizations based on pre-existing high levels of adherence and their desire to be with like-minded men.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the fact that my hypothesis regarding higher adherence to male role norms in Greek-affiliated men was proven whereas my second hypothesis regarding possible predictors of adherence involving fraternity experiences was not. I concluded that Greek-affiliated men in this study possessed higher rates of adherence prior to joining a fraternity and then joined these groups based on a sense of accord as well as a feeling that their performance of masculinity would be accepted and reinforced. This conclusion points to the need for work with men who are likely to affiliate prior to their joining a fraternity. It is imperative that institutions gauge the climate regarding masculinity on campus using the current instrument or others. A sense of the prevailing climate can guide educational interventions that create change in men's

sense of masculinity, acknowledgement of male privilege, and an understanding of the toxic nature of particular performances of masculinity. While the study is not likely generalizable beyond the research site, additional multi-site research, longitudinal research, as well as the use of quantitative methods to provide additional depth is warranted.

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Appendix A
Demographic & Supplemental Questions

Questions for all participants

- Are you male or female?
 - Male, Female (participants answering “Female” will receive a message indicating they are disqualified from participation)
- Are you currently affiliated with a Greek letter fraternity?
 - Yes, No (participants answering “No” will receive a message indicating they are disqualified from participation)
- What is your age?
 - 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 or older
- How many semesters of college have you completed?
 - 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, More than 8
- Which of the following terms best describes your sexual orientation?
 - Heterosexual, Gay, Bisexual
- Which term best describes your race?
 - Black/African American, American Indian/Native American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, White/European American, Other
- When considering your identity, how important is gender as part of your identity?
 - Very important, Somewhat important, Somewhat unimportant, Not very important

Questions for Greek affiliated participants

- Do you now hold or have you held a leadership position in your chapter?
 - Yes/No
 - If yes, please indicate the position(s) that you have held. Since fraternities have differing names for their leadership positions, please select the ones that best match.
 - President, Vice President, Social Chair, Recruitment Chair, New Member Educator, Treasurer, Secretary
- Do you now live in or have lived in your chapter house at some point?
 - Yes/No
 - If yes, how many semesters have you lived in your chapter house?
 - 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, More than 6
- Of the following, please select the reasons you sought membership in a fraternity?
(choose any that apply)
 - Social interaction, Leadership experience, Academic support, Networking, Friends were joining, Service opportunities, Legacy (relative had been a member), Other (please explain)
- Of the following, what was the *primary* reason you sought membership in a fraternity?
(choose one)
 - Social interaction, Leadership experience, Academic support, Networking, Friends were joining, Service opportunities, Legacy (relative had been a member), Other (please explain)
- When thinking about the unofficial “fraternity tier system”, would you consider your chapter a Tier One, Tier Two, or Tier Three fraternity?
 - Tier One, Tier Two, Tier Three, I am unfamiliar with the tier system
- How often does your chapter participate in activities as part of the larger fraternity community (intramurals, Greek Week, community service, etc.)?
 - Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never
- To what extent do you feel your chapter as a whole is competitive (intramural sports, Greek Week, philanthropy, etc.) when compared to other chapters?
 - Very competitive, Somewhat competitive, Not very competitive

- In terms of values, to what degree do you consider yourself to be similar to other members of your fraternity?
 - Very similar, Somewhat similar, Somewhat dissimilar, Not very similar
- To what extent do you participate in chapter events that are not socials (chapter meetings, philanthropy, community service, etc.)?
 - Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never
- To what extent do you participate in chapter events that are socials (parties, pub crawls, etc.)?
 - Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never
- Do members of your chapter hold leadership positions in Interfraternity Council?
 - Yes/No
- When thinking of your chapter's stated values (creed, code, mission statement, etc.) to what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statement? *The stated values of my fraternity inform my view of what it means to be a man.*
 - Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree

Appendix B

Male Roles Norms Inventory – Revised (MRNI-R)

Please complete the questionnaire by selecting the number that indicates your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement. Give only one answer for each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	No Opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

-
1. Homosexuals should never marry.
 2. The President of the US should always be a man.
 3. Men should be the leader in any group.
 4. A man should be able to perform his job even if he is physically ill or hurt.
 5. Men should not talk with a lisp because this is a sign of being gay.
 6. Men should not wear make-up, cover-up or bronzer.
 7. Men should watch football games instead of soap operas.
 8. All homosexual bars should be closed down.
 9. Men should not be interested in talk shows such as Oprah.
 10. Men should excel at contact sports.
 11. Boys should play with action figures not dolls.
 12. Men should not borrow money from friends or family members.
 13. Men should have home improvement skills.
 14. Men should be able to fix most things around the house.
 15. A man should prefer watching action movies to reading romantic novels.
 16. Men should always like to have sex.
 17. Homosexuals should not be allowed to serve in the military.
 18. Men should never compliment or flirt with another male.
 19. Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.
 20. A man should not turn down sex.
 21. A man should always be the boss.
 22. A man should provide the discipline in the family.

23. Men should never hold hands or show affection toward another.
24. It is ok for a man to use any and all means to “convince” a woman to have sex.
25. Homosexuals should never kiss in public.
26. A man should avoid holding his wife’s purse at all times.
27. A man must be able to make his own way in the world.
28. Men should always take the initiative when it comes to sex.
29. A man should never count on someone else to get the job done.
30. Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.
31. A man should not react when other people cry.
32. A man should not continue a friendship with another man if he finds out that the other man is homosexual.
33. Being a little down in the dumps is not a good reason for a man to act depressed.
34. If another man flirts with the women accompanying a man, this is a serious provocation and the man should respond with aggression.
35. Boys should be encouraged to find a means of demonstrating physical prowess.
36. A man should know how to repair his car if it should break down.
37. Homosexuals should be barred from the teaching profession.
38. A man should never admit when others hurt his feelings.
39. Men should get up to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house at night.
40. A man shouldn't bother with sex unless he can achieve an orgasm.
41. Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations.
42. It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt.
43. A man should always be ready for sex.
44. A man should always be the major provider in his family.
45. When the going gets tough, men should get tough.
46. I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love story.
47. Fathers should teach their sons to mask fear.
48. I think a young man should try to be physically tough, even if he’s not big.
49. In a group, it is up to the men to get things organized and moving ahead.
50. One should not be able to tell how a man is feeling by looking at his face.

- 51. Men should make the final decision involving money.
- 52. It is disappointing to learn that a famous athlete is gay.
- 53. Men should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them.

Appendix C
Male Roles Norms Inventory – Revised (MRNI-R)
Subscales with Mean Differences

Avoidance of Femininity (5.1 mean difference)

- 6. Men should not wear make-up, cover-up or bronzer.
- 7. Men should watch football games instead of soap operas.
- 9. Men should not be interested in talk shows such as Oprah.
- 11. Boys should play with action figures not dolls.
- 15. A man should prefer watching action movies to reading romantic novels.
- 19. Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.
- 26. A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times.
- 30. Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.

Fear and Hatred of Homosexuals (2.41 mean difference)

- 1. Homosexuals should never marry.
- 5. Men should not talk with a lisp because this is a sign of being gay.
- 8. All homosexual bars should be closed down.
- 17. Homosexuals should not be allowed to serve in the military.
- 18. Men should never compliment or flirt with another male.
- 23. Men should never hold hands or show affection toward another.
- 25. Homosexuals should never kiss in public.
- 32. A man should not continue a friendship with another man if he finds out that the other man is homosexual.
- 37. Homosexuals should be barred from the teaching profession.
- 52. It is disappointing to learn that a famous athlete is gay.

Extreme Self Reliance (2.32 mean difference)

- 4. A man should be able to perform his job even if he is physically ill or hurt.
- 12. Men should not borrow money from friends or family members.
- 13. Men should have home improvement skills.
- 14. Men should be able to fix most things around the house.
- 27. A man must be able to make his own way in the world.
- 29. A man should never count on someone else to get the job done.
- 36. A man should know how to repair his car if it should break down.

Aggression (2.63 mean difference)

- 10. Men should excel at contact sports.
- 34. If another man flirts with the women accompanying a man, this is a serious provocation and the man should respond with aggression.
- 35. Boys should be encouraged to find a means of demonstrating physical prowess.
- 39. Men should get up to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house at night.
- 42. It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt.
- 45. When the going gets tough, men should get tough.
- 48. I think a young man should try to be physically tough, even if he's not big.

Dominance (3.47 mean difference)

- 2. The President of the US should always be a man.
- 3. Men should be the leader in any group.
- 21. A man should always be the boss.
- 22. A man should provide the discipline in the family.
- 44. A man should always be the major provider in his family.
- 49. In a group, it is up to the men to get things organized and moving ahead.
- 51. Men should make the final decision involving money.

Non-Relational Attitudes Toward Sexuality (3.03 mean difference)

- 16. Men should always like to have sex.
- 20. A man should not turn down sex.
- 24. It is ok for a man to use any and all means to “convince” a woman to have sex.
- 28. Men should always take the initiative when it comes to sex.
- 40. A man shouldn't bother with sex unless he can achieve an orgasm.
- 43. A man should always be ready for sex.

Restrictive Emotionality (2.2 mean difference)

- 31. A man should not react when other people cry.
- 33. Being a little down in the dumps is not a good reason for a man to act depressed.
- 38. A man should never admit when others hurt his feelings.
- 41. Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations.
- 46. I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love story.
- 47. Fathers should teach their sons to mask fear.
- 50. One should not be able to tell how a man is feeling by looking at his face.
- 53. Men should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them.

Appendix D
Consent Form (Greek Affiliated Men)

Perception of Male Role Norms in Fraternity Members

Dear Participant:

You have been asked to take part in the research project described below. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact Chris Taylor, Doctoral Student in the Student Affairs in Higher Education Program at Miami University, or Mr. Taylor's adviser, Dr. Kathy Goodman. Mr. Taylor can be reached at 937-775-4240 or taylorcm@miamioh.edu. Dr. Goodman can be reached at 513-529-6825 or goodmakm@miamioh.edu.

Description of the research: The purpose of the study is to gather information from male fraternity members about their perceptions of male role norms. Although every effort will be done to ensure the confidentiality of your responses, all Internet-based communication is subject to the remote likelihood of tampering from an outside source. Your identity will not be collected and the survey software is configured to not store IP addresses. You should be careful about where you complete this survey: If in a public place, there is a remote chance that someone could be viewing your activities and wireless data transmission could be intercepted. If using a public computer, the browser should be closed entirely and you should log-off before leaving the computer.

- 1) **You must be at least 18 years old** to be in this research project.
- 2) **Research procedures:** If you decide to take part in this study, your participation will involve filling out a survey pertaining to male roles in society. There are also anonymous demographic questions about you and your fraternity chapter. Note that the data obtained from these questions will not be presented publicly in any way that your identity could be connected to any perceptions evident in the survey.
- 3) **Time required for participation:** The survey will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete.
- 4) **Potential risks:** The possible risks or discomforts of the study are minimal, although you may feel some discomfort answering some of the questions. Resources are provided at the conclusion of this consent form.

- 5) **Potential benefits:** Although there are no direct benefits of the study, your answers may increase your awareness of issues concerning male roles in society. Your answers will serve as a basis for understanding the experience of male fraternity members.
- 6) **Confidentiality:** Your participation in the study is anonymous. That means the researcher will not know your identity. Scientific reports will be based on group data and will not identify you or any individual as being in this project.
- 7) **Voluntary participation:** **You do not have to participate and you can refuse to answer any question.**

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a subject, you may contact Miami University's Office for the Advancement of Research and Scholarship, (513) 529-3600 or humansubjects@miamioh.edu.

You are at least 18 years old. You have read the consent form and your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. Your filling out the survey implies your consent to participate in this study.

If these questions are upsetting and you want to talk, please use the phone numbers below:

Student Counseling Service XXX-XXX-XXXX

Psychology Clinic XXX-XXX-XXXX

Community Counseling Center XXX-XXX-XXXX

Thank you,

Chris Taylor

Principal Investigator

Appendix E
Consent Form (Non - Affiliated Men)

Perception of Male Role Norms in male students

Dear Participant:

You have been asked to take part in the research project described below. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact Chris Taylor, Doctoral Student in the Student Affairs in Higher Education Program at Miami University, or Mr. Taylor's adviser, Dr. Kathy Goodman. Mr. Taylor can be reached at 937-775-4240 or taylorcm@miamioh.edu. Dr. Goodman can be reached at 513-529-6825 or goodmakm@miamioh.edu.

Description of the research: The purpose of the study is to gather information from male students about their perceptions of male role norms. Although every effort will be done to ensure the confidentiality of your responses, all Internet-based communication is subject to the remote likelihood of tampering from an outside source. Your identity will not be collected and the survey software is configured to not store IP addresses. You should be careful about where you complete this survey: If in a public place, there is a remote chance that someone could be viewing your activities and wireless data transmission could be intercepted. If using a public computer, the browser should be closed entirely and you should log-off before leaving the computer.

- 1) **You must be at least 18 years old** to be in this research project.
- 2) **Research procedures:** If you decide to take part in this study, your participation will involve filling out a survey pertaining to male roles in society. There are also anonymous demographic questions. Note that the data obtained from these questions will not be presented publicly in any way that your identity could be connected to any perceptions evident in the survey.
- 3) **Time required for participation:** The survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete.
- 4) **Potential risks:** The possible risks or discomforts of the study are minimal, although you may feel some discomfort answering some of the questions. Resources are provided at the conclusion of this consent form.

- 5) **Potential benefits:** Although there are no direct benefits of the study, your answers may increase your awareness of issues concerning male roles in society. Your answers will serve as a basis for understanding the experience of male students.
- 6) **Confidentiality:** Your participation in the study is anonymous. That means the researcher will not know your identity. Scientific reports will be based on group data and will not identify you or any individual as being in this project.
- 7) **Voluntary participation:** **You do not have to participate and you can refuse to answer any question.**

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a subject, you may contact Miami University's Office for the Advancement of Research and Scholarship, (513) 529-3600 or humansubjects@miamioh.edu.

You are at least 18 years old. You have read the consent form and your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. Your filling out the survey implies your consent to participate in this study.

If these questions are upsetting and you want to talk, please use the phone numbers below:

Student Counseling Service XXX-XXX-XXXX

Psychology Clinic XXX-XXX-XXXX

Community Counseling Center XXX-XXX-XXXX

Thank you,

Chris Taylor

Principal Investigator