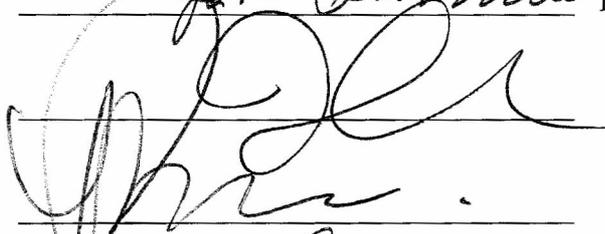ESPOUSED AND ENACTED VALUES IN FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

by

Nancy Schwartz
A Thesis
Submitted to the
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of
George Mason University
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
of
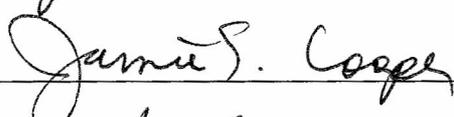Master of Arts
Interdisciplinary Studies

Committee:

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George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Espoused and Enacted Values in Fraternal Organizations

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at George Mason University

by

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Bachelor of Arts
George Mason University, 1987

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Spring Semester 2014
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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my incredible father, Fred. Thank you for always encouraging me to chase my dreams and giving me the support to achieve more than I ever thought possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Gender Role Conflict...GRC
American College Personnel Association .... ACPA
Association of Fraternity and Sorority Advisors...AFA
Interfraternity Council ....IFC
Panhellenic Council...PHC
Human Subjects Research Board .... HSRB

ABSTRACT

ESPOUSED AND ENACTED VALUES IN FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

Nancy Schwartz, MAIS

George Mason University, 2014

Thesis Director: Dr. Jan L. Arminio

This thesis investigated the differences between the enacted and espoused values of

fraternities and sororities and examined how these differences are affected through a

gendered lens and in the areas of ethical decision-making, risky behavior and cognitive

development. The research explored how students' perceived understanding of gender

and ethical decision-making affected their ability to enact the espoused values of their

organization. Using sociological and heuristic case study approaches, research revealed

students' experiences with espoused and enacted values, their attitudes around gender

development and risky behavior in their community and how they felt it has affected their

ability to make meaning and as well as ethical decisions. These attitudes were reflected in

the themes of membership social standing and values. Findings from this study suggest a

need for an experiential learning based new member process. This change in new

member process would, based off of participant accounts, allow for a more in depth

relationship to be formed between the organization's values and the values of the

individual member. Findings also suggested a need for an increase in members

understanding of gender role conflict and organizational culture though university-

facilitated programs.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

As a new member in Kappa Kappa Gamma, I can distinctly recall raising my right hand before the start of meeting and reciting the (public) new member creed that we had been asked to memorize as part of our educational process.

I pledge loyalty, sincerity and friendship to the members of this Fraternity. I will avoid doing anything to injure the name of Kappa Kappa Gamma and above all, I will be womanly and true.

I got goose bumps every time I read this statement before meeting. These women that I had begun to pledge my devotion and sisterhood to, embodied all of the things I wanted to be as a sister and as a woman. Poised, kind, smart – I could see why they had joined; they were direct reflections of the values of Kappa Kappa Gamma and I couldn't wait to be one as well.

I spent an incredible three years as an undergraduate member of my chapter and was fully involved- truly reaping the benefits of fraternal life and the values of my beloved organization. I watched other women walk with me in this journey. However, the noble ideals of our organization were not always ones we lived up to. I can recount countless parties where myself or other sisters drank to the point of excess, smoked, and cursed all while scantily dressed and hardly caring who saw us. Not once did the thought "what would our founders think of us?" cross our minds. For some reason, what we said in our

pledge and what we did outside of the chapter meeting room were two entirely different and distinct experiences.

It was not until I became an advisor for fraternities and sororities that I noticed several things: 1) The values espoused by fraternities and sororities are often not the ones enacted; 2) This behavior appears to increase in intensity, and frequency over the course of the last 10 years 3) I think students feel that there is a disconnect between the values they joined their fraternity or sorority for and the ones that are regularly enacted, but have become too frustrated, scared or apathetic to know where to begin; and finally, 4) Administrative staff and national headquarters are not addressing this phenomenon with health-promotion standpoint intervention programs.- The question is why?

Problem

The issue of espoused and enacted values within fraternities and sororities is something that is a long-time passion of mine. As an alumni member of the Panhellenic sorority, Kappa Kappa Gamma and current Graduate Assistant in the Office of Fraternity and Sorority Life at a four-year public institution, I have had significant experience, both as a collegian and as a graduate advisor, with fraternities and sororities and the fraternal movement. I believe that fraternities and sororities offer, in a very crafted (specific) way, a life-long experience that develops leaders, promotes civic engagement, teaches informed decision-making and also provides opportunities for career networking. However, the recent surge of risky-behavior amongst fraternities and sororities and their increasingly negative reputation calls to action the need for research and reform in terms of their values, traditions, and actions. For instance at Trinity College, the problem of

risky-behavior has escalated so much that the university is taking swift action to curb the behavior. Reporting that "students are drinking and taking drugs at a greater rate than in the past and the problem is far more severe among members of fraternities and sororities." In fact, high levels of drinking have led to high rates of risky behaviors among students, such as blacking out, drunk driving, assaults, fights, harassment, ambulance transports and sexual assault (Megan, 2012, p. 11). I fear that if campus administrators and fraternity and sorority national executives continue to unsuccessfully tackle the rampant problems of binge drinking and risky behavior, traditional fraternities and sororities will no longer be of value to the contemporary college campus and subsequently, will be banned, restricted in its membership, or cease to exist entirely.

Context

The established and historical model of social fraternities and sororities as single sex organizations is constantly under fire at many universities in the United States. Fraternity and sorority membership is at an all-time high - there are 123 fraternity and sorority organizations in existence with approximately 9 million members nation-wide (Fraternity Facts, 2014) This data can be attributed to the recent commodification of fraternity and sorority life made popular by specific types of apparel, technology and other social indicators that have re-launched the popularity of these organizations. Because of its depth and scope, a significant number of students stand to be affected by the peer culture and perceived norms of fraternities and sororities. It is alarming that collegiate fraternities are consistently "garnering increasing attention for negative attributes, harmful effects,

and perpetuation of the hegemonic masculinity amongst the socio-ethnically privileged"
(Reuter, Baker, Hernandez & Bureau, 2012, p. 32).

Originally, social Greek letter fraternities and sororities were founded because "fraternity
founders sought a group of compatible peers for friendship [and] mutual protection"
(Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 2) and created groups originally intended to "complement and
reinforce the [university's] highest ideals" (Earley, 1998, p. 39). Membership into these
organizations was a privilege, and a sign of integrity and merit. Today, membership in a
social Greek letter organization holds much of the same esteem, but for very different
reasons. To be part of a social organization in the historical context denoted that an
individual was worldly, scholarly, and well read. Today, the term social organization
more directly refers to this group's propensity to engage in regular social activity.
Although it is reported that membership in fraternities and sororities "is positively related
to feelings of security and intellectual self-esteem" (Wechsler, Kuh & Davenport, 2009,
p. 396) research noted that "objections are raised time and again that Greek organizations
promulgate standards of drinking behavior and citizenship antithetical to the mission of
their universities or colleges" (Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 2). In fact, administrators at
many institutions have found behavior among fraternities and sororities so risky, harmful,
and disruptive that they have forced many of these same-sex organizations to either
become co-ed or cease to operate. The thinking behind making organizations co-
educational is that same-sex environments escalate risky behavior. Fraternities and
sororities, thus, are environments were gender-fueled risky behavior primarily takes
place. Closing fraternities and sororities or forcing them to become co-educational can be

seen in the Greek communities of the University of Central Florida and Trinity University (Grasgreen, 2012) and more famously at Colby College, a private institution that eliminated its social Greek organizations, but needed a Superior Court case decision to enact it. The relevancy of social, Greek letter, organizations are diminishing. Fraternities and sororities are becoming an archaic tenant of the college campus that is no longer seen as pinnacle of tradition and value, but as a shackle to outdated concepts, rigid gender roles and dangerous social norms.

Risky Behavior

For most college men and women in fraternities and sororities "drinking has become a central activity in their way of life" (Capararo, 2010, p. 239). This cultural value of fraternities and sororities is a direct violation of many of their espoused creeds, values, and missions. According to Matthews et al., "This disconnect is significant and alarming, because students are enacting values through behaviors that put themselves and their organizations at risk" (2009, p. 37). This contradiction of espoused and enacted values suggests that, "an individual- environmental interaction may be occurring" (Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 3). I believe that by examining enacted and espoused values through a gendered lens, more information will be allowed to surface as to how risky behavior and ethical decision-making are affected. The traditional definition of masculinity refers to "the dominant culture's normative definition" or "a traditional hegemonic conception of masculinity [that] fosters a patriarchal social system" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 2) which suggests that by traditional definition, masculinity is defined by a culture and fosters a social system that supports the definition by ascribing it power. It can be derived

that ethical decision-making, development and gender significantly impact a person's

ability to enact the espoused values of their organization.

Relevancy

Regularly, "the question being asked by campus administrators and national Greek

directors is whether fraternities and sororities can redirect the activities of their members

away from dangerous drinking and related harmful behavior toward more productive

engagement in scholarship and citizenship" (Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 2). If fraternities

and sororities continue to rely on traditional gender binaries, peer influence, and

perceived norms, the answer is a resounding "No." However, through research that

provides direction for significant interventions, fraternities and sororities can hope to

maintain their relevancy on the contemporary college campus.

Therefore, the following literature review will characterize the research that grounds

the question of why the espoused values of fraternities and sororities are not the ones

enacted by their members. Similarly, the studies discussed will provide context for the

role of gender and development and their relation to values congruence in fraternities and

sororities.

Key Terms

The following key terms will shape the topics examined and provide meaning and

insight into the literature review and discussion. Risky behavior in this study will be

defined as "high-risk drinking—that is, drinking patterns associated with a high

probability of negative consequences" (Bruce & Keller, 2007, p. 101) and is also defined

as "five or more drinks in one sitting for men, and four or more drinks in one sitting for

women" (Bruce & Keller, 2007, p. 102). Fraternities and sororities will be defined as "a term applied to members affiliated with social fraternal organizations, most of which have Greek letter names" (Gregory, 2003, p. 422). In this case, social fraternities and sororities will include members from the Panhellenic Council (primarily White) and Inter-Fraternity Council (primarily White). Peer groups are to be defined as "the immediate peer group as those with whom the individual most strongly identifies" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 4). Values are defined as "espoused as well as the enacted ideals of an institution or group [that] serve as the basis on which members of a culture or subculture judge situations, acts or objects" (Matthews et al., 2009, p. 30). Espoused values are defined as "the norms and practices that organizations develop around their handling of people or as the espoused values and credo of an organization" In addition these espoused values can include "ideals, goals, values, aspirations, ideologies, and rationalizations" however, they "may or may not be congruent with behavior and other artifacts" (Schein, 2010, p. 504). Enacted values will be defined as "the implicit standards and values that evolve in working groups" or "unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs and values" that determine "behavior, perception, thought, and feeling" (Schein, 2010, p. 24). Cognitive development will be defined as "the growth of a person's ability to learn and/or assign meaning or value" (Jones & Abes, 2011, p. 155). Gender is defined as a binary made up of both the masculine and the feminine sex (masculine denoting the heterosexual male and performance of masculinity and feminine denoting the heterosexual female and performance of femininity). Gender performance refers to ways of "doing gender" and will be defined as the ways in which masculinities and

femininities are acted out. According to Kidder's theory of ethics, ethics are often seen as institutional and morals as being held by an individual (Kidder, 2009). For the purposes of this study, ethics will be defined as the science of the ideal human character or the science of moral duty (Kidder, 2009) and morals will be defined as "describing whatever is good or right or proper" (Kidder, 2009, pp. 55-56). Standards will be defined as a universal measure of comparison that others ought to obey (Kidder, 2009, p. 12).

The following literature review will provide context for this study that will examine the espoused versus enacted values of fraternity and sorority members. Specifically, topics will include ethical decision-making, risky behavior, development, and utilizing a gendered lens.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

This literature review will provide knowledge, context and evidence for three different, but related areas as well as explore these topics through the lenses of both gender and ethics. I hope to provide insight into the topic of espoused versus enacted values and how they are affected by gender. Through the lens of gender, I also hope to examine how these gendered sets of values affect ethical decision-making and risky behavior. By examining these three areas and how gender socialization and ethical decision making ultimately influence values congruence, further conclusions can be drawn about the gap in fraternity and sorority members behavior.

Espoused vs. Enacted Values: Laying the Foundation

The core elements of nearly every social Greek letter organization are the espoused values in their rituals, traditions, and events. Espoused values in this context usually consist of terms such as "moral advancement, integrity, truth, goodness, social responsibility, sacred trust, and honor" (Earley, 1998, p. 39). These terms permeate fraternity and sorority creeds, mottos, and purpose statements providing an aspirational basis for the culture of fraternities and sororities (Earley, 1998, p. 39). Espoused values materialize the "core assumptions and beliefs about the nature of relations among its members" (Kuh & Arnold, 1993, p. 331) or the actions and interactions of and between individuals in an organization. This means that these assumptions and beliefs "constitute a world-view shared by the members of the group [and] are so strongly held by group

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members that any other way of thinking or behaving is practically inconceivable" (Kuh & Arnold, 1993, p. 331). Because of this, these values have become, or are an organizational "reality," [or] the product of the shared "reality construction" (Kuh & Arnold, 1993, p. 331). Essentially, because one member values a set of beliefs, another member also may value them because they value that person, as well as the beliefs. This shared mentality of "I believe what you believe" is what constructs the world-view of the group and for them, and makes it hard to think that an individual could act differently and still be a part of the organization. All of these elements speak to the relationship of enacted and espoused values and how they relate to fraternities and sororities. The individual and the group are one unit in what they believe or espouse as well as what they do, or enact, and to behave otherwise violates the norms and culture of the group. Behavior that defies the accepted normative behavior of the organization bears consequences examined later.

It is important to realize that while both espoused and enacted values "inform student behavior" (Matthews et al., 2009, p. 30) espoused values "may not be reflected in the actions of everyone in the group" (Matthews et al., 2009, p. 30). This means that there are often inconsistencies between what students say are their organizational values and what they actually do. An organization may espouse the value of honesty, but copying homework or cheating on tests might be the enacted values of members as well as the accepted behavior. Because of this, it is extremely important to examine the consistency between actions and espoused values so that fraternity and sorority advisors can in turn encourage the creation of "a Greek community that can enhance student learning and

leadership, build strong ties between the institution and its future alumni, and develop well-rounded students who value community and citizenship" (Matthews, et al., 2009, p. 29). Typically, espoused values can be identified as "creeds, mission statements, and purpose statements of the inter/national organizations" (Matthews et al., 2009, p. 31) and are a public "concentrated source of an organization's espoused values" (Matthews et al., 2009, p. 31). These values are consistently reflected in most written documents, ceremonies, and other public statements or events associated with the fraternity or sorority. Seemingly engrained in every aspect of the organization, including the organization's collective actions, values are presented from a national standpoint, as a mainstay of the organization. However, this does not match up compared to the enacted values of individual members and their peer groups. This severely limits the ability of fraternities and sororities to continue to claim that their members value integrity, for example, to a higher standard than those that are not affiliated with fraternities and sororities. The values of fraternities and sororities are what should separate them from other campus organizations. When those espoused values are gone, there is reason to speculate that fraternities and sororities should be as well.

While fraternity and sorority principles proclaim "a duty to shape men and women into responsible adults, model citizens, and ethical leaders" (Earley, 1998, p. 39) there are few studies that actually "identify whether the actions of fraternity and sorority members [are] consistent with their organizations' values" (Matthews et al., 2009, p. 30). For universities to consider fraternities and sororities an integral part of the college campus, "fraternities and sororities must have congruence between their actions and their stated

purpose and mission" (Matthews et al., 2009, p. 30). There is an overwhelming and apparent discrepancy between "national Greek organizations' statements upholding personal integrity and scholarship" (Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 2) and the rowdy, sometimes violent and dangerous behavior of chapter members concerning alcohol and other risky behavior, seen as "an unacceptable paradox" (Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 2). These inconsistencies are "exhibited through socially disruptive, "self-destructive behavior" (Matthews et al., 2009, p. 30) such as binge drinking, drug use, academic dishonesty, promiscuity and more. These behaviors, although they do not align with the espoused values of the organization, continue on a daily basis as previously mentioned in the introduction.

Risky behavior is very specific for both males and females. Because fraternities and sororities operate in gender binaries, meaning that most fraternities and sororities are solely single (same) sex organizations, I believe men and women have very defined roles within the fraternity and sorority community and how they interact. The differences in how men and women are socialized into their gender creates very different espoused values to their respective organizations, and also creates very different ways of how members interpret or ascribe to these values and then enact them. Similarly, ethical decision-making, or the process by which a value is or is not enacted can be differentiated by gender binaries. Along the lines of what Kidder describes as care-based thinking or "putting love for others first … [testing] your actions by putting yourself in another's shoes and imagining how it would feel if you were the recipient, rather than the perpetrator" (Kidder, 2009, p. 13). Ethical decision-making is varied depending on how a

member does or does not enact a value of their organization and weather or not they are using care-based or rule-based thinking to inform their decision making process.

Kidder's description of rule-based thinking, often associated with Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative, explained that, "the rule-based thinker pleads for acting only in accord with fixed rules … Based firmly on duty—on what [ought to be done] rather than what might work" (2009, p. 13) which could help define how men ascribe meaning to values and how they choose what is ethically right. Women however, work more closely with the notion of relationship-based thinking, providing a clear distinction of gender in Kidder's theory. The differences in how men and women process and think is very important considering how it affects espoused and enacted values.

The Affect of Gender on Enacted Versus Espoused Values. The binary of gender as masculine or feminine in fraternities and sororities is an essential and core element to their traditions and values. This is best reflected in some of the specific wording of fraternity and sorority creeds, mottos, or beliefs. For instance, in the new member creed of Kappa Kappa Gamma, members profess "loyalty, sincerity and friendship" (Kappa Kappa Gamma, 2013, p. 5) while the creed of the men's fraternity Pi Kappa Phi reads "I believe that the ideal chapter is made up of men […] [and] will attain the highest possible standards of scholarship" (The Creed of Pi Kappa Phi, 2013, para. 1). Delta Zeta sorority professes in their creed that women of this sorority will "promise temperance […] understanding and appreciation" (The Delta Zeta Creed, 2013, para. 1) while Phi Kappa Sigma men's fraternity espouses to "commit to the value of honor" (Fraternity Values of Phi Kappa Sigma, 2013, para. 2). Within these creeds lie subtle, yet distinct, nuances of

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gendered language. Sorority creeds often reflect values of patience, domesticity, and kindness while fraternities readily promote power, idealism and strength. In fraternity creeds, women are not often mentioned, but when they are it is in a chivalrous sense. I believe the reason that this wording is so prevalent is due to the intentional gender socialization of men and women. This speaks to how men and women have been socialized to perform gender and is so engrained in the individual that it can be seen in language, beliefs and actions of their organizations.

Gender performance, or how masculinity is performed, is for the most part not innate, but learned. These gendered espoused values are constantly taught to men and women long before they join a fraternity or sorority. As children mature and develop, they are constantly bombarded with representations of what it is to be male and what it is to be female. This is best examined through men's gender identity development, which, in a patriarchal society such as ours, not only affects but also, consequently defines female identity development.

Generally speaking, " [men's] gender identity is developed through constant interaction with society's expectations" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 1) which is why men usually do not describe being a man as "based in biological or hormonal essence" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 9) but instead as "a set of social behaviors including feelings, thoughts and actions"(Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 9). This means that men feel that they are a man based on how they talk, walk, interact with other men and so on. The list becomes increasingly complex for fraternity men, who have an additional set of gender expectations to ascribe to. For example, while men are told that drinking hard liquor is

manly and that drinking wine or cocktails is feminine, I believe fraternity men are held to

the expectation that not only should they drink liquor, but that they should do so

frequently, with their brothers, and in excess. Many other gender expectations of sexual

prowess, intelligence, physical strength, and lack of emotion also exist. If a man is

expected to be strong, fraternity men are expected to be stronger as well as attractive and

socially capable. I feel that these expectations provide a heavy and constant pressure to

conform. In fact, for many men, the traditional tenants of masculinity include a social

learning process of learning to "[put] on a mask to conform to [societal] expectations,

wearing the mask, and struggling to begin taking off the mask" (Edwards & Jones, 2009,

p. 4). Masculinity is more than a biological condition; it is a careful, intentional and life-

long process of learning exactly how to be a man.

Typically, men describe the traditional definition of masculinity as "being in control

or in charge, competitive, successful, in control of emotions, aggressive, strong, tough,

and willing to break the rules" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 9). Many of these words are

congruent with the creeds and values idealized in not only the fraternity creeds cited

above, but in many others as well. However, these ideals can be very limiting to men

who are unable to ascribe to them. For example, if a man who has a learning disability

struggles to maintain the required GPA for fraternity membership, he may be seen as a

failure or unsuccessful, negotiating one of the definitions of masculinity. In fact

"[societal] expectations [are] [often] seen as a set of very narrow, rigid and limiting ways

of being masculine that initially, [seem] relatively straightforward and then [increase]"

(Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 4) in complexity. When men are young (pre-pubescent),

socially constructed masculinity is seemingly easy to navigate; play with trucks, get dirty, and be loud. As boys transition into adolescence and then adulthood, the expectations increase and they are then expected to exemplify strength, character, athletic ability, or scholastic aptitude. Weakness, emotion, and sentimentality for example are all characteristics that lessen the impact of their socially expected masculinity and therefore are often ignored or denied by men in order to maintain their socially constructed image. Because of this "understanding what it is to be a man, [how it changes] over time and what the critical influences [are] on this process (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 3) is very important when understanding the link between gender identity development and espoused versus enacted values. It is the development of an individual's gender that allows them to participate in a cultural meaning system with society as a whole and more importantly, within the cultural system of their fraternity or sorority.

Same-sex organizations "collectively generate a cultural meaning system" (Holland, 1990, p. 46). Because of this, true understanding of masculinity and femininity by members of fraternities and sororities is defined by a distinct cultural meaning system within fraternity and sorority life as a community and also individual chapters. If men are expected to ascribe to different standards of masculinity, varying in complexity at different periods in their life, I believe there is a great possibility that confusion will occur as to what emotions and actions are acceptable at what time. For instance, in college, there is an additional set of masculine expectations placed on them that are collectively generated by their organizations creeds, values, and peer culture. Men report that "as college men they were expected to party, which meant that they needed to cover

up the preparing they felt a need to do [for] [the] [future]" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 5).

In addition, as college men, "[they] were expected to view college as "four years of

freedom" and party as a way of performing their masculinity according to society's

expectations and view" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 6). Social Greek letter fraternities

exacerbate this "four years of freedom" mentality to an extreme degree. I believe this

pressure to conform to the social norms of college intensely conflicts with some

individuals' developmental desire to be responsible and take on the other tasks society

has asked them to acquiesce to. When these two opposing forces of masculinity

(responsibility versus freedom) collide, the result is a mixture of dangerous behaviors that

left unchecked, could lead to serious physical and developmental harm for not only men,

but also women.

The notion that "men and women are usually related to one another by power and

conflict of interest" is applicable not only in their opposing and gendered values, but in

their interactions with each other (Holland, 1990, p. 38). Men and women have often

been socialized to relate differently to emotion, power, and prestige. As discussed earlier

when examining male gender identity development, most men are socialized early on to

act like a man or boy. Men have been taught what it is to be masculine among other men,

as well as among women. Similarly, women have often been socialized from a young age

to understand what it means to "act like a lady." Women have also been ascribed

characteristics that make them feminine among other women and also among men and

have been given expectations of when these different characteristics should be wielded

and in what environment. Much like race, class, and sexual orientation "gender is socially

constructed … the traditional definition of masculinity refers to the dominant culture's

normative definition of masculinity…the subordination of women is a central organizing

principle" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 2). What this means is for masculinity to exist, the

subordination of women in thought and action is necessary, continuing the idea that

men's development directly affects women's development.

Subordination is expected of sororities within the fraternity community. Hence,

many creeds appeal for patience, tolerance, and understanding. In fact, many books

about membership for women's Greek letter organizations promote that if students want

to join "the best way to do so is to be likeable" (Tollefson, 2009, p. 61) and that women

should "humbly mention [their] strengths: and "get the look [they] need [physically]"

(Tollefson, 2009, p. 67) in order to be considered for membership, while according to

Mattson (2006) men are recruited to join fraternities to be scholars or athletes. Women

are recruited to fit in, to learn how to be more of a lady, or to exemplify social attributes

such as popularity and likeability (Tollefson, 2009). These ideals are reinforced by

masculine identity development and its inherent need to oppress women through harsh

standards of physical femininity. The nature of most patriarchal systems is using power to

oppress the powerless. In this case, the power is held in the ideals and the seemingly

"innate" (according to society) ability of men to wield their characteristics of strength,

power, and achievement in domination of women and women's "innate" ability to accept

it and remain amiable or likeable. This romantic notion of the male/female discourse

"results in the continuity of male privilege" (Holland, 1990, p. 50). What this indicates is

that while society continues to make efforts to progress in gender equality, fraternities

and sororities serve as strongholds of traditional patriarchal pedagogy. Single-sex

organizations openly promote, gender inequality through the continual adherence to the

gendered, espoused values and to the gender binary.

In addition to the affect of masculine identity on female identity development, "peer

culture [is] [also] very important in the formation of women's identities" (Holland, 1990,

p. 85). Many Women seek the acceptance of their peers and in this case, their sorority

sisters. Women look to other women to see which values and standards they should

spend the most time ascribing to. I believe this is an essential component of female

identity development, especially in college. An example of this would be if one sorority

member notices that another woman or sister is getting a considerable amount of

attention from fraternity men because she consistently is around them. It can be noted

that she might "devote considerable time and energy to going places … where [she]

hope[s] to be noticed by men" (Holland, 1990) because she has recognized that her peer

has garnered the attention that she herself desires through this behavior. Another example

would be if a woman who dresses modestly notices that a peer gets more attention and is

well-liked because she shows more skin, or cleavage in her outfit choice. This might

determine how the modestly dressed woman chooses her outfit later that week, hoping to

attract the same attention. Peers, especially in the setting of fraternities and sororities,

have an enormous amount of influence on the behaviors and attitudes of others in their

fraternity or sorority. Peer groups (Astin, 2001) can also account for why women may not

enact their espoused values; the principles of their gender identity do not allow for it.

Evidence suggests that peer group cultures provide encouragement "associated with

increased sexual victimization, such as rape-supportive attitudes and sexual aggression, [which] are learned and rendered legitimate in peer group cultures such as those found in fraternities and sororities" (Bannon, Brosi & Foubert, 2013, p. 75).

Much like how men may drink to combat the competing attention of masculine ideals, women may drink to compete with external forces such as other women or the attention of men. In fact,

> A very high proportion of sorority members became binge drinkers in college—76% of sorority house residents who did not binge in high school did so in college, compared with 48% of nonresident sorority members and 25% of the non-sorority women. (Wechsler, Kuh & Davenport, 2009, p. 402)

This is important because it exemplifies the change in gender identity development among college-aged women. Before, they might not have felt the intense pressure to keep up with social peer norms and compete for male attention, but upon entering college they realized that such behaviors are a necessity to gain access into sorority culture. Therefore, women may engage in behaviors they had not previously to be accepted by other sorority women and among fraternity men. This indicates that upon entering college and joining a fraternity or sorority, women's gender identity development is successfully challenged and then re-defined by their new peer groups. This is because their prior values and ethical principles, which may have been previously shaped by their families, religion or other support groups, are no longer as prominent as they once were. This speaks to the nature of ethical decision-making in fraternities and sororities in that, the way in which men and women pressure their peers is different and so is the way that they

pressure each other. While men may rely on external formulas to pressure their fraternity brothers or sorority women to conform to community fraternal standards, women may use psychological measures to enforce compliance.

Ethics that Surround Espoused and Enacted Values. Ethical decision-making is a critical component to the discussion of enacted versus espoused values. Ethics or what a person deems to be right and deems to be wrong according to organizational or institution culture (Kidder, 2009) in any given situation is often a product of their values, beliefs, identity and culture. In fraternity and sorority members, ethical decision-making is often if not always affected by their peer groups (e.g., fraternities and sororities) yet do not necessarily reflect the espoused values of that group. Simply put, an organization promotes the value of brotherhood, but fraternity members participate in hazing rituals or other actions of harm, which directly work against the notion of brotherhood, but are accepted by the perpetrators and the victim because they both feel that it is justified and/or ethically moral due to the standards of the peer group culture. This is why it can be said that college student values are vulnerable to potent influence from a primary living group because (1) groups define themselves. Who is in and who is out, and by what criteria is membership determined (2) every group works out its pecking order, its criteria and rules for how someone gets, maintains, and loses power and authority (3) many groups, like society face unexplainable events that must be given meaning so that members can respond to them and avoid the anxiety of dealing with the unexplainable and uncontrollable (4) every group knows what its heroic and sinful behaviors are and must achieve consensus on what is a reward and what is a punishment (Schein, 2010).

The last point, punishment due to deviation, I believe is the key to understanding why poor ethical decisions made among fraternity and sorority members are replicated. group is so strong and so engrained, that even if poor ethical decision making is taking place, it is either ignored or not apparent because neither the person doing or receiving the action wants to be punished for deviating from the norm. This is why "shared conceptions of what is right and wrong in Greek organizations serve as standards for justifying actions" (Kalof & Cargill, 1991, p. 419). Meaning,

> Exaggerated views of masculinity supported in all-male, peer group cultures such as fraternities, view exhibitions of masculinity as desirable and may socialize men to behave according to such standards, leading to the creation of a hyper masculine subculture. (Bannon et al., 2013, p. 76)

Ethical decision-making is heavily influenced in fraternities and sororities by what other members' value, especially in terms of actions that seek rationalization after the fact. For men, this can often translate into their relationships with women. A man might make the decision to ignore a woman after being intimate with her, ethically this can be seen as wrong. However, supported by his fraternity brothers to maintain his masculine image, he justifies the ethically wrong decision as acceptable. The woman in this scenario may make the decision to neither press for more interaction with the man nor ask for an explanation for his detachment or silence. Her peer group and their beliefs about relationships most likely influence this response. The woman's lack of response may be her way of adhering to group norms that are reinforced by her peers, upholding the subordination of women, and acceptance of male patriarchy promoted by society.

This type of gender-based decision-making reflects the enacted values that are deeply rooted in social Greek organizations, rather than their espoused. Peers are a kind of "gender police'" (Kimmel, 2009, p. 47) of ethical decision-making. This is reflected in research that has concluded "fraternity members have been found to be significantly more conservative and less concerned with social injustice than independent men" (Kalof & Cargill, 1991, p. 419).

Compared to non-fraternity men, fraternity men have been found to have "more traditional attitudes toward women, a more sexually permissive peer group, and a stronger belief in male dominance and greater belief in rape myth" (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005, p. 487). Past research has shown that "hyper masculine beliefs that include acceptance of men's sexual dominance and aggression against women have consistently been associated with self reports of sexual aggression"(Bleecker & Murnen, 2005, p. 487). In addition, research has shown that, "compared to non-sorority women, sorority women report stronger adherence to traditional gender roles, male dominance, and adversarial sexual beliefs" (Bannon et al., 2013, p. 77). Due to the influence that the peer group has on ethics, decision making and values, there is evidence that "variables associated with increased sexual victimization, such as rape-supportive attitudes and sexual aggression, are learned and rendered legitimate in peer group cultures such as those found in fraternities and sororities" (Bannon et al., 2013, p. 75).

Peer groups are the element of fraternity and sorority culture that set the ethical bar and how they align with the espoused values of their organizations. In addition, because fraternities and sororities encompass "traditional attitudes about gender roles, dominance,

and submissiveness in social and intimate situations" (Kalof & Cargill, 1991, p. 418) they promote ideals that limit the ability of individuals to make positive ethical decisions that either aligns with their personal values or the espoused values of their fraternity or sorority. This in turn, affects the ethical decision-making that surrounds risky behavior. In fact, research documents that youth cultures are overwhelmingly male dominated and masculinist despite the fact that women account for 60% of college students (Bannon et al., 2013). Many young adults still conform to the gender role attitudes that were once commonly associated with the generations of their parents and grandparents. In fact, "theorists who focus on individual characteristics of perpetrators often argue the single-gender exclusivity of all-male organizations may appeal to men who harbor exaggerated views of masculinity, values commonly associated with such organizations" (Bannon et al., 2013, p.76)

Fraternities and sororities, as stated earlier, uphold and even glorify outdated, oppressive notions of gender identity that ultimately support poor ethical decision making among peers both male and female. Not only is negative ethical group culture accepted and valued, but it is given an environment to fester as well.

Gender affects the distinctive elements and characteristics that are valued in fraternities and sororities in both how they are espoused and enacted by their members. Gender affects the nature of these enacted values. Ethical decision-making is partly determined by these gendered peer groups and provides a basis for why their enacted values are not and cannot be that of their espoused values.

It is important to next examine the behavior itself that occurs as a result of the ethical

decisions made by fraternity and sorority members. The actual risky behavior is the direct

disconnect between the espoused values of fraternities and sororities and the enacted

values of members.

Risky Behavior and Its Relationship to Enacted vs. Espoused Values
When beginning to explore the topic of risky behavior and its relationship to

espoused and enacted values, it is important to understand that the values of fraternities

and sororities can be mapped on to many other standards such as community action

standards, university standards of excellence, or lists of values and ethics. For instance

the American College Personnel Association (ACPA), whose mission "advances student

affairs and engages students for a lifetime of learning and discovery" (Ethics, American

College Personnel Association, 2013) provides a few foundational values that can be

drawn from to create a better understanding of how risky behavior violates the espoused

values of an organization. ACPA cited values and principles such as "do no harm,

promote justice, act to benefit others and respect autonomy" (Kitchener, 1985) as some of

their core beliefs. To do the opposite of these values, would negate the mission of the

organization and seemingly work against its members as well as the students they advise.

This establishes the harm that exists in the gap between enacted and espoused values.

Fraternity and sorority members operate under additional set of tacit values and

beliefs that they inexplicitly require members to adhere to and not formally outlined in

any mission, creed or statement of ethical principles. In addition, both fraternities and

sororities exhibit a variety of both positives and negatives, which co-inside with

membership. This is why existing research describes the fraternity environment as "a

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complex phenomenon with both potentially positive and negative influences" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 5). Positive influences drawn from membership in fraternities and sororities are often characteristics such as loyalty, trustworthiness, and the ability to serve as a leader. However, factors that negatively affect learning include "alcohol misuse, homogeneity and a lack of appreciation for diversity and detrimental activities such as hazing" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 5). Other positive influences within the fraternity environment include "an emphasis on engagement, allegiance to alma mater, and participation in community service and leadership activities" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 5). However, Greek membership is said to increase a student's exposure and participation in risky behavior such as binge drinking (Bruce & Keller, 2007).

High risk drinking is not limited to fraternities and sororities. The university setting is an environment in which many college students are affected by and participate in high risk (binge) drinking. High-risk drinking or "drinking patterns associated with a high probability of negative consequences" (Bruce & Keller, 2007, p. 101) is a national problem among college students, but is more prevalent in fraternity and sorority culture. A common indicator of high-risk drinking is defined as "five or more drinks in one sitting for men, and four or more drinks in one sitting for women" (Bruce & Keller, 2007, p. 102). According to Harvard's 1999 College Alcohol Study, 44% of students reported engaging in binge drinking at least once during the 2 weeks prior to the survey (Bruce & Keller, 2007). A more recent study reported "65 percent of college students told researchers they recently had consumed alcohol, and 44 percent said they had gotten drunk" and also that "College students drink more alcohol and binge drink more often

than non-students of similar ages. While binge drinking by their nonstudent peers and by

high school students has declined in recent years, college bingeing has held constant

since 1993" (Price, 2012, p. 6). In addition, it can be said, "the impact of heavy drinking

on students is significant." Every year, an estimated "1,700 college students die from

alcohol-related unintentional injuries, 2.1 million students drive under the influence of

alcohol, and nearly 600,000 students are unintentionally injured under the influence of

alcohol" (Bruce & Keller, 2007, p. 102). Considering these statistics and the fact that,

"Greek organizations are at the center of the campus alcohol culture, with enormous

influence on campus-wide drinking" (Park, Sher, Wood & Krull, 2009, p. 241) it is

important to recognize the power that fraternities and sororities have in setting the tone

and standard for campus drinking culture. Binge drinking provides a wide variety of

negative consequences (Park et al., 2009, p. 241). In fact, "alcohol use is associated with

many problems, including missed classes, low grades, physical altercations, property

damage, automobile injuries, fatalities, and reduced productivity" (Wechsler, Kuh &

Davenport, 2009, p. 396). In addition to this, binge drinking and other risky behavior

exhibited by members of fraternities and sororities directly contradicts the espoused

values of their organizations. Despite the negative consequences both within fraternity

and sorority culture and also the college campus as a whole, this behavior is still rampant

and continually reinforced within the culture of fraternities and sororities. The dynamics

of chapter culture is seen in its "role in individual member alcohol expectancies and

drinking behavior" (Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 9). What this means is that the culture of

the chapter, specifically influences the behaviors of its members. If someone joins an

organization that notoriously binge drinks, they too will likely be expected to binge drink, even if this was not a behavior they participated in previous to membership. This is why "normative expectations can be salient predictors of behavior" (Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 3). In addition, this means that "[chapters] that exalt social life with alcohol may have members who drink more and have less academic and community-service presence and more positive perceptions of the effects of alcohol" (Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 3). Many of these exhibited behaviors are promoted by the idea of perceived drinking norms amongst the peer group, even if the majority truly does not. Perceived peer drinking norms refers to "a perception about peers' typical drinking behaviors (descriptive or behavioral norms) and/or dominant attitudes toward drinking (injunctive or attitudinal norms)" (Park et al., 2009, p. 243). What this means is that how much members drink and how much is perceived that they drink can be two different amounts. Because researchers have established that peer culture is an important predictor and standard of behavior (Renn & Arnold, 2003), students are likely to replicate actions that they feel are socially favorable by their peers making these peer norms descriptive. In many cases, "results suggest that both descriptive and injunctive norms are potentially important predictors of drinking behavior" with injunctive norms or "the behaviors and attitudes that are judged to be acceptable, expected, or correct within a social system" assuming greater importance as "an added risk factor for current and future alcohol-related problems" (Larimer, Turner, Mallett & Geisner, 2004, p. 208). Aside from perceived/descriptive peer norms, Greek members also were significantly more likely than were their non-Greek peers to declare that they drink for the following reasons:

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To relieve hangovers, because it seemed the thing to do in many activities, to forget

about grades, to cope with problems in a romantic relationship, to celebrate special

occasions, and because they enjoyed the taste of alcoholic beverages Greek members

also believe that alcohol enhances social activities and facilitates peer bonding.

(Barry, 2007, p. 310)

This sheds light on why the enacted values of fraternity and sorority members do not

align with the espoused values of their organization. Members feel that they are justified

by the normative expectations of their peers and therefore do not recognize that there

might be a disconnect. However recognizing the connection is the first step in ethical

decision-making models in terms of understanding or correcting behavior.

Overall, risky behavior is a prevalent force within the university setting as a whole,

but especially within fraternities and sororities. Risky behavior in general and binge

drinking in particular can be seen as detrimental to the success and well being of its

members albeit justified by peer norms. The following sections will seek to describe how

both gender and ethics serve as important lenses for risky behavior and provide

understanding into the behavior itself as well as its relationship to enacted and espoused

values in fraternal organizations.

The Affect of Gender on Risky Behavior. Risky gender behavior exists in the

context of intensifying ascribed masculine and feminine traits or values. This means that

"membership in gender-segregated organizations, might serve to exacerbate traditional

gender stereotypes and the common perception that heterosexual relationships are best

negotiated around these normative behaviors" (Kalof & Cargill, 1991, p. 422). What this

indicates is that risky behavior such as binge drinking: 1) Reinforces the ideals of hyper-masculinity and patriarchy explored in the espoused values of fraternities and sororities; 2) Provides the accepted peer norm that relationships are best navigated or had according to these ascribed ideals; and 3) Lack or void of these qualities can be remedied with alcohol. This is to say that, if a fraternity member is unable to exert his masculinity through his relationships with females and reinforce the heteornormative/hyper-masculine standard his peer group values, he may be apt to remedy this short coming with alcohol and seek a female willing to do this same.

While binge drinking is a measure by which men or women can ascribe to the their gender it is also a value, characterized through the theory of gender role conflict or a psychological state in which the assigned gender for an individual causes conflict with themselves or their peer group. Fraternity and sorority members are much more likely to believe that "a real man should be able to hold his liquor," or that "it is easier to meet new people if one has been drinking," and that "when they are at a gathering together, people who drink have more fun than people who do not" (Barry, 2007, p. 310). These descriptive peer norms are highly influenced by gender and create an arena of discourse due to the fact that drinking remains a socially acceptable way for men to satisfy their need for intimacy and relationships with both women and brothers, while still maintaining an independent and stoic image (Rhoads, 2010, p. 258). Similarly, descriptive peer norms promote the problem of gender role conflict for individuals who do not meet the standard or criteria mentioned by Barry (2007). Gender creates the need for sorority and fraternity members to meet the masculine/feminine standards of their

organizations and peer culture and in turn, often puts them in conflict with themselves

and others. In the realm of risky behavior,

> [Greek] [organizations] set the foundation for misunderstanding of the opposite sex
>
> and the acceptance of adversarial female-male relationships or both women and men,
>
> membership in Greek organizations is associated with traditional sex role stereotyped
>
> attitudes, and the assumption that dominance and aggression in interpersonal
>
> relations are appropriately masculine behaviors. (Kalof & Cargill, 1991, p. 422)

In fact, many argue that; "the initiation process in fraternities can involve anti-women

rituals" creating that association of women and other-ism In addition, it is argued that,

"the sexual degradation of women might lead women to be seen as legitimate targets of

[sexual assault]" (Bleecker et al., 2005, p. 488).

Gender role conflict should be considered when looking at risky behavior and how it

is influenced by gender. This is best described as when a set of ascribed gender ideals,

such as kindness or congeniality, traits that are often favored in women, are used against

the individual, setting a precedent for the group. I believe that this means if a woman is

congenial to the point of being submissive, and has been victimized, she may be less

likely to accuse the perpetrator or report the crime. The gender role that she has been

socialized into (nice, congenial) has perpetuated her victimization and set the example for

other women. Again, this phenomenon can best described as gender role conflict or GRC.

Gender role conflict is "a psychological state in which gender roles have negative

consequences or impact on the individual or on others" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p.

205). Hyper-masculinity is a prime example of a characteristic of the male gender role

that has negative consequences. Men who are not hyper-masculine fear punishment (Kidder, 2009) by their peer group, and try to ascribe to this characteristic through risky behavior. GRC can often collide with the notion of power regarding acceptance within the peer group, those who determine who is in and who is out (Schein, 2010) usually hold power within the group. But, due to gender norms in our culture, "women often feel more threatened than men as they rise to positions of authority" providing the conflict within gender roles. This feeling of power or authority contradicts the values of subordination that exist as the norm for women (Heifetz & Linsky, 2002, p. 181). Women are meant to be likeable, as cited by Tollefeson (2009) earlier, not powerful. The stress, and threat of GRC creates a need for individuals to cope with the difference between what their gender expects of them, what their peers expect of them, and what they expect of themselves. Therefore, it is plausible that "the stresses associated with gender role conflict are important influences on college student drinking" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p. 205). This stress and frustration is often exhibited in risky behaviors. In fact, "some investigations and reviews of literature have concluded that alcohol misuse in female students is related to psychological distress whereas in male students heavy drinking is usually associated with enhanced sociability and rebellion against authority" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003). This implies that in gender role conflict, risky behavior is used as a psychological crutch for men and women to escape the pressures of conflicting messages because "as gender role strain increases, so does the possibility that alcohol may be used to cope with the additional stressors" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003). Men who are in

conflict with the hyper-masculine expectations of their gender may drink heavily to relieve the strain of GRC and remedy the conflict in their identity.

Due to the effect that gender role strain has on men and women in fraternities and sororities and the affect that it has on their desire and frequency to participate in high-risk drinking (Barry, 2007), I believe it is important to investigate how gender impacts their behavior. By investigating the role of peer norms, gender role conflict and how they increase an individual's susceptibility to participate in risky behavior, administrators can better understand the affect of the gap between the espoused values of their organizations and the enacted values of their members. However, it should be noted that gender should be used in a way that does not limit or separate men and women but regards them as "two related but distinct systems - systems not only governed by different national structures and organizations but with different cultures and values" because "among Greek college students, gender matters" (Abowitz & Knox, 2003, p. 96). Therefore, any intervention strategies by campus administrators or national executives "should attend to sex-specific drinking norms" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p. 215)

How Ethics Affect Risky Behavior and its Relationship to Gender. Research implies that because "perceptions of peers' drinking attitudes and behaviors are strongly related to one's own drinking practices" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p. 205) and the fact that peer group norms have been established as a means of determining and rationalizing individual behavior, it is logical that "a number of investigations have found that perceived peer drinking norms are significant risk factors for alcohol misuse in college student" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p. 205).

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According to Bruce and Keller "members are more likely than non-members to overestimate levels of drinking behaviors" (2007, p. 103) which are assumptions created by peer perceptions. This overestimation and association of drinking and membership in fraternities and sororities is "counter to the norms of behavior [espoused] by fraternities" (Wechsler, Kuh & Davenport, 2009, p. 396) yet it is very prevalent in the culture of these organizations. While it can be said that culture is "never value-free" nor are "dominant cultural patters uncontested" (Rhoads, 2010, p. 261), the affect of peer perception of drinking norms significantly reduces positive ethical decision making among fraternity and sorority members in terms of whether or not to participate in risky behavior.

These misconceptions are pertinent because of the undue stress they place on members to ascribe to a seemingly cultural drinking patterns met by their peers. These misconceptions can lead to "indirect peer pressure to drink heavily"(Bruce & Keller, 2007, p. 103). This can be particularly true for "new members of a group (e.g., first-year students, fraternity/sorority pledges) who wish to be accepted by older members" (Bruce & Keller, 2007, p. 103). The new member period in fraternities and sororities is a prime example of ethical decision-making being directly challenged by peer group perceptions and norms. Upon entering college, new members may ascribe to the norms and values of their family. Upon joining a social Greek letter organization, these norms and values are often challenged by the newly acquired peer group of fraternity brothers or sorority sisters. Although new members may still feel tied to the values of their family, they are inclined to shift their values and beliefs to mirror those of their new organization to gain acceptance. Their new view of what is ethically right and wrong shifts, re-shaping their

values. This means that their values and therefore process of ethical decision-making is compromised and open to different and sometimes negative influences. Because of their unfamiliarity with their new peer group, new members may garner overestimated ideas of others' risky behavior practices and ethical choices.

While misconceptions of peer drinking norms generally are associated with new members in fraternities and sororities, overall, "most college students overestimate the prevalence of heavy drinking among their peers" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p. 205). This is especially true in salient groups such as fraternities and sororities. In a social norms context, salience refers to "the affiliation group (e.g., university, class year, Greek chapter, athletic team) with whom a person has the strongest identification" (Bruce & Keller, 2007, p. 104). Fraternities and sororities are some of the most salient organizations because their members feel that they are the embodiment of their brothers/sisters and their organization. This salient image of the individual within the group/organization furthers "biased perceptions of drinking norm[s]" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p. 205) which "helps to create permissive campus environments with respect to alcohol use" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p. 205). If every member of an organization or campus sub-culture has a biased perception of peer drinking norms, they are less likely to challenge others' risky behavior. Because it has become the norm to binge drink regularly, it is not seen as risky or dangerous amongst fraternity and sorority members and therefore is an ethically sound decision. In addition, because the individual is a salient part of the organization the behavior has become ethically accepted as part of the groups' culture. This has been found to be accurate because of the fact that "students

often rely on misperceived peer norms to make decisions about their drinking behavior" and the most influential drinking norms "are those formed to characterize the drinking of proximal reference groups" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p. 205). This provides a positive correlation between "estimates of peer drinking and personal alcohol use" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, 205). Hence, the espoused value of accountability, for instance, is not enacted because of how saliency of identity in fraternities and sororities provides a tremendous amount of influence peer group norms and an individual's ethical decision-making process.

Generally, members of fraternities and sororities "averaged 9 drinks compared to 5.3 drinks for students who do not belong to Greek organizations" (Bruce & Keller, 2007, p. 107). In addition, "87% of female students attending chapter social functions drank" (Barry, 2007, p. 310) however, only "6% of women consuming alcohol became intoxicated at these social functions" (Barry, 2007, p. 310) this indicates the perceived norm of high-risk drinking not the actual one. While the majority of the women drank, most did not drink to the point of excess. This misperception continued in the members' evaluation of other fraternity and sorority members drinking behaviors. Similar to sorority members, studies show that members of fraternities "contended that 95% of fraternity members were drinkers, whereas 5% were identified as becoming intoxicated as a result of consuming alcohol" (Barry, 2007, p. 310). These statistics give weight to the influence that risky behavior has on ethical decision-making. While students perceive that their non-Greek peers are drinking in excess (bingeing) and participating in other risky behavior, in actuality, they are not. Therefore the ethical decision making of these

students is not influenced by the actual behaviors of individuals but by the saliency of their identity within their organization. Members engage in high-risk drinking because they believe that others members are, and because other members are, the individual must do so also to ascribe to the norms of their peer group and maintain saliency. This behavior causes risk or harm to the individual and others, negating the value and notion of brotherhood/sisterhood that serves as the foundation for most fraternities and sororities. This is why Bruce and Keller suggested, "salience is one of the most important issues to address in developing an intervention based on social norms theory" (2007, p. 104). By examining why individuals are making negative ethical choices in terms of risky behavior, more appropriate intervention strategies can be produced. Overall, "Greek letter organizations can foster ethical actions by connecting their choices to the organization's cornerstone [values]" (Earley, 1998, p. 44) rather than the principles and values created by the peer group. The key to fostering ethical actions within the peer group and overcoming the obstacle of saliency can be achieved by examining how men and women develop and its affect on their ability to make meaning.

Development and its Relationship to Enacted Versus Espoused Values

How an individual has developed cognitively prior to membership in a fraternity or sorority and how development is affected during membership is critical in understanding why the espoused values of fraternity and sorority members are not congruent with their enacted values. It is important to note that, "the period of late adolescence and early adulthood is a time in which individual identity development is actively shaped by a wide-range of biological, cognitive, and psychosocial variables" (Reuter, et al., 2012, p.

1). During this time, individuals are "working to integrate a sense of self, refine the values that will direct their life trajectories, and practice the development of intimate relationships" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 1). This integration allows people to listen to their inner voice comprised of epistemological, interpersonal and intrapersonal vectors to establish meaning (Baxter Magolda, 2001).

Up until the point of entering the college environment, students' cognitive development has typically been shaped by the values, beliefs, and culture of authorities (Baxter-Magolda 2001). After entering college and joining a social Greek letter organization, they are confronted with a crossroads or turning point. Here students must make a life decision. When students make meaning on their own, they have the beginnings of an internal foundation that promotes their self-authorship. In this journey, the student forms three different, but overlapping dimensions of knowing. These are intrapersonal or "who am I." epistemological or "how do I know." and interpersonal or "how do I want to construct relationships with others" (Baxter-Magolda, 2001, pp. 17-19). These three dimensions form the students' inner voice, guides their development, influences their understanding of ethics, and can often also be affected by characteristics of their ascribed gender role. When discussing cognitive development and the impact it has on men and women and their ability to enact their espoused values, how they make meaning and discover their inner voice is very significant.

Students have spent most of their early adolescence learning their gender roles and expectations, adhering to the demands of socialization. Joining an organization in which individuals can seek developmental cues from peers fits logically into the path of

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development and meaning making. For members of fraternities and sororities,

membership can be used as a means to understand the intrapersonal aspect of their

identity or "who they are" within the context of their peer group or the interpersonal

dimension of "how they construct relationships with others."

While students most likely made meaning of their experiences and decisions based

on the values of authorities before coming to college, they now primarily look to their

peers as indicators of what is valuable and important and which decisions are appropriate

and why. Their peers become their authorities. (Lott, 2013) (Reuter et al., 2012). This is

why "interactions with others help individuals to examine what they have experienced

and reform existing perceptions. These interactions can therefore change the interior

perceptual map and foster transformative learning" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 2). Again, this

interaction with others is reflective of the part of the inner voice that seeks to make

meaning through relationships with others. Meaning-making is "essential in representing

ways in which students filter social contexts to inform how they perceive themselves"

(Laker & Davis, 2011, p. 84). Because students make meaning of who they are, based on

their relationships with others, the impact of peer groups such as fraternities and

sororities is great. Upon entering the college atmosphere, "students [cognitively] move

from dualistic perspectives to multiplicity and relativism as they form epistemological

foundations for meaning-making and for the prioritization of values and personal goals"

(Reuter et al., 2012, p. 20). Likewise, when students enter college and the

fraternity/sorority atmosphere, they move from seeing the world through simplistic

dualism, to a multiplisitic perspective, taking on the goals and values associated with this

group in order to make-meaning individually.

When considering development and how it affects both gender and ethical decision-making, "exclusively accounting for one single dimension of identity, without responding to other aspects" such as race, gender, or class (Laker & Davis, 2011, p. 85) limits to what extent educators are able to encourage the development of students as well as their peer group. This is why fraternities and sororities, although they speak to the interpersonal dimension of an individual's inner voice, may hinder an individual's ability to make meaning in other dimensions. Rather than promoting meaning making and self-authorship, fraternities and sororities might inhibit it because they are solely accounting for one single dimension of a members' knowing, often interpersonal. It is this that causes the other dimensions of the knowing, epistemological and intrapersonal, to suffer in order for the peer group culture to survive. Fraternities and sororities thrive primarily on their ability to engage members with each other. However, when the individual begins to question who they are and how they know, the peer group is less involved and the member may become disengaged from the normative culture of the organization and those enacted values.

The purpose of fraternities and sororities should be "[engagement] for the purpose of promoting self-awareness" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 14) rather than awareness of self through the group. In essence, members should become more self-aware through their active engagement rather in the organization, rather than their engagement becoming the means by which they determine their identity. By promoting self-awareness and paying closer attention to other dimensions of knowing, members will be better able to make

meaning and therefore enact positive individual values and decisions rather than high-risk ones dictated by their peer group culture. To do this, it is necessary to examine the impact that gender has on development and the relationship of ethical decision making to development.

The Affect of Gender on Development. How individuals' perform gender is intrinsic to how they develop. Often the immediate peer group of an individual directly correlates to the specifics of their development. Astin identified the immediate peer group as "those with whom the individual most strongly identifies" (as cited in Reuter et al., 2012, p. 4) and observed that "the peer group exerts a powerful influence over the individual especially during adolescence and young adult years" (p. 4). Similarly, Astin noted that, many aspects of a student's development...is affected in some way by peer group characteristics, and usually by several peer characteristics. Students tend to change their values, behavior, and academic plans in the direction of the group's dominant orientation (Astin, 2001). Due to the unique environment of fraternities and sororities, the time spent with fellow members renders the population an especially powerful immediate peer group.

According to Jones and McEwen's (2000) Model of Multiple Identity Development dimensions of individuals' identity are visually represented. Those include both a core self and a set of external social identities. The external identities are those that are constructed such as race, class, and gender. The core is said to consist of personal attributes, values, and characteristics. The closer to the core an individual experiences an external social identity (ies) the greater saliency the external identity holds. As contexts

(or college environments) change, so too can the saliency of particular external identities (Jones & McEwen, 2000, p. 408). This is important because the model takes into account the variety of ways that their identity is shaped by context.

When exploring the impact of gender on moral development, a foundation can be created through understanding Kohlberg (1969) and his six-stage theory of moral development. Stage one characterizes moral development as good and bad "based on the individual's obedience to rules and authority" (p. 142). In stage two, "behavior is motivated by self-satisfaction and occasionally satisfaction to others" (p. 142). In stage three, "children focus on gaining approval and pleasing others" (p. 142) while in stage four they are simply "doing their duty and maintaining the social order for its own sake" (p. 142). Stage five is defined by laws and rules that "determine right and wrong behavior, and where duty and obligation are in terms of contract not individual needs" (Gilligan, 1981, p. 142).

The last stage in Kohlberg's theory is comprised of people who "resolve conflicts by applying a universal principle" (Donenberg & Hoffman, 1988, p. 702). Progression through these stages is fostered by role-taking opportunities. This progression very much characterizes the transformation that individuals undergo when entering college, joining an organization, functioning as part of a unit and then reclaiming the individuality. However, while Kohlberg claimed that his six-stage model is culturally universal it can be said that "the stage sequence is invariant and hierarchical, and each stage is homogeneous" meaning that this theory "assumes that increased autonomy and individuation lead to more advanced moral thinking" (Donenberg & Hoffman, 1988, p.

702).

Kohlberg's stage theory has been challenged as being "sexually biased in favor of males" (Donenberg & Hoffman, 1988, p. 703). This six-stage progression described individuals who have, up to the point of entering college, typically been socialized as dominant and privileged individuals.

Gilligan's ethic of care offered a new theory of development to account for women's experience, and identified a distinct moral language among women that emphasized the obligation to exercise care and avoid hurting others (Gilligan, 1982). In fact, Gillian's work has focused mainly on understanding women's development as being different from men's, and emphasizing the distinction between two moral voices, the Morality of Care and the Morality of Justice (Gilligan, 1982). In her book *In a Different Voice* (1982) Gillian posed the idea that females develop differently than males, and as long as the categories by which development is assessed are derived from research on men, divergence from the masculine standard will inevitably be seen as a failure of development. The morality of care that Gilligan provides as the basis for the differences of male and female development takes into account the distinct difference in gendered peer group culture, normative expectations and saliency.

Gilligan found that women define themselves through others and their relationships, while men tend to separate themselves from the world, making it easier for them to relate to the hypothetical abstract dilemmas currently employed to assess moral development (Gilligan, 1982). Women struggle with the "conflict between compassion and autonomy, between virtue and power" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 71). For men, the moral imperative is to

"respect rights and protect the rights to life and self-fulfillment" (Donenberg & Hoffman, 1988, p. 704). Women, however, are more concerned with the welfare of others. Gilligan suggested that people consider more than justice when reasoning moral conflicts, and "found another voice concerned with care, relationships, and connections with other people especially salient in women" (Donenberg & Hoffman, 1988, p. 701).

Delving deeper into the understanding of the morality of care and morality of justice, Gilligan uncovered that for women "morality arises from conflicting responsibilities, rather than competing rights as it does for men" (Gilligan, 1982) and went on to state that "for women moral dilemmas are contextual and resolved through inductive thinking, but in Kohlberg's scheme moral principles are universal and applied to moral dilemmas through formal and abstract thinking" (Gilligan, 1982). This gives strengths to Gilligan's argument about the nature of men and women and the differences in their development. An example of this is the meaning made by an individual of the espoused values of their fraternity or sorority. Because of the ethic of care often seen in women, a female is more likely to look to her peer group to ascribe meaning. This might create an internal struggle due to the conflicting responsibilities she feels to herself, her peers, and her organization. However, because the nature of female peer group in the sorority setting upholds the value of sisterhood above self, the woman is more likely to focus on her relationships with others to cultivate meaning. This means that her behavior, might not match the espoused value she is asserting because she is unable to determine which conflicting force she owes the most responsibility to. The homogenous nature of the woman's peer group can make it extremely difficult to decide which values are the most important to

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herself as an individual and which are more important to her identity as a member of the group. Conversely, men and the morality of justice ethic, may view the espoused values of their fraternity entirely differently.

For men, the espoused values of their fraternity and peer group are not responsibilities that they must care for, but rights that are extended to them because they abide by the morality of justice. In a sense, the morality of justice works within the context of "fraternity law" when applied to members of fraternities and sororities.

Again, the concept of gender role conflict (GRC) comes into place. In the morality of care, GRC is exemplified when a woman is unable to decide which value she is most responsible for and which value to uphold. For instance, a woman may be responsible for the value of temperance according the written values of her organization. However, instead, this same woman choses to uphold the value of binge drinking that has been normalized amongst her peer group as the more acceptable and important behavior. In the morality of justice, men experience gender role conflict in their struggle to align the values and expectations of their gender with their actions meaning that a man is taught that his strength of character is a valuable trait, but societal as well as fraternal gender expectations predicate that he must also possess a desire to treat women unkindly. The psychological domains of GRC imply "cognitive, affective, unconscious, or behavioral problems caused by socialized gender roles are learned in sexist and patriarchal societies" (Laker & Davis, 2011, p. 22) which are exemplified in the same sex affiliations of fraternities and sororities. The four domains of GRC include:

Cognitive—how [individuals] think about gender roles; affective—how [individuals] feel about gender roles; behavioral—how [individuals] act, respond, and interact with others and [themselves] because of gender roles; and unconscious—how gender role dynamics beyond an [individuals] awareness affects behavior and produces conflicts. (Laker & Davis, 2011, p. 22)

The four domains of GRC align with and individuals' ability to know. The conscious domain of GRC aligns with the "who am I" or intrapersonal aspect of a persons inner voice. The GRC domains of cognitive align with the epistemological element of how an individual knows or makes meaning and the unconscious domain of GRC correlates to the interpersonal aspect of an individual's inner voice. Drawing these direct comparisons provides a greater understanding of how gender affects development.

By recognizing how cognitive development and reasoning is influenced by gender and gender role conflict, educators can better understand the development of members of fraternities and sororities and how they attempt to make meaning amidst the influence of their influential peer group.

How Ethics Relate to Gender and Development and Affect Values. Ethics also play a large role in development and aids in determining which values are important to an individual within the context of their overarching environment or institution. Although the environmental values of the fraternity or sorority hold meaning for each member and provide a sense of order or power within the organization, (Kidder, 2009) these same values may limit the individual from engaging in moral or good ethical decision-making. What this means is that while kindness is a characteristic that holds value within many

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sororities and the members that comprise the organization, this value of kindness may limit individuals from speaking out against poor ethical decision-making amongst peers because it may seem rude or mean-spirited a harmful attitude to the happiness of the group. This value, described by Kidder as truth versus loyalty, one of his four dilemma paradigms, although important in the sorority, does not practically translate to real-life situations because the context in which this loyalty occurs is sometimes contrary to what is considered ethically and morally right in the surrounding environments of the fraternity and sorority community at large, the college campus, and society as a whole. However, rather than behave and make decisions that align with the truth of the value, members choose loyalty to the rules of their peer group instead. This is important because Kidder's truth versus loyalty paradigm provides yet another reason why members do not enact the espoused values of their organization, they work in conflict with the members relationship with his/her peers and other environments, therefore succumbing to the values of the normative culture of the peer group rather than the values of the fraternity/sorority. However, Kidder's truth versus loyalty paradigm can often differ between male and female organizations.

Importantly, "the single-sex nature of fraternities and sororities has implications for the ethical development within these organizations" (Earley, 1998, p. 45). Gender differences exist in ethical development, therefore it is important to be "sensitive to such dynamics so as to understand how fraternity and sorority members may interpret their moral duties" (Earley, 1998, p. 45) because these subtle differences drastically change the scope of what can be considered ethical. Women espousing kindness can often mean to

enact tolerance. As the example earlier stated, a woman who has pledged to be kind, but speaks against the actions of her sisters, may be seen as unkind. In the fraternity setting, this ethic would not translate the same way because men do not necessarily equate kindness with tolerance such as in the ethical dilemma of "truth versus loyalty" described by Kidder (2009). Tolerance may fall more along the lines of justice (similar to the morality of justice discussed in the prior section). Ethics might oblige men to be "honest, fair, and accountable, as well as to avoid harming others or treating them with disrespect" (Earley, 1998, p. 39) but the contextual setting in which these obligations appear determines the reaction of the peer group. In essence, a fraternity man who serves as the academics officer might have the obligation of holding another man accountable for his poor grades. However, if the context of the environment provides that the man being held accountable for his grades is the start athlete of the intramurals team, the academics officer may feel that it would be wrong to hold his brother accountable, in order to limit a negative reaction from his peer group. The actions of the academic officer or the truth in this instance is in direct conflict with the officer's loyalty to his fraternity and their athletic reputation.

Thus ethical decision making that is contingent upon the environment in which it occurs provides the individual with an opportunity for reflection and a basis on which to act in the future. This "creates new or reaffirms existing approaches to decision-making and problem solving" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 21). Members cultivate the new ways that they have been taught, by their peer group to make an ethically sound decision (in accordance with the normative culture of the fraternity/sorority). This is why,

simultaneously, beliefs and values are "created, integrated, and enterprised" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 21). This process is most effective when the individual "engages it in an open-minded way, which allows for the simultaneous development of multiple perspectives and creativity but in the fraternity/sorority setting, this is often difficult because of the saliency of the individual within their peer group and the tremendous amount of influence the culture of this group has on its members development and their capacity to make meaning" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 3). In the fraternity and sorority environment, there is little room for open-mindedness. The individual and the unit are one and seemingly, so are their beliefs. Members are then unable to participate in a reflective/active mode of learning, hindering their ability to develop their ethical decision-making. This is why according to Gilligan and Lyons,

> There are two ways of perceiving others and relating to others: (a) the perspective of the separate/objective self, which Lyons has labeled "'reciprocity'" is based on impartiality, objectivity, and the distancing of the self from others. (b) The perspective of the connected self, which Lyons calls "'response,'" is based on interdependence and concern for another's wellbeing" as cited in (Donenberg & Hoffman, 1988, p. 705).

> More often than not, in fraternities and sororities, the practice, concern for and dependence on others prevail and the perspective of the connected self suffers. This is not necessarily bad as caring for others and depending on others is a skill that warrants many benefits, but if the overwhelming culture of a fraternity and sorority is risky in nature and the individual is dependent on that culture, their independent ethical development may

suffer. Fraternities and sororities can correct the impact of gendered peer groups on individual's moral development, through the use of reflection. Critical reflection is often included in service-learning, small group facilitation, and other individualized means of intervention (Garbe, 2012) (Earley, 1998). Reflection works as an intervention because it allows the individual to reflect and internally make meaning of a subject or experience. Reflection allows individuals who often rely on the external input of their peers to instead, turn inwards and focus on the values or ideas that are meaningful, important or valuable to them.

One way that fraternity and sororities can hope to combat this sense of dependence on members in the context of risky behavior is to introduce the notion and practice of service-learning, which can be intimately reflective for individuals while still being done as a group. Although many fraternities and sororities have a select philanthropy that they devote money and fundraising to, the concept of civic engagement and service-learning are not always integrated into the membership experience. Typically, organizations with a cultural background are more apt to include service-learning as a part of their membership. Service-learning encourages ethical development (Earley, 1998). Service-learning includes "two critical pieces: *reflection,* which offers a structured environment designed to foster critical thinking, analyzing, meditating, and reasoning; and *reciprocity,* an assumption that both those serving and those being served give, receive, learn, and develop collaboratively" (Earley, 1998, p. 41). Service-learning allows individuals to make meaning of an experience in a group context such as their fraternity or sorority, Members are able to learn, reflect, and appreciate the collaborative effort. This is a

healthy example of peer group norms positively influencing ethical decision-making in fraternities and sororities.

Shaming or chastising has been seen as the least effective means of intervention for developing ethical decision-making. In fact, "attempts to shame or chastise college men (in particular) may leave the man feeling emasculated … it could result in further anti-social behaviors as he tries to reclaim his manhood the way he has been socialized" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 10). Creating an environment in which individuals can still autonomously make meaning and create their own sense of ethical decision making will enrich the fraternity and sorority experience and can be done more effectively through reflection and service-learning.

In sum, ethical decision-making is highly influenced by gender and directly effects the development of what students value and incorporate into their epistemological and intrapersonal dimensions of identity. The process of engaging in collaborative service-learning or other projects provides members in social Greek organizations the opportunity for reflection, and thus an opportunity to make meaning of their environment and share that meaning with their peers. Best put, "reflection is followed by a period of meaning making" which helps students to "understand the significance of the experience for themselves and their relationship to others" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 6). Putting thoughts and feelings into words allows for "a bridging function to connect the cognitive and affective, the private and shared, and internal and external functions. Meaning making allows for individuals to see how the past continues to influence the present" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 24). The best way to create cooperation for this kind of

meaningful and intentional development is to "increase the propensity for cooperation by creating environments in which sharing knowledge is expected" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 7). Conducting reflection activities and then sharing thoughts with the group can help fraternity and sorority members to co-create knowledge and revise previous values they considered to be meaningful. From these exchanges, members are able to better sense how their identity is similar to and different from others around them. This "self-awareness" serves as a "launching point springboard for ongoing learning and identity development" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 7).

Summary

The gap between the espoused values of fraternities and sororities and their real-life enacted values differ greatly. By examining the values themselves, the product of the enacted values (risky-behavior), and the individual development of the members through the lenses of both gender and ethical decision making, a clearer picture can be drawn of how members of fraternities and sororities are socialized and encouraged into the risky-behavior of their enacted values.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

The methodology section of this study provides details about the theoretical frame, design, and implementation of research conducted. Through participant interviews and reflections, this sociological, heuristic case study, based on the methods outlined by Sharon Merriam (1998) seeks to investigate enacted and espoused values through a gendered lens.

It is important to note, several defining characteristics of the community that was studied. At this four-year, large, public institution, fraternity and sorority life does not constitute a significant population of the student body. Out of around 21,000 undergraduate students, only 1,400 are members of a fraternity or sorority, which is roughly 6.7%. In addition, the university's reputation as a commuter campus within close proximity to a major city provides nuances that affect the research sample.

There is no formal fraternity and sorority housing at this institution, allowing for most students to live in on campus residence halls or at home with their family. The lack of fraternity and sorority housing also contributes to the low cost of semester dues. On average, fraternity and sorority dues for the IFC and PHC councils range from $300-$600. This low cost compared to other campuses with dues of $1,000 and upwards allows for a wider variety of students from varying backgrounds of socio-economic status to gain membership.

Finally, this fraternity and sorority community is unique in its role of chapter advisors and alumni. Because this is a younger institution, most of the current chapter advisors and active alumni are from this campus and return to advise the chapter they were once members of. This provides an interesting dynamic between alumni and current chapter members because alumni are not seen as authority figures but as peers. This lack of distinguishing identities between alumni and current chapter members is reflected in both participant conversations and the way that the research was structured to not include alumni viewpoints, which would not serve to provide an opposing viewpoint.

Purpose of Study

This study is designed to better understand the essence of the incongruence between espoused and enacted of fraternities and sororities. Participants will include members from Panhellenic Council (primarily White), Inter-Fraternity Council (primarily White), National Pan-Hellenic Council (historically and primarily African-American), and Multicultural Greek Council (primarily Latino/a, Asian and South East Asian). The study included both men and women from these councils that attend a four-year, large public institution in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. Through participant interviews and written reflections, I increased understanding of this phenomenon, which I propose to be influenced by gender development, risky behavior, and ethical decision-making. This study will allow university administrators, fraternity and sorority advisors, national officers and others invested in the fraternal community to create more purposeful intervention strategies to curb negligent and dangerous behavior.

Research Problem

    In many cases, the espoused values of fraternities and sororities are not the ones being enacted by most members. While values of integrity, kindness, honesty and accountability are pledged or sworn to on a regular basis, members are frequently seen and reported participating in risky behavior such as high risk (binge) drinking. The reason or "gap" between what is enacted and what is espoused by these members is a by-product of the environment created specifically within fraternities and sororities. If not fully investigated, fraternity and sorority members will continue to participate in high risk drinking and other risky behaviors, decreasing their legitimacy and relevancy on the college campus while increasing their ability to cause undue harm to their members. Therefore, the purpose of this sociological, heuristic case study is to investigate espoused and enacted values through three variables: organizational values, risky behavior, and development through the lenses of gender and ethical decision-making. This investigation was conducted at a four-year, public institution located in the mid-Atlantic.

    Audience. The audience for this research will be university administrators, fraternity and sorority national executives and advisors, educators and policy makers in hopes that they will begin to investigate more appropriate intervention strategies to help curb risky-behavior in fraternities and sororities.

    Limitations. The participants in this study will only be from the Panhellenic Council (PHC) and the Inter-Fraternity Council (IFC) both of which contain primarily White members. However, to ensure that the diversity of this community is accurately reflected, members who do not identify, as White will also be interviewed to ensure that the sample is inclusive and accurate.

Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical perspective for this case will be grounded in interpretivism meaning that it will be grounded in the "outgrowth of human interaction" found in the "participant perspective" that emerges from individual participant interviews (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2014, p.21). Feminist theory will also impact the theoretical perspective of this study providing a framework for the gendered lens used to evaluate all findings in this study (Jones et al., 2014). Feminist theory looks at "the social construction of gender throughout history" (Jones et al., 2014, p. 63) and helps provide an opposing viewpoint to that of the patriarchy. In this case, it is important to reiterate the fact that gender differences exist in ethical development, which affects individual susceptibility to risky behavior and influences their development and ability to make ethically sound decisions. Therefore it is important to be "sensitive to such dynamics so as to understand how fraternity and sorority members may interpret their moral duties" (Earley, 1998, p. 45). Feminist theory is sensitive to this important characteristic and provides an intersectional framework (Alcoff, 2012) that is best suited for examining enacted versus espoused values in fraternities and sororities.

In addition, student development theory will be used to discover why students in fraternities and sororities participate in risky-behavior and how their cognitive development differs from that of a non-member. Student development theory is essential to this case because while gender, examined through feminist theory provides a basis for examination of the individual's gender, student development theory better examines the internal pressure of individuals to conform to gender standards.

Case Study

The research will use a case study methodology. A case study is defined as "a single entity around which there are boundaries" (Merriam, 1998, p. 27). In addition, "the bounded system [is] selected because it is an instance of some concern issue or hypothesis" (Merriam, 1998, p. 28). These organizations exist as single entities within the bounded system of the university setting and pose many instances of concern around their continued participation in high-risk behavior on a regular basis. The nature of these fraternities and sororities are easily extracted from the multitude of other student organizations because of their unique framework (specifically, governance by their national organizations rather than departmental oversight) and relationship to the university. The individual case-bound nature of fraternities and sororities is also evident in the varying values that each of these organizations espouse (Figure 4). These terms permeate fraternity and sorority creeds, mottos, and purpose statements (Earley, 1998) providing a basis for the culture of fraternities and sororities that is separate and aside from the creeds, mottos and mission of the university and campus culture. In addition, all of these organizations are single-sex in nature, providing a strong foundation for the use of feminist theory as the main theoretical lens from which research is conducted.

Sociological. The case study will be sociological in nature because "rather than focusing on an individual, the past or on culture, sociological case studies attend to the constructs of society and socialization in studying educational phenomena" (Merriam, 1998, p. 37). This case study heavily relies on the influence of gender socialization and societal influence on ascribed gender characteristics. Similarly, the constructs of fraternal society heavily dictate the normative expectations seen in fraternities and sororities. No

one individual will be used to set a standard within this study, but rather participants capture a snapshot of a specific group with in the fraternity and sorority community at this four year institution. In addition, the insight provided from the data collection will be used to look at the constructs of fraternity and sorority society and how specifically, members are socialized to a specific sort of "fraternal" law, a system or set of rules of the fraternity and sorority world that exemplifies hyper-masculine and hyper-feminine traits for members. Again, it is important to note that this study is sociological in nature because of its attempt to better understand the over-arching constructs of society at large in addition to fraternal society through the accounts of individual fraternity and sorority members. This is not meant to provide an ultimate definition or reason or blanketed conclusion, but to provide a deeper understanding of the phenomenon through the personal accounts of participants.

Heuristic. The case will be heuristic meaning the case study "illuminates the reader's understanding of the phenomenon under study" (Merriam, 1998, p. 30). The heuristic quality of a case study is suggested by these aspects: "A case study can 1) explain the reasons for a problem, the background of a situation, what happened and why. 2) Discuss and evaluate alternatives not chosen. 3) Evaluate, summarize, and conclude, thus increasing its potential applicability" (Merriam, 1998, p. 31). Hence, I will explore the reason for the difference between enacted and espoused values in fraternity and sorority members, discuss why participants did not choose alternatives to their behavior and evaluate, summarize and conclude the case in order to increase its application in future practice.

Method

    Data Collection. Because "any and all methods of gathering data from testing to interviewing, can be used in a case study" (Merriam, 1998, p. 28) data will be initially collected through applicant information forms (Appendix A). In addition, data will be collected through two semi-structured interviews. Journal reflections completed by participants will also be examined to identify any emerging trends or patterns among participants. This data will be analyzed using coding that will identify themes, and then codes. This data collection method as well as all subsequent research involving human subjects was submitted to, and approved by the Human Subjects Research Board (HSRB) on December 16, 2013.

    Sample. The sample will be a non-probability sample, which is useful in "discovering what occurs … the implications … and the relationships linking the occurrences" (Merriam, 1998, p. 61). The participants selected will be a criterion sample or based off of a "list of attributes" (Merriam, 1998, p. 61). The sample will be heterogeneous in nature and will be composed of at least 4 males from the Inter-Fraternity (IFC, primarily White) council and the Panhellenic (PHC, primarily White) council. Participants with varying degrees of involvement, leadership and dedication to scholarship will be selected. Although I intended for the participants selected in this study to represent the diversity seen in this fraternity and sorority community, all participants that applied and were selected identified as White. However, because the majority of fraternity and sorority members on this campus are White, the sample is still representative and can be considered a typical sample or "one that reflects the average person, situation or instance of the phenomenon of interest" (Merriam, 1998, p. 61). In

addition, it is important to notes that overwhelmingly more women than men applied, which is also reflective of this community since there are more women members than men. While unintended, these attributes are still significant in participant selection because it creates a well-rounded sample from which to draw conclusions and provide implications for further research based on the majority of community identity. By selecting participants with varying degrees of involvement within this fraternity and sorority community, there is chance for broad insight into the phenomenon being studied in the case. In order to protect the identities of the participants as well as the information they share, each participant will be assigned a pseudonym or will select one of their own choosing.

Overall, the 15 students that responded to the initial survey were then sent the participant application, of which 10 students sent back to me. From those ten, emerged my seven participants. The remaining three participants included one member of a historically African-American fraternity, a member of a historically African-American sorority, and a member from a South-Asian sorority. Because of the time constraints of this study, these participants were excluded from this research process. However, for this sample of participants, I did provide them with the option to self-identify as a specific ethnicity, race, or religion in attempts to diversify a sample limited to predominantly White organizations.

For this study, the application materials of the seven remaining participants were examined. These included multiple detailed questions for participants to answer that provided more insight into their attitudes surrounding their individual chapter as well as

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the fraternity and sorority community as a whole. After reviewing the seven applications, participant answers provided repeating themes. Therefore, the sample appeared to be thorough and hearty enough to move forward with the research process and saturation had been achieved.

Analyses. Analyses consisted of transcribing the interviews conducted; examining the reflection journals used in-between interviews and coding the entirety of this information. Analyses of participant interviews and reflections looked beyond the basic text and sought to identify themes throughout the coding process. In all, three levels of analyses took place providing overarching themes from which subsequent categories and then codes emerged.

There are three levels of coding that took place. First, basic identifying characteristics were identified as "whatever is relevant to the study" (Merriam, 1998, p. 165) capturing a recurring pattern" (p. 179). This first level provided themes for participant information. Coding was not limited to this descriptive level of analysis, in addition to the general themes, smaller data units or categories were identified. Finally, the third level of coding revealed codes, or the smallest unit of data, meeting the criteria of being heuristic or "[revealing] information relevant to the study and stimulate the reader to think beyond the particular bit of information" (Merriam, 1998, p. 180) and in addition the data is "the smallest piece of information about something that can stand by itself" (Merriam, 1998, p. 180). Units of data were extracted to create codes, to create categories, to discover themes. Names of the categories reflected the purpose of the

research and come from "the researcher, the participants, or the sources outside of the study such as the literature" (Merriam, 1998, p. 182).

Worthiness

Worthiness of the study was exemplified through the use of a peer reviewer, who has had professional experience with this fraternity and sorority community, as well as others, to provide context and understanding to the case. For this study, an alumni member of an Interfraternity Council (IFC) chapter from this campus was asked to examine the document and consider its worthiness. The peer reviewer examined the document thoroughly and provided feedback and suggestions to ensure that all facets of research were grounded in evidence. Feedback primarily focused on providing more information in regards to further implications for research and improved practice for national organizations and campus administrators.

Further processes to ensure trustworthiness included member checking or "taking data and tentative interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them if the results are plausible" (Merriam, 1998, p. 204) . In this study, all participants were sent excerpts used in this paper and asked to identify that findings were on-target. All participants replied that the statements used were appropriate and acceptable for use in this case study. Member checking was limited, however, because one participant, Stan, was unable to be contacted after his first interview.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings and Discussion

In this study, seven participants were interviewed twice and asked to complete two reflections, one following each interview. All participants but one completed both interviews and the two reflections. The following descriptions help to characterize and differentiate each of the participants in this case.

Participants

Chloe. Chloe, a first-year students and newly initiated member of her organization was new to the sorority experience. During our first interview, she had yet to be initiated. Chloe provided a perspective of fraternities and sororities unique to the new member experience. Chloe was very involved outside of her organization and a part of the rigorous honors college at this institution. She initially decided to participate in sorority recruitment at the encouragement of her close friend group that she started college with.

Missy. Conversely, Missy, who is from the same organization as Chloe, speaks to the senior member perspective of her organization. Missy has been a member of her sorority for four years and has held numerous officer positions. Missy, a very involved community member and was active in other organizations outside of her sorority, such as a Greek honor society, which made her very aware problems within in her sorority.

Tina. Tina is the former president of her organization. Tina joined her organization as a sophomore and quickly became and active and involved member in her chapter. Tina had a strong sense of self-confidence, and also self-identified as a leader. Tina had a very

strong sense of alignment with her organization. Although she had served as president, Tina was reserved in her feelings about the place of sorority headquarters within in chapter life and activities. Tina was also a part of an external organization at this institution, a Greek honor society.

Hayley. Hayley was also a senior, as well as a member of the same organization as Tina. Hayley was the standards officer for her organization and a graduating senior. While Hayley shared the strong identity with her organization that was seen in Tina, she also saw the ways in which the organization needed to grow in order to be successful at this institution. Hayley has had numerous experiences with her headquarters staff and attributes this and her personal values to her unique outlook on the state of her sorority. Hayley also served as an officer of a Greek marketing team at this institution.

Beth. Beth was a graduating senior in her organization. Before joining her sophomore year, Beth did not have a strong desire to be a part of a sorority and was actively against membership. Upon joining, Beth became a source of strength and support in her chapter, especially in terms of her dedication and involvement to all chapter events and functions. Beth was especially active in a Greek marketing organization, where she is able to express her desire for a great sense of connection amongst all fraternities and sororities at this institution.

Jake. Jake was a senior in his fraternity. Jake lent a different and upfront perspective to his experiences with his organization. Jake detailed the small beginnings of his fraternity his freshman year all the way to the successes and growth of his chapter his senior year. Jake was heavily involved in the philanthropic aspect of his fraternity and

constantly questioned the values of his brothers and the true nature of fraternal

organizations as they are today.

Stan. Stan was also a senior and also a member of the same organization as Jake.

Stan provided a perspective on the opposite side of the spectrum from Jake's and

provides an opposing viewpoint to many of Jake's ideals. Stan participated in the first

interview but was unable to be reached for the second interview and either of the

reflections and was unable to be reached by phone, email or in person in order to

complete the research process.

Research Question

As stated in the literature review, this study investigated the differences between the

enacted and espoused values of fraternities and sororities and will examine the seeming

lack of values congruence through a gendered lens. In addition, this study discovered

how gender affects values congruence through the areas of ethical decision- making,

risky behavior and cognitive development. The research explored how students'

perceived understanding of gender and ethical decision-making affected their ability to

enact the espoused values of their organization.

Data Coding

After coding the data I collected from the 13 interviews, I determined that there were

three themes that surfaced; membership (Figure 1), social standing (Figure 2) and values

(Figure 3). These themes then yielded categories that fell within the areas of gender, risky

behavior, ethical decision-making and development. Finally, after revisiting the data, I

derived a third level of information or codes from the data, which I believe relates not

only to the theoretical concepts discussed in my literature review but also, provided new concepts not previously discussed.

Membership: "No one has ever asked me why I decided to join a sorority."

Within the initial theme of membership, participants felt the need to rationalize their reasons for becoming a member of a fraternity or sorority and sought to defend their relationship with their chapter, not only in our interviews and their reflections, but in their interactions with other students, campus administration and their family. Specifically, participants were apt to defend, rationalize and sometimes critically reflect (Figure 1) on the espoused values of their organization, defined earlier as the "ideals, goals, values, aspirations, ideologies, and rationalizations" of an organization (Figure 4) that "may or may not be congruent with behavior and other artifacts" (Schein, 2010, p. 504). I found this portion of my research to be very significant, serving as the foundation for the entire coding process. This is because participants provided insight into why they decided to join, and also what they struggled with or were unaware of when they decided to join. Conversely, reflection on their membership provided participants with the opportunity to discuss feelings they actualized towards the end of their collegiate membership.

Defense. Defense of their membership was a strong theme in the first round of interviews with participants. Many were very reserved at the start of conversation and very suspicious of the nature of my questions. For all of the interviews, I started the conversation by asking participants why they chose to join their sorority or fraternity. Tina was one of the first participants, who poignantly related the idea of defending her membership as a chapter president, before relating why she chose to join.

I feel like as a leader in a Greek organization defending your organization is something you are going to have to do regardless, I do it to my parents, to my own so sisters, it's kind of part of your nature.

For Tina, her choice to join a sorority was something she felt she had to defend from the start as a new member all the way up to her role as chapter president. This combative desire to prove that she had made the right decision joining and remaining a member of her organization was very important to Tina and also a prevalent topic in her first reflection. The aspect of defending membership, for Tina, was a way for her to outwardly make sense of her decision to join a sorority to authorities that challenged her reasoning. Other participants such as Hayley, struggled with a more internal desire to rationalize her decision to join a sorority.

Rationalization. Hayley, on the other hand, sought to rationalize her sorority membership rather than defend it as Tina did. Rationalization occurred when a participant voiced the desire to make sense of a feeling or experience that did not align with the espoused values of the organization. For instance, as a new member, when Hayley felt she should be experiencing the value of sisterhood through bonding opportunities with her sorority, she instead, felt alienated. Rather than see this as a fault of the organization for not providing experiences to help Hayley assimilate, Hayley rationalized that it was her fault, in order to make sense of why she continued her membership. Hayley spoke often in her interviews about her experiences as a new member and her struggles with assimilation and ethical decision-making. In order to rationalize her current relationship with her sorority, Hayley related that,

[She] felt like [she] was more mature than [her] pledge class. They would all go out

to parties and [she] didn't enjoy that as much. [She] felt like there was something

bigger than all of that so [she] stuck with it.

For Hayley, the desire to rationalize her membership was a more of internal experience

meaning that she struggled with the notion of rationalizing with herself why she should

stay in an organization that she did not feel connected to. This differs from Tina's

experience, which was external and seen as her desire to outwardly defend her

membership decision to other external authorities such as friends and family. Hayley

voiced several times that she struggled with different situations during her membership.

How she has been treated by sisters during the time that she served as Vice President of

Standards, or other ethically challenging situations where Hayley's felt that she needed to

rationalize why she remained a member of this organization, even though she did not

agree with the behavior of her sisters. This internal struggle relates back to both the

theories of Gender Role Conflict (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003) and also making meaning

across multiple identities (Abes et al., 2007) discussed earlier. Hayley is forced to balance

and navigate her multiple identities as not only a woman, but as a sorority member,

daughter, student and authority figure, pitting her at odds with how she feels she should

portray herself as a female.

Critical Reflection. In the second interview, participants began to critically reflect on

the reality of their membership as well as their reasons for initially joining. Critical

reflection occurred when participants no longer desired to defend or rationalize their

membership and instead, were able to reflect candidly about the reality of their

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organization. Mostly the male participants in this study related the notion of critical

reflection. In fact during our second interview, Jake bluntly related that he felt that his

fraternity had lied to him initially as a new member, and that as a senior, he had

actualized their deceitfulness, recognizing the key components of the fraternity that made

it sub-standard in comparison to other organizations.

> They basically lied and said how great the fraternity was and stuff like that and it was
>
> actually an awful fraternity at the time, under 20 brothers at the time, in my opinion
>
> probably one of the worst fraternities on campus, but they lied to all of us and made
>
> it seem like it was a great fraternity, a functioning fraternity, and they got a pledge
>
> class bigger than the size of the fraternity and from there on it got better.

Jake's critical reflection of why he joined and the fact that he realized he was lied to later

on, is a very important component of membership. What Jake has identified is that to

compensate for their shortcomings, the members of his fraternity were willing to lie to

and manipulate potential new members in order to gain their membership. In this

instance, critical reflection creates a connection between fraternity membership and

hyper-masculinity. Jake's fraternity, in a sense, was forced to "[put] on a mask to

conform to [societal] expectations" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 4) to increase their

membership. This mask took the form of lying about their social standing, aspirations,

accolades and more, to fulfill the expectations of masculinity seemingly thrust upon their

organization by society, which forced them to deceive the men they were recruiting about

the true nature of their organization.

From a female perspective, Tina provided insight into her experiences with critical reflection by relating her current opinion of her chapter to when she first joined saying that, "while [she] [is] impressed with all of the women in [her] chapter there are some things [she] would change." In this moment, Tina critically reflected on the failures and shortcomings of her chapter, something that she would not have been able to do upon joining. In addition, in this piece of conversation, Tina alludes to the ethic of care described earlier in the literature review by Gilligan. In this ethic of care, women struggle with the "conflict between compassion and autonomy, between virtue and power" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 71). Tina's language of being impressed yet voicing a desire to enact change in her chapter is reflective of Gilligan's ethic of care and is a significant indicator of her development during her sorority membership.

Each of these instances illustrates the development of each participant from their first semester of membership to the last, and provided a developmental timeline of how members defend, rationalize, and then critically reflect on the realities of their organizations. Examining participants' developmental journey within their fraternity or sorority membership is essential in understanding participants' experiences as an individual fraternity or sorority member as well as the greater relationship with their chapter.

Social Standing: "Learning to survive in a competitive world is crucial."
Social standing served as a large topic of conversation when interviewing participants and was also the basis for many participants' actions and behaviors. In addition, social standing was something participants used to rationalize their actions in relation to the

normative peer culture. Within the theme of social standing, emerged the categories of competition and appearances, yielding codes of both positive and negative characteristics (Figure 2). Social standing builds on participants initial description of their chapter on the individual level and provides a larger depiction of peer culture and gender roles within this fraternity and sorority community.

When initially discussing social standing in the fraternity and sorority community, participants provided a variety of insights into the importance of not only an individual's social standing, but the importance of a chapter's social standing. As stated in the literature review, researchers have established that peer culture is an important predictor and standard of behavior (Renn & Arnold, 2003) and also that enacted values are defined as "the implicit standards and values that evolve in working groups" (Schein, 2010, p. 24). This is essential to understanding the overall theme of social standing. Participants identified that their peers are the ones who determined social standing and therefore determined what behavior is deemed socially acceptable. Because of this, community social standing becomes an implicit value of this fraternity and sorority community, and therefore an enacted value, despite that it bears no formal relationship to the espoused values of any of the participants' organizations.

Participant Jake best exemplified the influence of peer culture in its determining of community enacted values when he stated,

I think that the opinion of the organization from the sorority's point of view is what your social standing is. I don't think your fellow fraternities member determine that,

it's the sororities' opinions. I think it's the same for the sororities as well, its what the

fraternities are saying about them that determines their social standing.

Interestingly, Jake specifically does not cite the entire community for determining social

standing and acting as a peer group influence, rather, he cites women as the determining

peer group. This introduces something new, not discussed in the literature review that

peer group influence (potentially) does not only affect individuals who are a part of that

group, but also members of the opposite sex. Meaning that it is not only women that are a

part of and affect other female peer groups and it is not only men that are a part of and

affect other male peer groups- these two intersect and serve as peer groups across gender

in order to determine social standing. This affirms the idea that socialized norms of

masculinity and femininity are reinforced within the peer group as well as between peer

groups, adding a new dimension to the literature review which stated that, "exaggerated

views of masculinity supported in all-male, peer group cultures such as fraternities, view

exhibitions of masculinity as desirable and may socialize men to behave [accordingly]"

(Bannon et al., 2013, p. 76). According to both male and female participants, all-male or

all-female groups do not solely support exaggerated views of masculinity and femininity,

but rather influence each other from outside of the group.

From the sorority perspective Beth related, "I feel like as bad as it is to say, the

fraternities determine your social standing. Because if the fraternities don't want to mix

with you it means they don't want to be seen with you." This again, strengthens the claim

presented in the literature review that peer group influence is prevalent in this fraternity

and sorority community, but not in the way that the literature review had predicted.

Originally, peer groups were to be defined as "the immediate peer group as those with whom the individual most strongly identifies" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 4). This definition provided the notion that peer groups would be similar in gender to the individual. However, both Jake and Beth have described that it is a person of the opposite gender, in this fraternity and sorority community who serves as part of the peer group. This provided a new dynamic within the normative culture of this community, and in addition, allowed for the potential change of the normative expectations held by fraternity and sorority members, which are said to be "salient predictors of behavior" (Reis & Trockel, 2003, p. 3). Therefore, enacted values versus espoused values in this community relied heavily on the normative culture of a peer group comprised of the opposite sex. This concept of normative culture and expectations as defined by and individuals peer groups is developed further in the category of appearances.

Appearances. Appearances played a key role in social standing according to participants. Not just physical appearances, but collective appearances in terms of scholarship, leadership and philanthropic involvement. For Stan, appearances were the aspect of social standing that stood to make or break his chapter's image when he first joined.

> Because we are a social organization, we kind of wanted to be accepted, we were an outsider chapter who for the longest time didn't care what anyone thought about us. It was important that we changed the perceptions of ourselves for recruitment, for getting people to join. One thing, I didn't want people to think was that this

brotherhood was something they could make fun of or mock and the social

component is part of that in proving our reputation to other fraternities.

Stan's statement about appearances also affirms the research introduced in the literature

review that suggests that fraternity and sorority members "primarily look to their peers as

indicators of what is valuable and important and which decisions are appropriate and

why" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 2). In addition, Stan's discussion about chapter appearances

within the larger fraternity and sorority community enhanced the idea that "interactions

with others help individuals to examine what they have experienced and reform existing

perceptions" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 2). For Stan, social standing based on appearances

was crucial to being able to recruit new members and an essential component to keeping

up with the fraternity status quo of social excellence on campus and being known for

more than hazing.

> Because of everything that everyone said about us, that we were a bunch of creeps
>
> that we were not really a fraternity just a drinking club, we really didn't have
>
> anything to stand on. The only thing we got good marks on was that we hazed the
>
> shit out of our pledges. Now when people talk crap it's that we have too easy of a
>
> pledge process.

Stan's conversation indicates that appearances directly correlated to a chapter's ability to

be successful socially, to recruit well and to be accepted by their peers. Again, this

interaction with people outside of the fraternity chapter is reflective of the part of the

inner voice that seeks to make meaning through relationships with others. Meaning

making is "essential in representing ways in which students filter social contexts to

inform how they perceive themselves" (Laker & Davis, 2011, p. 84). Students make

meaning of who they are, based on their relationships with others; this is why the impact

of peer groups such as fraternities and sororities is great.

While the men in this study focused on how their chapter refined their social skills to

create a positive image of their organization, women in this study focused primarily on

philanthropic involvement. Chloe related that, "I think if a sorority has been the best at

things like Greek Week and GPA people repeat those things and I think girls continuing

to talk about sororities helps establish that." In addition, when asked what she felt what

determined the social status of her sorority, Missy replied "Philanthropic events, we don't

have to do but we do so it makes us look better as a chapter so people want to do more

with us." What is interesting is that while men focused on the social and (implied)

drinking aspects of their fraternity that affected their chapter appearance, women focused

more on philanthropy, which aligns with the ethic of care outline by Gilligan in the

literature review.

Gilligan found that women define themselves through others and their relationships,

while men tend to separate themselves from the world (Gilligan, 1982). Women struggle

with the "conflict between compassion and autonomy, between virtue and power"

(Gilligan, 1982, p. 71). For men, the moral imperative is to "respect rights and protect

the rights to life and self-fulfillment" (Donenberg & Hoffman, 1988, p. 704). Self-

fulfillment was an evident aim in both Jake and Stan's conversations. To be a self-

fulfilled member of their fraternity, they collectively needed to change their social

appearance and presence, which Stan and Jake both felt their chapter had accomplished.

For Chloe and Missy, appearing to care about their sororities' philanthropy, provided a

collective definition of the groups' identity that was enhanced relationships with others,

even if they were truly un-interested in the activities of other chapters.

Appearances provided an interesting juxtaposition of the differences in why men and

women behave the way they do in their respective organizations. While men seek self-

fulfillment through the success of the group, women found status and power through

compassion for their philanthropy and through their positive relationships with others. By

examining what participants determined to be negative and positive characteristics of a

fraternity or sorority, a better understanding of why fraternal organizations focused on

appearances is hopefully attained.

Negative and Positive Characteristics. Several participants identified negative and

positive characteristics that they felt affected appearances and therefore social standing.

Jake characterized negative characteristics of a fraternity as "not being active on campus

and [not] [mixing] with sororities" citing that his chapter had previously done "zero

philanthropy events [because] they just didn't care." However, Jake also related that he

saw similarities between fraternity and sorority marketing and commercial product

marketing; both used the art of deception to create buy-in amongst consumers.

> The thing I see with society in general is if you look at any products, they are all
>
> trying to trick you to use their product, its like fraternities and sororities are trying to
>
> trick you to or convince you by being misleading to join their organization. I feel like
>
> every Greek organization, they try to make their organization look better than it is …
>
> the lower grade fraternities and sororities have to do that or they cant compete.

From Jake's point of view, a negative characteristic within sorority and fraternity appearances is the use of deception as an organizational marketing tactic. This relates to the idea of ethical decision-making presented in the literature review, which states that ethics are what a person deems to be right and deems to be wrong according to organizational or institution culture (Kidder, 2009). In this instance, Jake has identified that the culture of his organization has deemed deception as ethically sound. In addition, Jake's statement ties back to the overarching idea that the espoused values of fraternities and sororities are not currently their enacted ones. All participants in this study stated that an espoused value of their organization was "truth." However, Jake points out that a key way in which his fraternity has achieved social status is through lying – directly negating the value of truth that his organization espouses.

As Schein noted earlier, "every group knows what its heroic and sinful behaviors are and must achieve consensus on what is a reward and what is a punishment" (Schein, 2010, p. 94). In this instance, Jake identifies a sinful behavior of his organization and relates that they (his fraternity) have achieved a consensus that this behavior is acceptable. This reinforces the idea that the bond of the peer group is so strong, so engrained, that even if poor ethical decision making is taking place, it is either ignored or not apparent because neither the person doing or receiving the action wants to be punished for deviating from the norm. This is why "shared conceptions of what is right and wrong in Greek organizations serve as standards for justifying actions" (Kalof & Cargill, 1991, p. 419).

Positive characteristics were described by Chloe as "respectful, balancing their obligations between being in a fraternity and doing other things, " Missy also described what she felt were positive characteristics as "being leaders on campus, strong and outgoing, scholarship, and academics" as well as "being those guys that throw great parties those that are smart, southern gentlemen." Jake related that he felt positive characteristics that contributed to a chapter's appearance and social standing were

Defined mostly by parties and mixers but a little bit of philanthropy, that helps your brand. But sorority women are the ones that come out to your parties and they are the ones that talk about your fraternity more and more. So if it's just one sorority coming out to your parties and the rest of them hate you, you don't have much of a social standing.

The range of characteristics described by participants provides a very broad spectrum of what they felt were positive and negative characteristics of appearances within this fraternity and sorority community. While some of these characteristics such as being respectful, social and scholarly align with the values of the organization on the surface, they negate the values of the organization in terms of how they are enacted. Overall, participants identified that the number of organizations with whom your group had a good relationship with, mixed with or threw social events for mostly determined a positive appearance.

This perception of peer social norms translates to the participant's experiences with peer drinking norms. Perceived peer drinking norms refers to "a perception about peers'

typical drinking behaviors (descriptive or behavioral norms) and/or dominant attitudes toward drinking (injunctive or attitudinal norms)" (Park et al., 2009, p. 243).

For participants in this study, positive social appearance was linked with a sense of good social standing in the fraternity and sorority community. Because researchers have established that peer culture is an important predictor and standard of behavior (Renn & Arnold, 2003), students are likely to replicate actions that they feel are socially favorable by their peers making these peer norms descriptive of the community as a whole. However, while participants were asked questions about risky behavior and drinking culture within this fraternity or sorority community, many were hesitant to reply or generalized these behaviors with terms like "mixers" and "social events." Because students were not upfront with their understanding of risky behavior and its role in positive social appearances and peer culture standards of behavior, more information is needed to determine the role of gender in ethical decision making in fraternities and sororities.

Competition. Another category that emerged from the theme of social standing was the notion of competition (Figure 2). Within this fraternity and sorority community, competition serves as a way to benchmark which organizations are the best and which are the worst. Jake offers the explanation that "I think society as a whole focuses more on competition. I think the way Greeks compete is social standing. But society caused it." In addition, Beth relates that, "here the women are more competitive, we compete for the same [potential new members] in recruitment and awards and Greek Week and it seems that this determines our social standing."

Schein noted that, "every group works out its pecking order, its criteria and rules for how someone gets, maintains, and loses power and authority " (2010, p. 94). Participants in this study determined that the pecking order of their fraternity and sorority community is largely determined by competition. This furthers the notion that "men and women are usually related to one another by power and conflict of interest" (Holland, 1990, p. 38). Men and women have often been socialized to relate differently to emotion, power, and prestige; however, women in this study recognized that they have sought to even the playing field in a sense, through the medium of competition.

The category of competition deeply resonated with the female participants in this study. Tina, specifically, provided pivotal insight into the aspect of competition within fraternity and sorority life. Tina described competition as "[going] back to human nature, you want to win and be the best, and I think it gets more intense in Greek life because you are physically competing but in life you always want to one up the opponent." Additionally, Tina related,

> Learning to survive in a competitive world is crucial and I think that it teaches you that and it goes back to teaching you how to interact with people you don't care for. It teaches you life skills that maybe our founders didn't have in mind for us.

This statement especially piqued my interested because it was so profoundly different from the response of Jake, who saw competition as something brought on by society and not anything beyond that. Tina, however, provided the idea that competition is a tool for survival, a skill that women must attain in order to be effective in the real world. The prevalence of competition amongst this fraternity and sorority community is significant

because while it does not enact many of the espoused values of women's organization such as patience, tolerance, and understanding, it provides women with the opportunity to no longer remain the powerless and oppressed majority in the community, rather, competition provided an opportunity for sorority members to work against the established sense of patriarchy within these single-sex organizations.

The aspect of competition, to female participants was seen as a valuable life skill, while to the male participants, it was characterized simply as a part of society. I believe that this illustrated a shift in how a value, such as competition, which would normally be seen as contradictory to espoused values of sororities such as patience and kindness are instead, enacted in a positive way, allowing women the opportunity to garner skills that work against the notion of female subordination, a value that I feel supports patriarchy and limits the relevancy of sororities.

Values: "We are moving further and further away from our values."
Values served as the most over-arching theme of this entire case, due in part to the focus of this study on values. Within the theme of values emerged the categories of external pressure, preservation of self, and sisterhood/brotherhood (Figure 3). Espoused values (Figure 4) can include "ideals, goals, values, aspirations, ideologies, and rationalizations" however; they "may or may not be congruent with behavior and other artifacts" (Schein, 2010, p. 504). When discussing the general notion of values, some participants felt that values were not a critical component of their fraternal experience, even if they felt they should be. Jake remarked,

When you first join, you are forced to learn your values but you don't live them and

then it takes till when you are a junior or senior to understand what the values mean.

So when we pledge we know at least what the values are, but it takes longer to know

what they actually mean. I don't think my fraternity always lives out our values 24/7.

The female participants in this study, however, provided an alternative perspective to

the general idea of values. Hayley related when talking about the values of her sorority

that, "I cherish them, they make me feel warm and fuzzy. I get chills during ritual and I

appreciate the values our founders thought out." However, Hayley makes an important

concession when she mentions that she

Realize[s] in a way they [her organization's values] are outdated but that's what

makes them special and there are ways that you can modernize them ... I think my

chapter does not focus enough on our true values and focuses more on a few.

To further this idea that values are not truly lived because they are outdated, Chloe

presented the idea that values are not a rule, but more of a guideline. "I would say like a

strong guideline because not every girl can be perfect. But I think having them as strong

guidelines shapes you into a better person until they can be rules for you." Beth adds, "I

think that every member is going to interpret values differently and weigh certain values

more." In each of these instances, the notion of values is questioned in terms of relevancy

and even feasibility to everyday life. This contradiction of espoused and enacted values

suggests that, "an individual-environmental interaction may be occurring" (Reis &

Trockel, 2003, p. 3). This provides the rationale that the reason fraternities and sororities

are not enacting their espoused values is that they 1) do not understand them or find them

relevant to their current environment, 2) see them more as a guideline than a rule and 3) feel pressure both externally and internally to conform to a different set of values not encompassed within those of their organization.

How the enacted versus espoused values of a fraternity or sorority are negotiated and justified are best understood through how participants perceive a sense of pressure to conform to certain expectations. Pressure was reported as a result of both external forces such as family, friends and sorority or fraternity headquarter influence as well as internal pressure, deriving mainly from participant's sense of internal conflict.

External Pressure. During participant interviews, the notion of external pressure was brought up many times. Specifically, external pressure was derived from family influence, fraternity or sorority headquarter influence, and peer influence. Hayley characterized external pressure as being "surrounded by so much temptation to conform to what seems cool" and Jake provided the insight that as a new member, "you don't really know why everything happens and you worry more about social standing and parties and you are just caught up in the moment of college, because that's what everyone else seems to be doing." The notion of external pressure was felt by all participants in some form and was described as playing a key role in their decision-making process, therefore affecting their enacted values.

Family influence surfaced often in my conversations with participants. The key distinction to note about family influence is that when asked who they considered to be their support system, nearly all participants felt that their family served as their primary source of support and not the fraternity or sorority chapter. Jake related that, "I haven't

needed that much of a support system. My girlfriend, my parents, and my friends from home are more of a support system than my fraternity." Hayley felt that "[her] family, my roommates, my boyfriend, [and] little" were here support system. The aspect of family culture and family values is something that resonated with the participants in this study. Contrary to the research provided in the literature review portion of this study, the component of familial influence was stronger for some, in terms of values adherence, than as suggested by the theory of organizational culture earlier.

It is important to recognize that the role of family influence may have a greater sense of impact on this campus than others, due to the commuter and residential nature of the community. Several of the participants in this study are from the immediate or surrounding area and have easy, consistent access to their family members. This close proximity allows participants to remain as close with their family members as they were before entering college, disrupting the peer group dynamic that is reflected in the literature and experienced at other, more remote, or residential institutions. Research on this particular subject area was limited and focused mainly on minority and first-generation students, content areas that are not applicable to this study.

The role of fraternity and sorority headquarter influence was the next to emerge in importance to values. For most fraternities and sororities, national headquarters provide rules and guidelines that play a key role in how each fraternity or sorority operates, maintains membership and manages risk. Specific to this study, national headquarters serve as the voice of the organizations values and image. In this case, several participants felt that the presence of their national organization either had a positive or negative effect

on how members in their chapter enacted their espoused values. For Tina, headquarter influence, was seen by her chapter as "the big bad wolf." Hayley, who is from the same chapter as Tina, related that she felt,

There is only so much that our [headquarters] can do because so many people already think that they do too much, we are democracy, our chapters are supposed to be able to lead themselves and I think [headquarters] has to be careful to not move too far into telling the chapters what to do but they do provide us with all the resources and bring us an educational leader every year and tell us what we could change. We have tried to make things better but anything more would be too controlling, you can't be there all the time.

Hayley makes a case for chapter autonomy, proposing the idea that sororities in particular, are enabled by their national headquarters staff, which leads to a lack of true understanding of values, purpose and vision. What is interesting to note is that, the rules of organizational culture as outlined by Schein, are compromised by the very organizations that set forth a definition for the groups values and identity. While Schein noted that, "(1) groups define themselves. Who is in and who is out, and by what criteria is membership determined (2) every group works out its pecking order, its criteria and rules for how someone gets, maintains, and loses power and authority" (Schein, 2010, p. 94) it seems, from the participant perspective, that national headquarters seek to fill this role instead, by pressuring chapters to meet the expectations of how the organization is defined nationally, rather than individually. This also works against the chapter's ability to self-determine its internal pecking order. What this implies is that while national

organizations feel that it is their duty to provide an outline and sense of guidance of how its individual chapters should exist and function, individual chapters on this campus feel that these guidelines are not applicable and do not fit how their organization interacts with others on this campus. Because of this, chapters are more like to define themselves and criteria for membership to maintain a sense autonomy not achieved by adhering to national standards.

The problem that remains is what the national organization as whole and specific chapters have decided are the guidelines of their organizational culture is very different things. At the same time, participants relate that they feel too much involvement on behalf of their organization would ruin their sense of autonomy. What is missing from this relationship, I believe, is an opportunity for chapter and individual reflection. While the national organization feels as though it is providing chapters with the material necessary to be successful, chapters are relating that they do not feel connected with what is being provided and rather, venture on their own in order to create a unique sense of identity on their campus.

Garbe made the statement that, "real learning is more than assembling information required to pass tests; it can be achieved only after information is converted to personal knowledge" (2012, p. 38). In addition, Garbe introduced Time-Questioning-Content-Learning Knowledge Theory, which is:

Time is needed to wonder and think about a question. A question leads to finding content that may provide ideas or examples. Content gives rise to notions, ideas, realities, and experiences. Then we begin to put together what we are learning so that

it makes sense. The process of translating content to learning allows people to make assumptions and search for answers that lead to ways of using the research. However, until it is actually used, it is not personal knowledge (Garbe, 2012).

As of now, most national organizations do not adhere to this theory and rather, provide an outline of values and rules to chapters and simply ask them to adhere to them, or face punishment for deviation. However, if headquarter influence shifted to a role that was more conducive of the mutual construction of knowledge and advocated for the personal experience of its members, the values and beliefs of the organization would permeate far deeper than just the new member experience. Garbe cited that this type of personal, experiential learning is best achieved through what he called and "excursion" relating,

> An excursion is intended to find a truth, sometimes for information, some times for adventure, and sometimes just because there is a question the learner needs to search out. This should be a continuous and reflective process where learners make their own decisions based on their own informational needs. (Garbe, 2012, p. 39)

In addition, Garbe noted the importance of collaboration and "critical friends" in the excursion process.

> The goal of an Excursion is to improve learning to knowledge. The learner is empowered by having the chance to develop and refine their skills in knowledge gathering and synthesizing. They're responsible for the instructional decisions based on their needs. The learners are engaged in observing, analyzing, designing, assessing, adjusting, and collaborating. They also reflect and refine as they proceed.

This reflection takes place as collaboration with critical friends during and at the end of each step. (Garbe, 2012, p. 39)

Using Garbe's Time-Questioning-Content-Learning Knowledge Theory, chapter members can maintain their autonomy, while still finding meaning within the values and beliefs of their national organization. However, for this to occur, changes may need to occur to current new member guidelines and processes. In addition, fraternities and sororities may need to re-evaluate how the role of "excursions" factors into membership after the new member period in order to keep members engaged and aligned with the values of their organization.

Peer Influence. Within external pressure also emerged the element of peer influence. Peer influence was manifested in a variety of ways, specifically in terms of why participants joined and chapter apathy. As stated in the literature review, researchers have established that peer culture is an important predictor and standard of behavior (Renn & Arnold, 2003). For Jake, peer influence was why he considered joining his fraternity, noting that, "one of the brothers was from my area at home and he has been a mentor to me and became my big brother later on but he pretty much convinced me to join." Missy also had a similar experience with peer influence in her decision to join a sorority,

I got contacted in the summer by two people to join Greek life and told me more about it and how they got involved in other organizations and their philanthropy and why it was so great to join, so they reached out to me and wanted to persuade me to get involved.

Chloe, a new member during the interview process, also verbalized peer influence as being a key influencer in her decision to join her sorority and that peer influence continued to be a facet in her life, mentioning that she viewed her big sister as her "academic role model." Beth also commented on the big sister, little sister relationship and its influence on her decision to join and remain in her organization.

> When I got my bid I remember being so elated and that same girl [from recruitment] gave me such a big hug and through my whole new member process she was there to guide me and I feel like she was a really good reflection of my chapter. Her representation of the chapter is what I try to be.

Each of the above participants felt that their decision to join their particular fraternity or sorority was directly related to the influence they felt from their peers. Peer influence, therefore is seen as a more pervasive force than the actual values of the organization. Jake mentioned at one point that "people join people" rather than people joining values. In fact, "according to social identity theory, group members look more favorably upon and distribute more rewards to those whom they perceive to be in-group members" (Lucas & Baxter, 2012, p. 64). This implies participants joined the organization in which they felt they were perceived as in-group members from the time that they were recruited. In addition, "research on social identities indicates that these processes of identification and categorization interact in important ways with processes of power and status, although these connections are little researched" (Lucas & Baxter, 2012, p. 64) which also indicates that peer influence of whether or not to join provided participants with a feeling of power and/or status that allowed them to self-identify or categorize themselves with

members of that organization. This furthers the statements made by participants that their decision to join their fraternity or sorority was primarily dictated by the influence of their peers and also highlights the need for further research on the topic.

Peer influence was also a key factor when discussing chapter apathy. Missy in particular, talked about how apathy appears in her chapter saying that

I just wonder why attendance is so poor and what we can do as a chapter to try and change that. But that is one of the most frustrating things. My freshman year everyone came out to everything and it has just gone downhill.

Sullivan described fraternities and sororities as being split into thirds, explaining that, "top-third members are the student leaders. They make your organization a cornerstone of their campus identities" (Sullivan, 2011, p. 3) In addition, Sullivan relates that,

Middle-third members care about your organization or team. Unlike bottom-third members, they have a positive attitude and they want contribute. They simply want to do it in a way that fits with their lives and other demands. Unlike top-third members, involvement in your organization is not the defining element of their personal identities. (Sullivan, 2011, p. 14)

In Sullivan's opinion, the middle is the key to fighting chapter apathy. Chapter apathy helps to round out the element of peer influence because it highlights that peer influence is not only key in successfully recruiting members and assigning positions of power and influence, but also plays a large part in over-all chapter behavior. If one chapter member is apathetic, more chapter members may become susceptible to apathy as well.

Missy makes the connection that peer influence, not only leads to risky behavior or poor ethical decisions on an individual level, but also on a group level. According to much of Missy's interview, peer influence directly affected organizational values, whether or not they are enacted, and the role that apathy played in chapter success. Apathy is also explored further in the following section in which participants detail their desire to maintain their sense of personal identity, even if it means sacrificing the well being of their fraternity or sorority.

Preservation of Self. The next category that falls under values is preservation of self, which also yielded the notion of personal values. Preservation of self surfaced amongst participants as a desire to maintain individual characteristics, needs and values apart from those of the organization. In addition, participants felt that despite the communal aspects of their fraternity or sorority, each member has their own interest in mind. Missy related,

> I feel like everyone is looking out for himself or herself but in the end you can only look out for yourself. Even though it's supposed to be sisterly, in reality it's a group of women with the same letters, there are really like one or two people who are there for you and everyone else is watching but not caring.

For Missy, group identity was merely an image created on surface attributes of the group rather than intrinsic shared values that the organization is defined by. Jake also felt that his actions had a more direct effect on himself as an individual rather than his fraternity, stating,

If I do something wrong, it is going to have negative consequences for myself, I

don't see it in terms of the fraternity. Some people can't see the consequences for

themselves and that's why they don't live the values of their organization.

For Jake, the fraternity experience is something that just happens to be occurring

simultaneously with his individual experience, existing as mutually exclusive events.

This mentality not only surfaced amongst participants who were in their final year of

membership, but also in new members such as Chloe. As a new member in her

organization, Chloe related that she felt the need to preserve and take care of herself

above anything, even though her sorority espoused the notion of sisterhood.

I am my biggest advocate and my number one fan. I feel like it is important to take

care or yourself because if you are only looking out for the group that you are in, you

are going to eventually fall apart yourself. You have to be able to keep up your

grades. Taking care of you as individual is important to me first and foremost.

For Chloe, self-preservation was the only way to maintain her position as a contributing

member of her organization, prioritizing her personal needs above the demands of her

sorority.

Contrary to the research presented in the literature review, which stated that

fraternities and sororities primarily spoke to the interpersonal dimension of an

individual's inner voice, participants in this case strongly felt that their epistemological

and intrapersonal dimensions of identity were able to eventually emerge, therefore

allowing the peer group culture to survive. In addition, it was previously said that

fraternities and sororities thrived primarily on their ability to engage members with each

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other and less on the individual member questioning who they are and how they know. This too, according to participant statements in this case was not true. For Chloe in particular, the less that her peer group was involved in her sense of identity, the better able to she was to contribute to the normative culture of the organization. What still remains the same, though, is that the espoused values of the organization are not the ones being enacted, due to the fact that members are so invested in the idea of preservation of self, rather than preservation of the group as the literature review suggested. In addition, the intended purpose of fraternities and sororities to provide "[engagement] for the purpose of promoting self-awareness" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 14) rather than awareness of self through the group, was related by Missy, Chloe and Jake as being true.

Each of these perspectives lends a new dynamic to what was previously presented in this paper as a desire to conform to group culture and peer norms, when in this case participants felt a stronger desire to maintain themselves. The following dimensions of community values and personal values help exemplify participants view of themselves in terms of the fraternity and sorority community, their chapter and individually, providing a more in-depth perspective as to why preservation of self was such a prominent topic in participant conversations.

Personal Values. Personal values were something that participants identified as being different from those of their organization because they had a different objective in mind. Jake best characterized the difference of personal values from shared organization values when he said that,

My values are my goals, in the sense of do well in school, have good relationships in

school, plan out your future, respect your family. In a way they are kind of similar,

trust honor and respect but they are slightly different because a fraternity is a bigger

group.

Hayley also related that, "My personal values have meaning to me because I feel like

they make me who I am and I wouldn't be the same person if I didn't believe the things I

believe and treasure the things I do."

It is in this theme, that I feel the biggest distinction is made between what

participants saw as the organizations values and their own values and why they did not

see them as one in the same but rather, mutually exclusive. This separation along with

idea of self preservation suggests that these participants in this fraternity and sorority

community have a strong desire to remain autonomous and see their organizations as

something that supports what they are already doing, but does not serve as a guideline for

how they should change their actions or live their lives.

Bronfenbrenner suggested through his notion of "ecological niches" that there are

"specified regions in the environment that are especially favorable or unfavorable to the

development of individuals with particular personal characteristics" (1993, p. 18). I

believe this provides further understanding as to why participants held their personal

values and the idea of preservation of self over the values and preservation of their

fraternity or sorority. These organizations could be seen as, "ecological niches that are

especially favorable to students whose attitudes are congruent with institutional

philosophies and especially unfavorable to students whose attitudes are incongruent"

(Renn & Arnold, 2003, p. 271). Members whose personal values may align with the espoused, but not enacted values of a fraternity or sorority, are in conflict with their environment and have a greater sense of duty to preserve themselves as an individual in order to survive with in this environment, which is why Renn and Arnold also noted that "there are also ecological niches that instigate or inhibit development for students with varying personal characteristics. Microsystem niches attract and support some students and not others" (2003, p. 271). In summary, the need to preserve one's self and values above those of the group stemmed from participants feeling disengaged from their microsystem niche its enacted values. This disconnect also provided a foundation for the limitations and scope of peer culture in fraternities and sororities in this community. While peer group members held enough influence to convince participants to join, this influence was not pervasive enough to change their personal values and beliefs.

The role of personal values also provides better understanding for the notion of brotherhood and sisterhood within the fraternity and sorority setting. How individuals define themselves and what values are important to them directly affects how they view brotherhood and sisterhood and what actions they feel are reflective of this value.

Sisterhood and Brotherhood. Sisterhood and brotherhood surfaced within the r theme of values. Within the phenomenon of sisterhood and brotherhood are three codes; accountability, loyalty and rejection (Figure 3). Brotherhood and sisterhood was something that was hard for participants to provide one singular definition for. Hayley best described sisterhood as "not one word, one phrase, or one definition." Male participants in this study felt much more confident about their ideas of brotherhood than

female participants did about sisterhood. Stan described brotherhood as an opportunity for growth and the only thing that differentiated fraternities from other social clubs, relating that

> There is always growth in the brotherhood, its not like once you get in you stop learning about your ritual, you always keep learning and growing and being active that's what makes it a fraternity and not a club.

Another aspect of sisterhood and brotherhood that seemed to differentiate fraternities and sororities from other social clubs was the theme of accountability. In fraternal organizations, accountability is a key component in many of their founding documents and principles. However, this theme has shifted since its inception, relying heavily on behavior incentives to help keep members accountable. Tina described an instance in which she had to hold her entire chapter accountable during her term as president.

> I sat the entire chapter by their GPA one meeting to instill that you need to step it up and start working and also to get the girls in the back with the 4.0 to get look out for the girls in the front with a 1.0 … I had a lot of people get mad at me for this.

While Tina felt justified in her actions of holding her members accountable, she was visibly upset that her decision has caused members to be upset with her. For Tina, holding her chapter accountable compromised her ethic of care, which emphasized the obligation to exercise care and avoid hurting others (Gilligan, 1982) even though it exemplified the value of sisterhood by holding her members to a higher academic standard.

At the other end of the spectrum, Jake described his interpretation of accountability within his fraternity, reflecting themes of Gilligan's ethic of justice.

I think that each chapter should hold their members individually accountable before something really disastrous happens. For example, if one member is really prone to some specific bad behavior like drug use or something, the chapter should deal with that with that one person.

In addition, Jake described holding members accountable as practice for post-grad experiences,

This is just a fraternity but in the future in a job, if you mess up you get fired, here it is less of a big deal but you can teach them a lesson that there are consequences to actions.

The most interesting part about the code of accountability within brotherhood and sisterhood is that Jake was the only participant who felt that accountability was a positive aspect of fraternity and sorority life, citing that he felt comfortable with confrontation and felt it was a tenant of how his fraternity functioned. Females in the study related that they felt confrontation was difficult. Tina, quoted previously about holding her chapter accountable for their grades, also felt that she struggled with the notion of accountability,

You never want to be told you are doing something wrong. Even the girls who break the rules, to them its justified, but I think part of you in the back of your mind you know it was wrong so when you get called out on it you don't want to be talked down to and I think women are very defensive so you never want to be pointed out with a flaw.

Tina points out that women are more defensive when held accountable, while Jake characterized men as viewing accountability for an opportunity for growth. The difference in how men and women received criticism spoke to the nature of their gender socialization and affects how fraternities and sororities incentivize their members. It could be suggested that men confront their members and threaten them and women, seemingly, seek other alternatives that require less confrontation. Many female participants noted that they were able to encourage sisters to attend events or earn good grades by either "fining them or giving them a prize like a t-shirt or a gift card" while Jake described his experience with behavior incentives in relation to chapter philanthropic goals.

> To incentivize philanthropy work, we use social parties as a bait, every organization needs incentives. They are a great thing and an awful thing. I think mostly an awful thing. If there is no incentive to raise money for philanthropy, people are not going to do it. If there is no incentive to help out, it's kind of hard. Let's say you raise $1,000 you don't see the benefit of that, you are handing someone a check, you don't see the outcome.

> Accountability and behavior incentives surfaced as a key element within sisterhood and brotherhood. In addition, accountability and behavior incentives provided additional insight into the problem of espoused and enacted values. Members may not actually relate to the values of the organization, but are still held accountable to these values and standards and are penalized accordingly, rather than being held to the perceived standards and values of the organization decided upon by the peer group (Schein, 2004). This

disconnect breeds an atmosphere of frustration and dissatisfaction with the organization as a whole, pushing members farther away from wanting to enact the espoused values of their fraternity or sorority.

Loyalty presented its self in a very unique way throughout the interview process. For many of the participants, loyalty was described as knowing all the people in your chapter as well as not holding them accountable for poor behavior choices. Missy related that, "there is a fear if you tell on someone, if you try and correct their behavior even though you care for them that you will get looked down upon." From her point of view, loyalty was enacted by not telling on other, loyalty is equated to being silent. Beth described loyalty as "a personal value, how you choose to define being loyal is up to you." In addition, Beth related that,

> I think being loyal both to yourself and your sisters is what our founders intended.
> Just saying something as simple as I don't agree but I will support you is my way of
> being loyal to them and myself because I am not going to change my opinion for
> them.

Amidst the perception of loyalty amongst participants existed the desire, again for self-preservation, something I found to be interesting. While this is a trait that can have positive effect in terms of maintaining autonomy amongst the group dynamic of a fraternity or a sorority, it also lends itself to behavior that is focused more on the individual, allowing for members to easily distance themselves from the values of the organization. Instead, it could be implied that organizations should develop the individual in a way that seeks to connect them with the values of their fraternity or sorority on more

in-depth and personal level, rather than gaining understanding solely through participating in a manufactured new member education process.

Rejection was the final element to surface within the category of sisterhood and brotherhood. Participants defined rejection as either the rejection of values, the rejection of values based behavior, or the rejection of a member and/or chapter holding an individual accountable for their deviation from values based behavior.

Rejection was described by some of the female participants through their interactions with fraternity men. In many of the instances that participants described, when they, or another member knew that a member of their chapter had been treated poorly by a fraternity man or had been a survivor of sexual violence, they chose not to speak up about it, fearing that their own sisters would reject them. Tina articulated that,

> Girls don't say anything because they don't want people to react negatively towards it, it happens a lot with the younger girls who are finding their place and they don't want to speak up about it because they don't want to be hated for it or be the talk of the chapter.

New member Chloe also remarked that, "Peer pressure is a big factor in sororities especially when it comes to boys and fraternities." The element of self-blame in sorority culture, exemplified by participants' statements, and the rejection of sisterhood as an asset or source of strength in times of crisis denotes a rejection of the values of the organization and an affirmation for the need of self-preservation.

Hayley described rejection during her role as Vice President of standards, providing another viewpoint on the theme of rejection saying that,

Being vice president of standards I have had a lot of difficult decisions to make. Most recently, the president and I have been trying hard to boost our academics and hold each of our members accountable and so we decided to sit everyone in [grade point average] order in chapter meeting. It was a very tough meeting with a lot of tension and a lot of people being upset but I was just trying to make them feel accountable for their actions.

Overall, rejection was a topic that was mostly discussed amongst female participants in this study. The two male participants hardly mentioned the idea of rejection and focused more on confrontation. This falls along the lines of care-based thinking or "putting love for others first" a type of thinking that suggests that women are more apt to participate in by "[testing] [their] actions by putting [themselves] in another's shoes and imagining how it would feel if [they] were the recipient, rather than the perpetrator" (Kidder, 2009, p. 13).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings of this study focused on the three themes of membership (Figure 1), social standing (Figure 2) and values (Figure 3). Within these themes, emerged several categories and codes that in some cases, aligned with information presented in the literature review and others, provided new information that can be examined in another study. The following section will detail the limitations and de-limitations of this study as well as suggestions for future research and implications for practice.

CHAPTER FIVE

Implications and Recommendations

Summary of Findings

Membership. In the theme of membership (Figure 1), participants sought to defend

or rationalize their membership before reaching a point of critical reflection. Participants

not only in our interviews, but also within their individual chapters, families and the

campus at large mentioned this. Specifically, Hayley showed signs of Gender Role

Conflict when attempting to make meaning across multiple identities in the

rationalization of her membership (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003) and (Abes et al., 2007).

In this instance, Hayley is forced to balance and navigate her multiple identities as not

only a woman, but as a sorority member, daughter, student and authority figure. In all

areas of membership, participants felt at odds with the expectations of their fraternity or

sorority, their internal expectations and those of their family or society.

Social Standing. In the theme of social standing (Figure 2), participants related that

they felt chapter appearances and the element of competition were essential components

to determining social standing in their chapter, reaffirming that "peer culture is an

important predictor and standard of behavior" (Renn & Arnold, 2003). In addition, the

theme of social standing helped clarify "the implicit standards and values that [evolved]"

(Schein, 2010, p. 24) within individual chapters and the fraternity and sorority

community on this campus as a whole. Within the category of both appearances and

competition, participants identified members of the opposite gender to be the determining factor in social standing.

Values. The theme of values (Figure 3) included categories of external pressure, preservation of self and sisterhood/brotherhood. Participants related that they felt a sense of external pressure from their family, their peers and their organization's national headquarter to conform to specific standards and values. These conflicting sources of pressure provided a sense of discourse amongst participants as to which espoused and enacted values they should ascribe to even though they "may or may not be congruent with behavior and other artifacts" (Schein, 2010, p. 504) of the organization. Because of this conflict, participants sought to preserve their sense of self in order to better determine what they felt the "heroic and sinful behaviors" (Schein, 2010, p. 94) were, relating that "everyone is looking out for themselves but in the end you can only look out for yourself" as well as the notion that "some people can't see the consequences for themselves and that's why they don't live the values of their organization."

Finally, the category of brotherhood/sisterhood manifested itself in terms of loyalty, accountability and rejection. For many participants, the value of sisterhood/brotherhood is what distinguished their organization from a regular organization or club on campus. Yet, within a brotherhood or sisterhood, participants related that many times, the definitions of loyalty and rejection appeared to be fluid and constantly changing depending on what the group has determined were their values at that time as well as who is deemed to have power and authority in that group (Schein, 2010, p. 94).

Overwhelmingly, the male participants voiced that confrontation and accountability were common occurrences in their chapter, whereas women felt that by holding a sister accountable, they would not be enacting the value of loyalty and therefore, be rejected by their peer group. Tina best related this instance when she said, You never want to be told you are doing something wrong…I think women are very defensive so you never want to be pointed out with a flaw." Similarly, Missy stated that "there is a fear if you tell on someone, if you try and correct their behavior even though you care for them that you will get looked down upon.

This negotiation of authority and power as outline by Schein, also ties in elements of Gilligan's ethic of care in relation to how women have and negotiate relationships. While Tina recognized the need for accountability, there is a sense of care interwoven into her authority that was not reflected in the justice-based ethic seen in conversations with male participants.

Implications

Based on the findings outlined in the discussion chapter, I propose the following implications for practice to help better understand where a gap exists between the espoused and enacted values of fraternities and sororities. In addition, I hope to provide areas of further research in order to look at other, more diverse populations in order to assess if this is a problem across all fraternal organizations or just a select few.

Based on the three content areas, it can be implied that participants felt a strong sense of differentiation between the espoused values of their organization and their enacted values as both an individual and as a member of a fraternity or sorority. On a national

level this case speaks to the way that national headquarters are presenting the values and beliefs of their fraternity or sorority solely in the new member period is ineffective and difficult for undergraduate students to relate to on a personal level. In addition, the material provided heavily during the beginning of membership was, according to participants, not retained or readily recalled after their new member period. This provide concerning implications that in fact, the values espoused by an organization are only truly promoted as being ideal and important in the new member period.

Additionally, the process by which these espoused values are related is not one that seeks to involve the new member as an active learner, but rather a passive recipient. Because new members do not connect personally with the values of their organization, they see themselves more of a separate entity rather than an integral part of the group. This lack of connection encouraged members to seek out their own interpretation of their organizations values or, as many participants described, rely on the definitions agreed upon within their individual chapter. Similarly, this lack of connection between the individual and the espoused values of the organization allowed for members to experience gender role conflict (GRC). As stated earlier, GRC is defined as "a psychological state in which gender roles have negative consequences or impact on the individual or on others" (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003, p. 205) and creates a need for individuals to cope with the difference between what their gender expects of them, what their peers expect of them, and what they expect of themselves. Gender role conflict, could account for many of the values discrepancies experienced and related by participants in this study, providing the implication that chapter processes should better

address the demands of gender identity in order to help members effectively navigate the problems associated with GRC.

What this study implies that not only should national organizations create membership development materials that encourage members to derive meaning from values through self-discovery and personal reflection, but also that national headquarters should encourage individual chapters to create a sense of identity that is relevant to the campus they are on while still related to the values of the organization. By cultivating this sense of uniqueness, organization headquarters can help chapters in feeling confident and sure of their identity as both individuals and as an overall fraternity or sorority chapter.

In addition, national organizations should seek to create member development programming that provides members with the opportunity to navigate the complexities of GRC in order to achieve a better understanding and hopefully, a better sense of how to apply this new knowledge into the fabric of their chapter experiences.

Locally, the implications of this study also highlight the importance of regionalism. The experiences of participants relate to the challenges faced by many relatively new fraternity and sorority communities, in which there is not a strong sense of tradition or connection with their national organization and chapter identity. This could be attributed to the fact that many students at this institution were in relative proximity to their families, making their values prior to joining a fraternity or sorority still a relevant part of their identity.

In addition, the notion introduced at the beginning of this study that the way to curb risky behavior was the force organizations to become co-educational, does not align with

the accounts related by participants in this study. Several participants voiced that it was members of the opposite sex that truly influenced their sense of social standing and validated their organizations as being desirable or having positive characteristics. Because of this, further research is needed to determine an appropriate implication for risky-behavior amongst fraternities and sororities that focuses less with forcing organizations to become co-educational and more on educating individual members on the complexities of gender identity development.

Recommendations

The main recommendation I would make based on the results of this case study is best described in two parts. First, national organizations should look closely at their new member and initiated member processes to see if they can better incorporate the idea of values related "excursions" described by Garbe, as an opportunity for "real learning" that is more than "assembling information required to pass tests." Garbe titled this process as Time-Questioning-Content-Learning Knowledge Theory, which works on the assumption that real learning "can be achieved only after information is converted to personal knowledge" (Garbe, 2012, p. 38). I believe that the role of experiential learning is essential in allowing members to discover and consistently re-affirm why it is they joined their fraternity or sorority and how the values of their organization relate to multiple aspects of their lives at a basic level. While many new member programs attempt this, I believe this process should not be limited to those in their first year of membership, but instead should occur regularly, to serve as a benchmark and reminder to members of the organization of their espoused values.

Locally, campus administrators and fraternity and sorority life advisors should help to shape leadership development practices that take into account "The lack of significant differences based on gender" (Dugan, 2008, p. 17) in current leadership development programs. Traditionally, many fraternity and sorority campus professionals shape efforts to develop leadership curriculum around Kouze's and Posner's *Leadership Challenge* (1998). This model "suggests five behaviors that individuals practice at times when they achieve their personal best as leaders. These include: challenging the process, inspiring a shared vision, enabling others to act, modeling the way, and encouraging the heart"(Dugan, 2008, p. 17). However, as reflected in in this study, "meaningful differences across leadership measures of commitment controversy and civility" (as cited in Dugan, 2008, p. 17) surfaced based on fraternity versus sorority membership. Therefore, campus administrators need to be cognizant of the fact that current leadership programs and curriculum centered around Kouze's and Posner's work should be further examined and augmented to account for the difference in development, ethical decision making and values enactment detailed in this study.

By implementing these changes at both the national level with fraternity and sorority headquarters as well as a campus level with fraternity and sorority administration, chapters and their members will have greater opportunity to engage in meaningful and transformational leadership experiences, furthering their ability to understand, appreciate and even enact the espoused values of the organization from their new member period onwards.

In addition, the role of chapter alumni as advisors should also be examined. Because this institution primarily has former members from that campus returning to become alumni advisors, there is not a lot of diversity in chapter expectations. Often, chapter members that return as alumni bring with them their prior understanding about what a successful chapter looks and acts like. This means that, with returning members comes returning ideals about normative peer culture, preventing chapters from making progress when trying to change the current culture of their organization. Similarly, active members see alumni that return to the chapter from which they were an undergraduate member of less as a figure of authority and more as a friend or peer. This is reflected in participant accounts in how the omit the role of the chapter advisor or alumni as part of external pressure, but identify the national organization as a form of external pressure (Figure 2). To ensure that alumni are seen as authorities and positive role models, it is important that chapters seek to diversify their alumni base and work to incorporate alumni from a variety of universities.

In conjunction with diversifying chapter alumni bases, providing university sponsored training for chapter advisors could provide substantial benefits to chapters struggling to enact the espoused values of their organization. One of the first steps in advisor training would be to highlight fraternity and sorority life trends across the country. This would provide alumni advisors with a broader perspective of challenges and issues facing fraternity and sorority life. In addition, it is important to help chapter advisors understand where fraternity and sorority life administrators see their community growing or changing in the coming years. By initiating these conversations with chapter

advisors, individual organizations will not only have a better sense of alignment with the goals and values of their individual organization, but also with the overarching goals and values of the fraternity and sorority community and campus at large. Once chapter advisors have a better understanding of how fraternity and sorority campus leadership hope to grow and change the community, chapter advisors can then be trained on how to facilitate values based discussions within their chapters. Ensuring that chapter advisors feel comfortable with values based leadership facilitation is essential in implementing culture change within a fraternity and sorority community.

Finally, I recommend that future research should examine the phenomena of cross-gender social status outlined in this study and apply it at a single-sex institution. In this study, participants affirmed that, peer culture is an important predictor and standard of behavior (Renn & Arnold, 2003) and furthered this statement by relating that a peer group or "those with whom the individual most strongly identifies" (Reuter et al., 2012, p. 4) is not limited to those of the same gender, but in fact, extend across to the opposite gender. In short, men and women not only define social standing for themselves, but also for the opposite sex. By examining this phenomenon at a single-sex institution, more insight can be gained as to the developmental processes within men and women that cause them to seek affirmation from the opposite sex to secure their social standing.

Limitations

Location. In this study, there were several anticipated limitations and others that surfaced during the research process. First, the case study was limited to a large public institution in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. This area may or may not be

reflective of other areas of the country in which fraternity and sorority life may play a different role in the university setting and in students' lives. In addition, all but one of the seven participants lived off campus. This potentially limited of the effect of the peer groups because there is no formal Greek housing at this university, which often can increase the saliency of the individual member within their larger peer group. Aside from the one participant that lived at home, others did mention living with other fraternity or sorority members in off campus houses and apartments.

Location also served as a means of influence in participants' notions of safety. Several female participants related that feeling safe was a positive characteristic that they valued in men and conversely, men felt that by exuding safety, they would be more appealing to women. I feel that this notion of safety is unique to this case due to its proximity to multiple large cities. This closeness to a city atmosphere potentially generated a sense of inner-city fear amongst participants, making their sense of safety a higher priority than it might at other institutions that are more rural or distanced from large cities with high rates of crime.

Participants. In addition, this study focused solely on primarily White organizations from the Panhellenic and Interfraternity councils and did not account for culturally based or historically African-American organizations. In addition, the majority of participants were women. Out of the seven participants, five were women and the remaining men, both of which were in the same fraternity. In addition, all of the participants in this study are or had previously been a member of their chapter's executive board and had served in multiple other leadership roles within the fraternity and sorority community. All of these

factors influenced the findings of my study in both positive and negative ways. While the sample reflects the majority of the community being studied, although excluding members from cultural organizations and historically African-American fraternities and sororities, this study is unable to account for the nuances of identity-development seen in ethnic or culturally based groups.

Length of Study. Interview for this study were conducted over a two-month period to allow time for participant reflection and growth. However, this study could be extended to gain a depiction of participant development within a fraternity or sorority over the course of an academic year or even across their undergraduate experience.

Sharing of Information. While students were forthcoming with almost all information, details surrounding risky-behavior and alcohol culture on this campus were limited and primarily described in terms of social mixers and parties, but not explicitly outlined as alcohol related events. While this may have occurred because risky-behavior on this campus is fairly mitigated, more information about alcohol culture and risk related events may have been withheld due to the nature of my role as a graduate assistant in the office of fraternity and sorority life.

De-Limitations
Consistency. Within this study, there were elements that were possible to control, mainly, consistency in participant communication and participation in the study. While six participants completed two interview and two reflections, one participant, Stan, only completed one interview and failed to respond to any further communication afterward. In attempts to contact Stan, I reached out numerous times via email and telephone. In

addition, I sought him out in person when on campus. All of these attempts resulted in my phone calls and emails being ignored and my in person attempts avoided.

Commuter Students. All but one participant in this study lived off campus or regularly commuted from home. Because of this, not all participants were as embedded in their peer group as research suggested. In addition, this consistent contact with family members and friends from home diversified who participants felt were in their peer group as well as who they felt had influence on their values and beliefs. Future research should be conducted at a residential community to better establish the effect of participant saliency within their peer group.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings of this study provide a strong case that the espoused values of fraternal organizations are not the ones enacted regularly by members. In addition, the findings of this study provide a strong indication of changes that need to occur at both a campus (local) level as well from a national headquarters standpoint. These recommendations are direct result of information provided by participants that: 1) Membership is defended, rationalized and critically reflected on as participants seek to make meaning across multiple identities 2) Social standing is determined by the opposite sex and by the criteria of appearances and competition, making clear the influence of peer culture and Gender Role Conflict theory 3) Finally, that current organizational values as stated by the national organization lack relevancy and are therefore re-defined by the authority of the peer group, providing a new definition of sisterhood and brotherhood

where loyalty and rejection are put at odds with the ethic of justice or ethic of care outlined by Gilligan.

It is evident that membership in fraternities and sororities is still meaningful, however, the problems outlined in this case study pose serious challenges to the continued relevancy of fraternities and sororities on the contemporary college campus.

Figures

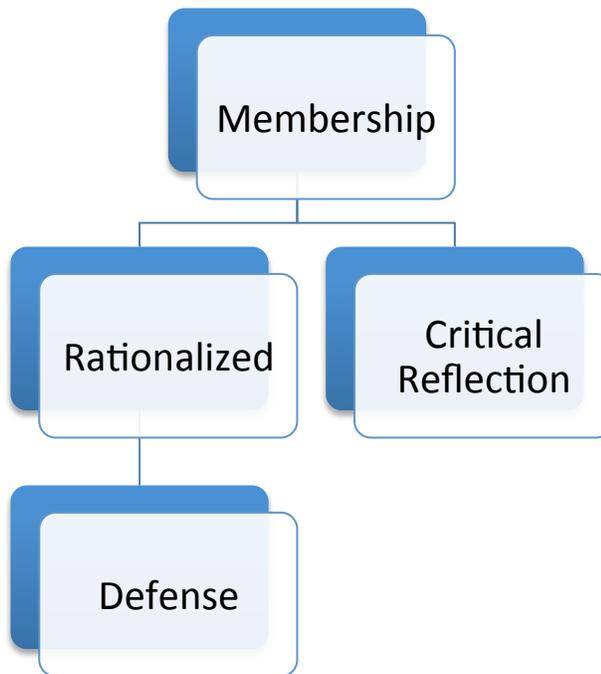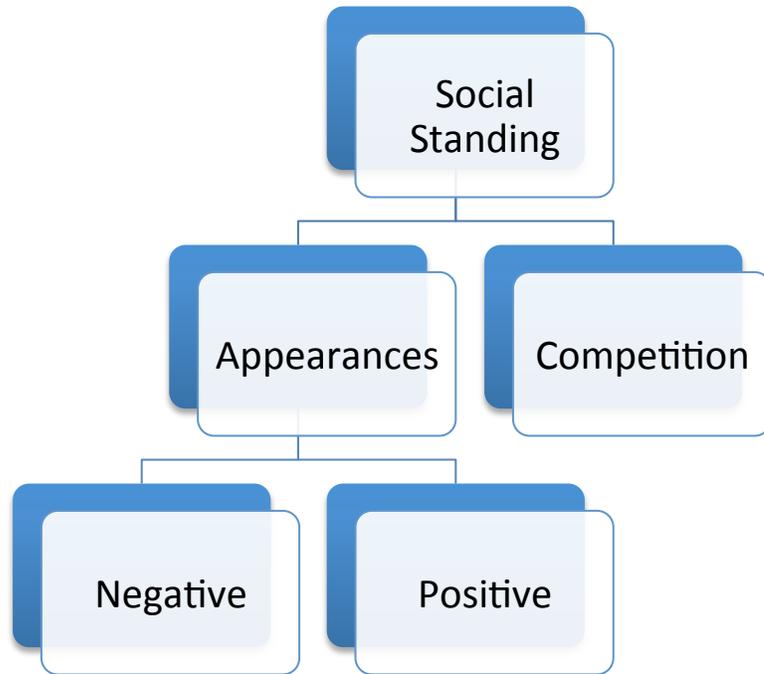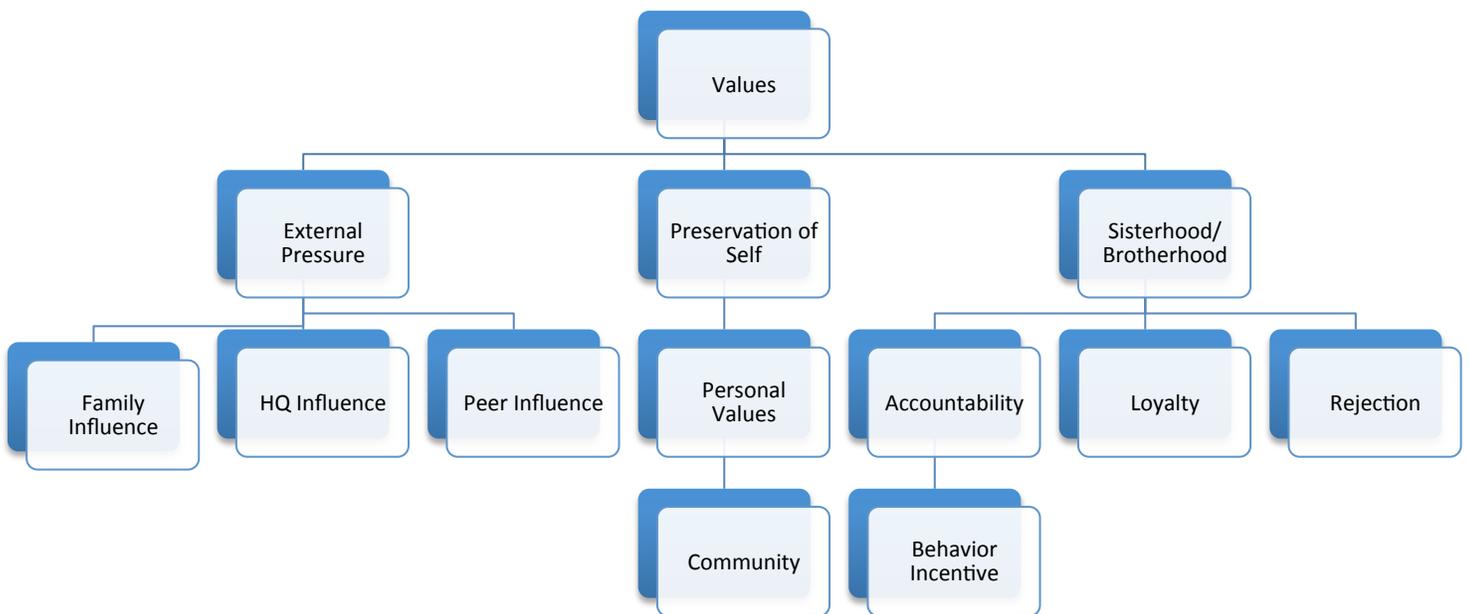**Figure 1**

Figure 2

Figure 3

Fraternities (IFC)	Values
Alpha Kappa Lambda	Leadership, Scholarship, Loyalty
Alpha Sigma Phi	Silence, Charity, Purity, Honor, Patriotism
Chi Psi	Integrity, Dignity, Maturity
Delta Chi	Friendship, Character, Justice, Scholarship
Kappa Alpha Order	Gentility, Service, Leadership, Knowledge, Perseverance, Excellence
Kappa Sigma	Service, Ethical Behavior, Personal Growth, Brotherhood, Scholarship
Pi Kappa Alpha	Scholarship, Truth, Brotherhood
Pi Kappa Phi	Service, Scholarship, Achievement, Character, Leadership
Phi Kappa Theta	Leadership, Fraternal, Intellectual, Social, Spiritual
Phi Kappa Sigma	Trust, Honor, Respect, Knowledge, Wisdom, Responsibility, Integrity
Phi Sigma Kappa	Excellence, Learning, Brotherhood
Sigma Alpha Epsilon	Friendship, Scholarship, Service
Tau Kappa Epsilon	Scholarship, Leadership, Character, Service, Brotherhood
Theta Chi	Truth, Temperance, Tolerance
Sororities (PHC)	
Alpha Omicron Pi	Character, Dignity, Scholarship
Alpha Phi	Sisterhood, Service, Scholarship, Loyalty, Love, Spirit, Care
Alpha Xi Delta	Scholarship, Unity, Responsibility, Ethical Conduct
Chi Omega	Friendship, Scholarship, Community Service, Career Development
Gamma Phi Beta	Love, Labor, Learning, Loyalty
Pi Beta Phi	Integrity, Honor, Respect, Philanthropy, Friendship
Zeta Tau Alpha	Service, Wisdom, Love

Figure 4

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BIOGRAPHY

Nancy Schwartz graduated from Arlington High School in Arlington, Texas in 2008. She received her Bachelor of Arts from The University of North Texas in 2012. She was employed as the Graduate Assistant for Fraternity and Sorority Life for two years and received her Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies from George Mason University in 2014. In June of 2014 she began her serving in her role as Assistant Director of Fraternity and Sorority Life at Bradley University.