Evaluating Hazing and Related Behaviors, Intervention, & Prevention Efforts: A Solutions-Based Approach

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Chapter 1 Hazing in Context

Hazing has been a part of the American high school and college experience since the first student groups formed. It is viewed as a “rite of passage” and certain activities can become a “tradition” quickly. Although hazing actions can be classified along a spectrum or continuum, from seemingly simple requirements such as required ways of dress or cleaning duties, they may escalate to acts of humiliation and degradation or involve dangerous physical activities. This escalation is often fueled by an increasing prestige of the team or organization, alcohol consumption, or masculine norms. Hazing is illegal in most states, and strict hazing policies are in place among major athletic and fraternal organizations as well as in the school districts or campus communities that host them. Yet, despite laws, trainings, and interventions, young adults continue to be physically, mentally, or emotionally abused through hazing acts, tolerated for the sake of belonging.

Two examples, summarized from an interview-based dissertation (Smith, 2009), illustrate the cyclical nature of hazing and demonstrate how expectation and a desire to belong influences tolerance. Knox, a fraternity member who played football in high school, did not connect his fraternal initiation experience to his experiences with his high school football team. Yet, he talked about a desire to “earn” his membership and to “not be handed anything” as lessons he learned from his parents. He believed his fraternity initiation should be meaningful and rigorous, to allow him to prove that he belonged. Sam, who also was on a high school football team, believed his experiences on the team helped him prepare for his fraternity initiation by providing him with “physical and mental toughness.” Although he

viewed fraternity initiation activities as a choice, he believed they allowed him to experience adversity as a way to prove he belonged. He viewed that the benefits of affiliation with the fraternity offset the challenges of the membership process.

Organization

This monograph is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 provides background information, specifies the problem, purpose and significance, identifies relevant terminology, and includes a discussion of challenges to eliminating hazing. Chapter 2 focuses on hazing in the secondary context (grades 6-12) and reviews direct and related literature on hazing, bullying, and other forms of interpersonal violence between individuals and groups. Chapter 3 focuses on the college context, and provides a detailed look at individual, group, and community influences on hazing patterns and behaviors. Chapter 4 is concerned with hazing intervention and prevention strategies for hazing and other forms of youth violence, drawing on theory and efficacy studies from education, sociology, and public health disciplines. Chapter 5 provides implications for practice, using case studies from practitioners in several contexts who have worked with hazing incidents. Appendix A introduces the Piazza Center Model of Horizontal Campus Hazing. Appendix B is a Hazing Prevention Matrix for developing and evaluating effective hazing prevention programs.

Background

Hazing is a behavioral practice that evolved from forms of military discipline imposed during boot camp or basic training. While American forms of hazing have parallels in Medieval Europe and the British prep schools of the 1700s, these practices seemed to disappear well before the American version developed (Nuwer). Allan and Madden (2008)

reported more than half (55%) of college students involved in clubs, teams, and organizations experienced hazing. Conversely, Allan, Kerschner, and Payne (2019) reported that 26% of students belonging to clubs, teams, and organizations reported experiencing at least one hazing behavior, but only 4.4% identified it as hazing when asked directly. This dissonance between student experiences of hazing and their ability to label it is problematic for preventing hazing behaviors.

Calls for stricter anti-hazing laws and additional education about hazing and its consequences have persisted for at least two decades (Dixon, 2001). The current legal landscape includes a federal anti-hazing legislation, the Report and Educate About Campus Hazing Act (REACH), which would require higher education institutions to disclose hazing incidents. Proponents of this approach acknowledge, "While laws are not the panacea for interpersonal violence, they are a key component of primary prevention and integral to a comprehensive approach to prevention" (StopHazing.org, 2001, p. 7).

Statement of the Problem

School and campus administrators, parents, students, researchers, and policy and lawmakers recognize the direct and associated problems with hazing. Media accounts, crime statistics, and research studies continue to evidence physical, mental, and emotional problems, in both the short- and long-term, that hazing can cause for victims as well as offenders. Laws, policies, and trainings have done little to restrain hazing behaviors among adolescents and young adults in secondary and college settings. However, despite the recognition of the problem and its proliferation, little is known about the effects of

prevention and intervention strategies in terms of changing individual attitudes, group and community cultures, and ultimately, behaviors. After an extensive review of literature followed by testing a theory of hazing motivation, Cimino (2011) concluded that we "know" very little about hazing. This deficiency has not substantially changed in the past decade.

Many of the current books and studies about hazing provide rates, statistics, and illustrative stories (e.g., Nuwer, 1999, 2021; Allan, Kerschner, & Payne, 2019; Allan & Madden, 2008) that are helpful in understanding the problem, and some researchers have proposed prevention frameworks (e.g., Allan, Payne, & Kerschner, 2018) that are evidence-based. Research on intervention efforts typically have focused on specific populations such as athletes (e.g., Waldron, 2015) and settings such as secondary or college settings (but not both). There is a critical need for a comprehensive review of hazing and effective hazing intervention and prevention research to identify what works to prevent hazing from early identification in secondary school to its proliferation in college. A research review needs to provide details about the population and context where hazing takes place and identify direct and related intervention and prevention efforts across education, sociology, and public health disciplines. Synthesizing these efforts in a singular, connected volume facilitates a fuller treatment of the problem and enables solutions.

Purpose of the Review

The purpose of this monograph is to synthesize research on hazing, hazing intervention, and hazing prevention across secondary education and college settings. The results of this review are used to develop a research-based framework and matrix for what works to identify hazing, disrupt hazing cycles, and ultimately to prevent hazing practices.

Significance

Hazing causes physical, mental, and emotional harm to victims and offenders. The effects of hazing manifest immediately and can persist far beyond the initial experience. Addressing hazing and its antecedents at its typical origin point (secondary education) and exaggeration (college setting) can reduce harmful consequences including deaths.

Defining Hazing

Within the research literature for both secondary schools and college contexts, hazing broadly is defined as any forced task or activity that requires physical, mental, or emotional outcomes that endanger the physical safety of another person, produces mental or physical discomfort, causes embarrassment, fright, humiliation, or ridicule, or degrades an individual (Ellsworth, 2006; Nuwer, 1999; Sweet, 2004). Mental hazing, or activities that can include verbal abuse, blindfolding, or being restrained in a small space, can be just as damaging as physical forms of hazing (Salinas & Boettcher, 2018). Hazing in a group, club, or team context is any activity expected of someone joining or participating that humiliates, degrades, abuses, or endangers, regardless of a person's willingness to participate (Hoover, 1999; Allan & Madden, 2008, 2012). In the secondary education setting, hazing often is differentiated from bullying, while in the collegiate context, it is more commonly defined through group involvement. Collectively, several common descriptors emerge from the research defining hazing: ritualized, cyclical, cost, legitimacy, degrading, violent.

Defining Hazing in the Secondary Education Context

At the secondary education level, Hoover's (1999) definition is generally referenced. Notably, it differentiates hazing from non-hazing team activities.

> Any activity expected of someone joining a group that humiliates, degrades, abuses or endangers, regardless of the person's willingness to participate. This does not include activities such as rookies carrying the balls, team parties with community games, or going out with your teammates, unless an atmosphere of humiliation, degradation, abuse or danger arises. (p. 8)

Gershel et al. (2003) further specified that hazing is an activity expected of someone for group membership, and differentiated the activity from more general expressions of harassment such as bullying or horseplay. Research teams, led primarily by Waldron (Waldron & Kowalski, 2009; Waldron, Lynn, & Krane, 2011; Waldron, 2020), have focused on hazing in athletics across educational contexts, situated it within a larger set of problematic behaviors, and classified actions as interpersonal violence that occur because of peer-to-peer behaviors. Waldron (2015) further described hazing as a symptom of the hierarchy and social dominance with an eventual goal of acceptance, contrasted with bullying, where members of an "out" group will never be accepted by members of the "in" group.

Defining Hazing in the College Context

At the college level, Allan and Madden's (2008) abbreviated form of Hoover's (1999) definition is primarily used.

> Any activity expected of someone seeking membership in a group that humiliates, degrades, abused, or endangers them regardless of a person's willingness to participate. (p. 2)

Allan, Sidelko, and Kerschner (2020) later highlighted three components from the definition as a means of operationalizing it: group context, harm, and "regardless of a person's willingness to participate." The final point is further elaborated as a formula in which peer pressure combines with a desire to belong to produce a coercive environment, where coercion impedes true consent.

Identifying Group-Based Contexts

Hazing is a cross-campus or horizontal challenge to be addressed across secondary and college settings (Nuwer, 2018). Hazing occurs in religious organizations (Hoover & Pollard, 2000); marching bands (Harris, 2011), secret or honor societies (Walters, 2015), military spaces (Kim et al., 2019; Pershing, 2006), athletics (Tofler, 2016), academic workspaces (Brown & Middaugh, 2009; Thomas & Meglich, 2019; Tofler, 2016), and other student organizations (Owen et al., 2008). It is particularly ingrained in the culture of higher education (Ellsworth, 2006; Pollard, 2018). If students participate in hazing in one student-constructed space, often those experiences are carried to other organizations as well (Sasso, 2019). Addressing hazing requires a community-based approach to prevention.

Allan, Joyce, and Perlow (2020) identified six primary functions of hazing in organizations: (a) a rite of passage; (b) a tool to align individual and group identity; (c) a mechanism for exerting power and dominance; (d) a tool to discourage freeloaders; (e) a tool to build group cohesion, and (f) a mechanism of moral disengagement. Although their purposes for hazing were based on research and practice with fraternal organizations (see also Knight & Boettcher, 2018), the same features are evident in secondary settings (Gershel et al., 2003), among athletes at all levels (Hoover & Pollard, 2000; Hoover, 1999; Waldron, 2015) and among members of bands and ROTC (Silveira & Hudson, 2015), religious groups, and other clubs and organizations (Allan & Madden, 2008).

Additional Considerations for Understanding Hazing

Hazing is complex. There are myriad reasons why hazing occurs in the first place and why it continues to persist, despite prevention efforts. It is important to understand the causes of hazing as well influences that allow hazing to pervade organizational culture.

Hazing as a Violent Act

A key difference in the hazing literature from the two educational contexts is a stronger characterization of hazing as violence in the secondary context. Researchers focused on hazing in grades 6-12, which most often center on athletics, describe and differentiate hazing from bullying. Allan, Hakkola, and Kerschner (2020) distinguished that hazing typically occurs for the purpose of inclusion, while noting that bullying is intended to exclude. Essex (2014) more directly linked bullying and hazing, cautioning that both activities lead to dangerous consequences. Citing StopHazing.org, Essex added the language of coercion to the definition, specifying performance of dangerous and/or humiliating acts to

fulfill a rite of passage into a group or organization. Expanding on this view of "tradition" in a summary of literature, Goodwin (2020) observed that many hazing acts resulted from the ritualized and cyclical nature of the activity. Fields, Collins, and Comstock (2007), in a study of interconnected sports violence, supported a similar explanation in their research on teams, but found that instead of building unity, a justified goal of the activity, hazing could be reduced to a simple act of control. This was supported by Waldron and Kowalski (2009), and later by Waldron (2015) as a mentality that perpetuates the behavior.

Hazing as Legitimacy

Cimino (2011) emphasized the notion of cost for defining legitimacy to hazing terminology. In this context, hazing is defined as the generation of induction costs (i.e., part of the experiences necessary to be acknowledged as a "legitimate" group member) that appear unattributable to group-relevant assessments, preparations, or chance. For example, the cost for trying out for a track team (e.g., energy cost of running) is a product of group-relevant assessment. If the team mandated that potential members had to dress in women's clothing as part of the same assessment (i.e., adding a social cost) that does not appear relevant to the group's purpose, then this is a form of hazing. Cimino further noted, "Logically, hazing may also be manifest in unduly excessive assessments or preparations. Thus, 'group relevance' encompasses both the content and the intensity of an induction experience" (p. 242).

Hazing as a Spectrum

The conceptualization of hazing as residing on a scale or spectrum complicates detection and prevention efforts. Waldron (2014) identified a spectrum of hazing behaviors, viewed by students as ranging from “harmless fun” (e.g., a team tradition involving embarrassment) to “violence.” This notion of a spectrum of hazing behaviors has strong connections across educational settings, especially within the socially constructed space of undergraduate student life within student organizations. Viewed this way, hazing can be challenging for adults to stop behaviors because the activities can be interpreted as promoting social bonds. As a result, at both the secondary and college levels, there is a dissonance between student experiences of hazing and their ability to label the activity as hazing or willingness to report it (Allan, Kerschner, & Payne, 2019; Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo, Poulos, & Sipple, 2005; Hoover, 1999). Further complicating this, and depending on the legal context, hazing also can be considered consensual by victims if they voluntarily choose to participate and participants frequently downplay the severity of hazing activities.

Early identification of hazing is crucial to intervention and prevention, but little is known about the early identifiers of hazing behaviors. Researchers associated with the Piazza Center for Fraternity and Sorority Research and Reform (2021), conducted seven focus groups to discover early identifiers for hazing among college

fraternity and sorority members. The researchers found a myriad of differences across gender for hazing attitudes and behaviors. Sorority members tend to engage in emotional and mental forms of hazing. Sorority members assumed their activities were not considered hazing because they often were not physical. Hazing among men's groups often involved more physical forms of hazing and almost always involved alcohol. Men typically hazed to reinforce the hegemony structure, or in other words to attempt to "prove masculinity." Participants described several potential identifiers of hazing, including: carrying items that they would not normally have (non-smoker carrying cigarettes), observing a decrease in GPA or course attendance, a decrease in social media presence, changes in communications with friends and parents, social isolation, or changes in physical appearance or restructuring hygiene or beauty.

Hazing as a Cycle

Hoover and Pollard (2000) made several important observations about hazing in their comprehensive study of high school students. First, students in high school often felt that adults condoned hazing, and they were more likely to participate in hazing when they felt that adults were accepting of the behavior. Students rarely saw hazing as a problem, indicating that students were not aware of anti-hazing messages. Hoover and Pollard also reported high levels of hazing in every type of high school group, even religious organizations and institutions. "Fun and exciting" was the primary reason that students

provided for why they engaged in hazing. Hazing begins young, and can continue through a students' life. Many of the students who reported hazing in high school also indicated they were hazed before coming to high school. Finally, it is important to remember the lasting impacts that hazing experiences can have on a students' life (Hoover & Pollard).

Hazing as Bonding and Cohesion

Hazing victims and perpetrators often cite "bonding" as the primary reason for participating. However, research has shown hazing acts often result in the opposite effect. In anthropology, rituals are described as creating euphoric arousal, for example singing and dancing, or dysphoric arousal, generated by the infliction of pain, discomfort, or other duress (Whitehouse & Lanman, 2014; Whitehouse, et al., 2017). Both dysphoric experiences and euphoric experiences have been shown to create cohesion with the organization. In contrast, some researchers suggest that hazing may not result in cohesion (Lafferty et al., 2017; Van Raalte et al., 2007; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009). Instead of increasing the unity of members, it may make membership in the organization more appealing. Within subculture groups, resistance to the authority of the dominant culture fosters group cohesion against the dominant culture (Muir & Seitz, 2004; Workman, 2001). As a result, subcultures become defined through opposition to the dominant culture. This identification is an important method of establishing organizational power and dominance (Cimino, 2013a), as group members strive against a common adversary. In a college context,

the outgroup can simultaneously be the new member/aspirant group, competing organizations, and the general student body.

Hazing as "Play"

In the field of cultural anthropology, group interactions are characterized as work, *communitas*, ritual, or play (Hendricks, 2006). Play is a voluntary form of human interaction that helps a group construct meaning and generates group cohesiveness often using less serious forms of interaction. Hazing and the concept of play share numerous characteristics. They occur in defined spaces and times, establish power and dominance, engage participants willingly, and establish group identity (Bateson, 1972; Cimino, 2013a Huizinga, 1950; Manning, 1983). Hazing, especially as an activity that establishes hierarchy and conformity, can form a dangerous environment where young adults seeking belonging engage willingly in play that endangers themselves and others, all the while ignoring the risks because the play seems somehow separate from those risks.

Perlow (2018) found that when hazing is enacted as play, it becomes particularly powerful as an organizational tool. It establishes dominance between the players, particularly when the games are rigged to ensure the members win and the new members lose and can establish dominance between groups when enacted inter-organizationally. Play helps ensure norm conformity, and often is conducted

through behaviors such as teasing, practical jokes, harassment, and sometimes physical correction. Even engagement in the play communicates the desire to be included in the group, because to refuse might result in exclusion (Johnson, 2002; Sutton-Smith, 1983). Play also allows groups to deviate from socially acceptable behaviors as deemed by the dominant culture. Because play is often deemed temporary and unserious, players can experiment, bend norms, and behave in deviant ways (Grayzel, 1978; Sato, 1989). This kind of play, which Geertz (1973) called deep play encourages risk-taking and fosters group cohesiveness and commitment. The willingness to endure planned failure-based games demonstrates one's willingness to sacrifice for the group (Cimino, 2013b) as well as a clear in-group/out-group dichotomy (Cimino, 2016).

Hazing as Gender Performance

To understand hazing and its antecedents and correlates fully, it also is important to analyze hazing through gender schemas, or the socially constructed understanding of what it means to be a woman or a man in a particular society (Valian, 1999). Research that focuses specifically on gender differences within hazing is limited. Although both men and women report hazing experiences, data suggest that there are differences based on gender (Allan & Madden, 2008, 2012; Nuwer, 2018). Hazing behaviors in men often serve as a test of masculinity or opportunity to prove one's manhood. For that reason, boys and men can be anxious about the perception that they are weak and are even more likely to participate in

dangerous activities (Allan & Kinney, 2017). Men are more likely to indicate that the entire experience, including hazing, is worth enduring because of the nature of lifelong friendships that are formed (Veliz-Calderon & Allan, 2017). Men can be more rigid in their expectations to participate in hazing and perform masculinity because opting out could be considered passive or feminine (Veliz-Calderon & Allan). Hazing for women typically appeals to dominate understandings of femininity around the objectification of women and women's desire to appeal to men (Allan & Kinney). Women also are more likely to focus on emotional hazing by scrutinizing and objectifying their bodies (Veliz-Calderon & Allan). However, women also are more likely than men to cite opportunities for opting out of hazing (Veliz-Calderon & Allan).

Challenges to Eliminating Hazing

Katter (2007) outlined four problems that confound approaches to eliminate hazing. The first was that single groups or actors work to prevent hazing, rather than institutions or organizations. The second was prevention efforts typically are not proactive, but instead are reactive, which can result in compliance and broad solutions that oversimplify hazing. Katter noted that reactive efforts also often fail to recognize that students favorably view hazing. The third was that prevention efforts towards hazing do not implement evidence based practices. They often benchmark and copy other programs in which they assume the same results despite different environmental contexts. Further, they fail to address the underlying issues such as

hypermasculinity or alcohol use. The fourth was that most proposed solutions are short-term or are one-time events such as workshops or speakers. These may increase awareness, but do not change organizational culture or student behavior (Katter, 2007).

Lack of a Common Definition

A major barrier to successful intervention is the lack of common hazing definition. Researchers have identified a disagreement between administrators, lawmakers, and those engaging in the hazing about what specifically qualifies as hazing (see for example, Campo et al., 2008; Crow & Macintosh, 2009; Ellsworth, 2006; Rutledge, 1998; Salinas Jr. et al., 2018; Veliz-Calderon & Allan, 2017). This disagreement may lead students to disregard all conversations around hazing because they disagree with fundamental definitions, often expressed by frustrated students as "everything is hazing, so why should we listen." Students also continue to not agree that all forms of hazing are problematic. Cimino (2017; 2020) and Roosevelt (2018) suggested that to address dangerous hazing effectively, behaviors that historically have been labeled as hazing must be decriminalized and delimited. Cimino (2020) argued that hazing is fundamentally tied to the ways in which humans understand the world, seek belonging, and manage access to organizational benefits and resources. The researcher posited that while *some* hazing is dangerous, a broad

assumption that positions all new member activities as hazing as “immoral and dangerous” (and therefore is prohibited) may further encourage hazing as a form of deviance or rebellion (Cimino, 2020; see also Stebbins, 1988). Cimino (2017) distinguished between “actual” and “nominal” hazing and suggested that a clearer, more precise, and not overly-broad definition could support hazing prevention behaviors for true hazing.

A Perception that Hazing is Beneficial

Students also have reported that hazing has more positive outcomes than negative ones. Specifically, members of fraternities and sororities are more likely to believe that hazing has positive impacts than non-members (Cokley et al., 2001). Allan and Madden (2008) initially found that 31% of students who experienced hazing said they felt more like a part of the group and 22% said they felt a sense of accomplishment as a result of the hazing they experienced. Hazing participants also have reported that hazing activities created group cohesion and cultivated committed group members (Campo et al., 2005; Cimino, 2011; Keating et al., 2005). While many hazing participants specifically identified team unity and teamwork as justifications of their actions, more than two-thirds of respondents in Allan and Madden’s study did not list teamwork or unity as an outcome of their hazing experience. Students often assume hazing builds positive team dynamics within

their organization or team, but the majority of those experiencing hazing report negative effects (Johnson, 2002; Lodewijkx & Syroit, 1997). Further, researchers found that participants reported less involvement and commitment to the organization following hazing activities (Owen et al., 2008; Rogers et al., 2012).

Prevention efforts are challenging, in part, because many students, alumni, and advisors often believe hazing activities are harmless and fun (Nirh, 2014). Hazing often is normalized as long as it is not harmful (Montague et al., 2008). As a result, there is no incentive to change the culture because hazing is not seen as problematic. Further, researchers have found that both individuals who were hazed and the hazers reported positive outcomes and greater positivity toward hazing (Campo, et al., 2005). Fraternity and sorority members, in particular, are more likely to report that hazing was fun, made them feel more included, generated a sense of accomplishment, and made those who experienced hazing feel a greater sense of accomplishment compared to non-members (Campo et al., 2005).

Inconsistent Hazing Enforcement

A critical barrier to hazing prevention is the dissonance between organizational hazing policies and their enforcement. Policy is only effective to the extent that it can be enforced and regulated. Policies about hazing also must be made clear and compliant with state law (Sasso, 2012). Macintosh (2018) noted that

enforcement of these policies should illuminate the real consequences of hazing for both purveyors and victims in which organizational and individual sanctions are consistently applied. Students should be able recognize hazing and have a communicated method to report hazing without fear of negative reprisal or retribution. These include support from coaches in athletics or in other administrators who may endorse “winning” approaches and so they may minimize practices that promote group cohesion, but are actually hazing activities (Macintosh).

Summary

In the conclusion to a critique of theory and literature on hazing in an attempt to explain its proliferation, Cimino (2011) made the following observation.

> In pursuing future studies of hazing, it is important to note that there is no large body of empirical work that directly supports any theory of hazing using operationalization and measurement. Thus, much of what is thought to be already known about hazing (e.g., it “increases solidarity”) is derived from a wealth of descriptive and anecdotal data. While these data are interesting and important, we have very little scientific understanding of what motivates hazing and what replicable psychological effects it produces (p. 262)

It may be possible that different types of hazing require different kinds of intervention. Effective interventions may need to be tailored to the motivation for or

type of hazing. For example, hazing that students view as fun or bonding may require a different approach than hazing designed to enact pain or sacrifice, which may require a different kind of intervention than hazing designed to establish in-group and out-group delineations. It also may be beneficial to focus primarily on behaviors that are leading to significant injury or death, which in nearly all cases involve a dangerous mix of alcohol and hazing (Nuwer, 2022).

Prevention frameworks are helpful for organizing and guiding the approach of prevention efforts. Given the complex individual, group, and organizational layers that compel, support, and reinforce hazing, strategies like poster campaigns, training, or clear policy declarations as standalone initiatives are unlikely to change student hazing behaviors. Without systematic, measurable approaches to hazing prevention grounded in psycho-social and environmental motivators, hazing reduction efforts remain accidentally effective at best and haphazard at worst. While there is little causal data to explain hazing, correlative data suggests issues and problems that are peripheral or directly related to hazing. Identifying and addressing these issues, using evidence from the broader prevention research fields such as public health and behavioral psychology, are necessary to develop holistic prevention efforts.

Following are several summary statements from the research on hazing identification, practices, and challenges to prevention reviewed in this chapter.

1. Hazing has been a part of the college culture since the first groups began on campus.

2. Hazing can become tradition quickly, and it is hard to rid organizational behavior of this “rite of passage.”
3. Hazing can be present in nearly all campus groups, but is most prevalent in fraternities and sororities, collegiate athletics, ROTC, and bands.
4. Hazing culture is derived from and perpetuated by individual characteristics, group culture, and community norms.
5. Some hazing victims and hazers see positive benefits of hazing, and can see the act of hazing enacted as play or gender performance.
6. Hazing is challenging to eliminate and enforcement of policies and laws have been inconsistent and unclear.

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Chapter 2 Hazing in the Secondary School Context

Research on hazing prior to college centers primarily on the high school context. Hazing literature in secondary education is limited and largely focused on studies of athletes and team sports. In the secondary environment, hazing is researched as an expression of violence more than in college, and is often compared and contrasted with bullying and other forms of interpersonal violence. For the purposes of this chapter, secondary refers to middle (grades 6-8) and high school (grade 9-12), since the literature on hazing, bullying, and other forms of violence often includes this broader timespan.

This chapter begins with an overview of hazing prevalence in the secondary school environment. The next section includes an annotated review of the foundational studies of secondary school hazing. This is followed by a broader look at the related literature on interpersonal violence and bullying, as these related activities are seldom separated from hazing in the research. The chapter reviews the few hazing-specific studies and includes research linking interpersonal violence experiences in in secondary school to victimization and perpetuation of hazing in college. The chapter closes with a summary of the findings.

Hazing in the Secondary School Environment

While most college studies are informed by survey research, data are more difficult to collect with secondary participants who are under 18. Although same forms of victimization, such as bullying, are tracked in federal datasets (NCES, 2020), large-scale estimates of hazing experiences come from recollection surveys of college freshmen (Allan, Kerschner, & Payne, 2019; Allan & Madden, 2008). Hoover and Pollard (2000) conducted one

of the few direct response surveys from high school students. Results from their random national sample (*n*=1,541 juniors and seniors) revealed that 14% of respondents had been hazed; however, 48% indicated that they had participated in activities that met the definition of hazing and 29% noted that they engaged in activities that were potentially illegal to join a group. Both female and male students reported high levels of hazing, but males were at higher risk for dangerous hazing behavior. Complicating challenges to identifying and stop hazing is that coaches, teachers, and family members often struggle to distinguish team building from humiliating and dangerous activities. In a review of literature linking hazing and peer sexual abuse in sports, Jeckell, Copenhaver, and Diamond (2018) observed that hazing has persisted and will continue to persist as long as aspects of team self-governance are left to youth athletes.

Foundational Publications about Secondary Hazing

Publications from five sets of authors form the basis of research on secondary school hazing in the U.S. Each publication uses a distinct definition of hazing and varies methodological rigor and scope. Despite the age of the works, each has maintained a prominent place, often alongside one or more of the others, in the subsequent research and writing about hazing practices, antecedents, and consequences in secondary schools and the college setting. This chapter begins with an overview of these four publications, as nearly all are cited prominently in the last two decades of hazing research.

High School Hazing: When Rites Become Wrongs (Nuwer, 2000)

Journalist Hank Nuwer's (2000) book focused on the history and practices of hazing in middle and high school using news stories, personal accounts, and graphic photographs

and descriptions. He identified hazing activities such as verbal abuse, degrading actions, servitude, and food consumption and linked them to physical abuse, alcohol abuse, and other unlawful acts. Nuwer also included considerations about the psychological reasoning behind hazing and advocated for legislation. He concluded with case studies intended to both enlighten hazing as a problem that begins before college and to identify acts of intimidation and peer pressure during adolescence as directly correlates to hazing.

Initiation Rites in American High Schools: A National Survey (Hoover & Pollard, 2000)

Hoover and Pollard's (2000) survey of college students, known colloquially as "the Alfred Study," is the starting point for most discussions about high school hazing. The prior year, Hoover (1999) published results from a more focused study just on NCAA athletes. Both studies included national random samples of participants using a direct mail anonymous (confidential) survey method. In the broader survey, Hoover and Pollard identified and classified hazing rates and practices among high school students. The researchers worked from the hypothesis that high school students were just learning to distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate activities and that this was especially problematic with group initiation rituals. In addition to its extensive use as a reference and citation source, the Alfred Study has served an important foundational role in theory-building around the antecedents, actions, and consequences of hazing in the interpersonal violence and hazing literature.

Hazing of Suburban Middle School and High School Athletes (Gershel, et al., 2003)

Medical doctors Gershel, Katz-Sidlow, Small, and Zandeih (2003) described their study as "the first to report evidence that hazing is occurring as early as sixth grade" (p. 335).

Their research included secondary student athletes in three middle schools and five high schools in the northern suburbs of New York City in the spring of 2000. They found that 17.4% of students overall had experienced hazing and that 13.3% experienced it as early as sixth grade. There was wide variation in reported hazing activities between females and males, suggesting the importance of disaggregating behavioral data. One notable finding was that although hazing was prevalent among all groups, the frequency was greater among all female groups (e.g., cheerleading) than all-male wrestling and football teams although the severity of actions was greater among males. Gershel et al. reported that only 40% of all students defined hazing correctly, and of those who were hazed, 86% maintained the hazing had been "worth it" to join.

Hazing in View: College Students at Risk (Allan & Madden, 2008)

In 2008, Allan and Madden published results from their large-scale study of hazing. The researchers asked college students (*n* = 11,482 across 53 campuses) about the nature and prevalence of hazing experiences in secondary school. While the study design was reflective, meaning that students were asked to recall prior experiences, the results reengaged the national conversation around hazing. Key findings from this study included that 47% of the students reported that they experienced hazing prior to college. These findings corroborated results from Hoover and Pollard's (2000) study that showed 48% of high school students were part of groups that experienced hazing. Allan and Madden (2009) also published a sub-report, "Hazing in View: High School Students at Risk" that focused specifically on the reflective data.

Waldron and Associates (Multiple Studies)

Jennifer Waldron has been the most prolific researcher focusing on hazing among athletes in the secondary context (2008; Waldron & Krane, 2005; Waldron, Lynn, & Krane, 2011). Waldron and associates have conducted interview studies with athletes to understand rites of passage and the ambiguities of hazing (Waldron & Kowalski, 2009) as well as to reveal athlete's perceptions of coaches' responses to hazing (Waldron & Kowalski, 2010). In 2015, Waldron published a model predicting the influence of various aspects of athletics on hazing severity including gender, identity, sport type, and team norms. This work built on prior studies, including a 2011 focus group narrative study with male athletes (Waldron, Lynn, & Krane) and 2005 study (Waldron & Krane) of female athletes considering motivational climate and goal orientation. Waldron and Krane's model of health-compromising behaviors in sport is grounded in the premise that athletes often will do "whatever it takes" to fit into the social structure of a team.

Interpersonal Violence in Secondary Schools

Research on prevalence, antecedents, and effects of interpersonal violence in secondary schools is important to understand, as violence experienced or perpetuated in any form can have long-term consequences. Adolescent peer violence is identified as interpersonal violence (emotional, physical, or sexual) that occurs because of peer-to-peer behaviors (Waldron, 2020). Mercy et al. (2017) further identified violence among youth as community violence, occurring among individuals who are not related by family ties but who may know each other. Forms of community violence include youth violence, bullying, assault, rape or sexual assault by acquaintances or strangers, and violence that occurs in institutional settings such as schools, workplaces, and prisons. Specifically, school violence

can be grouped into five categories: bullying and cyberbullying, fighting and weapon use, gang violence, sexual violence, and harassment including bias incidents, hate incidents, and hate crimes.

According to the 2019 CDC nationwide Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) (Underwood et al., 2020), administered to 13,677 high school students across the United States, nearly 1 in 10 (8%) high school students had been in a physical fight on school property one or more times during the 12 months before the survey. More than 7% of high school students had been threatened or injured with a weapon (for example, a gun, knife, or club) on school property one or more times during the 12 months before the survey. Almost 9% of high school students had not gone to school at least 1 day during the 30 days before the survey because they felt they would be unsafe at school or on their way to or from school.

Taylor and Mumford (2016) used national descriptive survey data from 12- to 18-year-old youth (*n* = 1,804) to provide a representative look on adolescent relationship abuse (ARA). Using Offenhauer and Buchalter's (2011) definition, the researchers identified ARA as physical, emotional, verbal, psychological, or sexual abuse perpetrated by an adolescent against another adolescent with whom they are in a dating/romantic relationship. Among respondents (37%) reporting current- or past-year dating, 69% reported ARA victimization, however, nearly as many (63%) reported perpetuating ARA in their relationship. Although psychological abuse was most common (more than 60%), the rates of sexual abuse (18%) and physical abuse victimization (18%), as well as 12% reporting perpetrating physical abuse and/or sexual abuse (12%) were substantial as well. Halpern, Spriggs, Martin, and Kupper

(2009), in an earlier nationally representative sample, found that as much as half of problems associated with ARA may persist into adulthood.

Bullying as Interpersonal Violence

Bullying in particular has a strong correlate with hazing (short and longer term), and shares many similar characteristics. For example, both activities involve an in- and an out-group, generally the perpetrator has some form of power over the victim, many of the acts are identical, and participation can have similar effects on all individuals involved. The CDC (2021) offered the following definition of bullying (p. 1):

> ...any unwanted aggressive behavior(s) by another youth or group of youths, who are not siblings or current dating partners that involves an observed or perceived power imbalance and is repeated multiple times or is highly likely to be repeated. Bullying may inflict harm or distress on the targeted youth including physical, psychological, social, or educational harm.

In practice, bullying is a form of exclusion, while hazing is intended to be a form of inclusion (Bellmore et al., 2017). Two primary factors differentiate the research on secondary bullying and college hazing. First, bullying typically is not accepted by the victim, because there is no reward (membership) for victimization. Second, opportunities to join organizations in college typically are much broader than in high school, and many of those organizations (e.g., fraternities and sororities, athletic teams, bands, ROTC) have a culture or tradition of hazing members. Despite these differences, the robust research on prevalence, effects, and prevention of interpersonal violence including bullying offers important and relatable insights into college hazing.

Bullying can be direct (occurring in the presence of the targeted youth) and indirect (not directly communicated to the targeted youth). It can be physical (e.g., hitting, punching), verbal (e.g., calling names, threatening or offensive written notes), relational (e.g., efforts to isolate someone from their peers, spreading false rumors), or damage to property (e.g., taking personal property and refusing to give it back) (Olweus, 1987; Reid, 2017). Contextually, it can occur at school, beyond school groups, or through technology. Although initially identified as having a power dynamic, researchers more recently have refined the definition of bullying to include children of similar size and strength as well as adding an intent to be funny as opposed to intent to do harm (Scaglione & Scaglione, 2006). Like hazing, bullying negatively impacts everyone involved, included those bullied, those who bully others, and bystander who witness bullying (Nansel et al., 2004). This section provides an overview of prevalence and correlates of bullying as well as effects on victims and perpetrators.

Prevalence and Correlates of Bullying in Secondary Schools

The CDC (2021) classifies bullying as a widespread in the United States. About 1 in 5 high school students reported being bullied on school property. Nearly 14% of public schools report that bullying is a discipline problem occurring daily or at least once a week. Reports of bullying are highest in middle schools (28%) followed by high schools (16%), combined schools (12%), and primary schools (9%) (Diliberti, Jackson, Correa, & Padgett, 2019). Cyberbullying is most prevalent in middle schools (33%) followed by high schools (30%), combined schools (20%) and primary schools (5%). Demographically, some youth experience higher rates of bullying than others, as nearly 40% of high school students who

identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual and about 33% of those who were not sure of their sexual identity experienced bullying at school or electronically in the last year, compared to 22% of heterosexual high school students. About 30% of female high school students experienced bullying at school or electronically in the last year, compared to about 19% of males. Bullying is more common among White high school students, with nearly 29% reporting having experienced bullying at school or electronically in 2018 compared to about 19% of Hispanic and 18% of Black high school students (CDC, 2019).

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (2020), from 2005 through 2019, the rate of bullying victimization was highest among sixth graders (approximately 37% reporting in 2005) and has declined since peaking at 42.7% in 2007 to 28.1% in 2019. These rates are slightly lower, but comparable for seventh and eighth graders. Historically, the rates have been slightly higher for females than males (27.5% among males in 2005 to 29.7% among females), but the gap has widened recently to 19.1% for males versus 25.5% for females in 2019. On average, 26.4% of middle school students and 16.3% of high school students reported being bullied in 2017, the most recently available data year. The types of bullying are consistent from middle to high school in several areas, including 40.9% middle to 39.3% high school students reporting being bullied by someone physically stronger and 51.4% middle to 47.6% high for someone socially more popular. The biggest bullying sources were among those who have the ability to influence what others think, with 51.9% in middle and 61.5% in high school.

Bullying is most often associated with middle school-aged children (12-14). Bellmore et al. (2017) noted that the transitional period from late childhood to early adolescence

often coincides with the transition into a secondary school setting. They observed that middle school seems to be the peak of bullying experiences and perpetuation while a decline happens across the high school years. Jankauskiene et al. (2008) identified bullies as most often male, smokers, having lower self-esteem, and from families in which they are teased about their appearance. In a study of high school football players, Steinfeldt et al. (2012) found that the strongest predictors of bullying were adherence to male norms and more specifically perceived approval of the behavior from the most influential male in a player's life. The researchers also observed a negative relationship between high levels of aggression and bullying, contrary to what they expected. This finding alongside other reviewed research led Bellmore et al. (2017) to conclude that "the benefits of team camaraderie buffer against within-team bullying. It may also be that bullying-type behaviors are occurring but that they do not include the power differential aspect of bullying because they take place in a team context" (p. 14).

Effects of Bullying on Victims and Perpetrators

Like other forms of violence, bullying has immediate, short, and long-term effects on victims and perpetrators. In a large-scale (*n* = 113,200) cross-sectional, international study (including 5,169 US participants), Nansel et al. (2004) found that being the victim or perpetrator of bullying had an adverse effect on physical, emotional, and social development among youth. Victims of bullying had the poorest psychosocial development, which indicates a higher risk for emotional and social difficulties. In addition, victims demonstrated problematic peer relationships. Victimized youth were more likely to be marginalized, lacking access to peers who provide positive support and protection against

further bullying. Conversely, bullies have peer groups that support and endorse their aggressive behavior and reported greater alcohol and weapon carrying.

In a retrospective study of 119 undergraduates at one institution, Chapell et al. (2006) found of the 26 participants who said they bullied others in college, 14 (53.8%) also had bullied in secondary school and elementary school. The researchers also found significant positive correlations between being a bully and being a victim of bullying in college, high school, and elementary school. This suggests a comprehensive effect that bullying produces within individuals, which Scaglione and Scaglione (2006) evidenced in their book of collected case studies. The authors associated bullying with future violence, depression and anxiety disorders into adulthood. Powell and Ladd (2010) found bullying can have severe effects on both the bullies and their victims, and that these effects can have lifelong consequences. In a small study, Young-Jones, Fursa, Byrket, and Sly (2015) found that current or past bullying victims had lower academic motivation. Current victims also scored lower on measures of autonomy and competence. These findings suggested that students that experience bullying after high school can experience continued negative effects on college, motivation, and educational outcomes.

Intersections of Hazing and Interpersonal Violence

In an online article entitled, “Intersections of Hazing,” Allan’s team (StopHazing Research Lab, 2020, December) suggested connections between hazing and mental health and well-being, high-risk substance use, sexual harassment and assault, and other forms of interpersonal violence such as bullying. With regard to mental health and well-being, they suggested that individual mental health and well-being of groups and communities can

amplify hazing behavior. High-risk substance abuse, and especially alcohol, is frequently associated with hazing. The link between sexual violence and hazing may not be as clear at first, but the antecedent attitudes and behaviors – power, control, and consent – are familiar in both contexts (Goodwin, 2000; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009). Similarly, Powell and Ladd (2010) identified hazing as a form of group coercion.

Bullying is a type of mistreatment that leads to decreased social integration, which is one factor that separates it from the main purpose of hazing. However, although bullying victimization is inversely linked to sense of belonging (McNamara, Lodewyk, & Franklin, 2018), the need to belong can fuel a desire to agree to requirements to do so. Based on prior studies linking pre-college to college behaviors or perceptions, Smith (2009) posited that hazing in secondary schools should be a predictor of college behavior. For example, in a review of over two decades of research Biddix et al. (2014) found that the largest and most consistent predictor of college student binge drinking was similar practices and expectations in high school. Smith questioned, "If this is the case with alcohol, what similarities could exist with student perceptions of and/or participation in hazing or other risky behaviors on the collegiate level?" (p. 5).

Reid (2017) tested this hypothesis in their dissertation, using survey results to evaluate whether students with a history of being bullied may be more likely to engage in hazing. The study used a repeated measures sample (fall 2012, spring 2013) of 399 first-year students from four large universities in the US. Although 40.7% reported at least one form of childhood victimization experience, childhood bullying victimization, specifically, was is not significantly associated with being hazed during college. However, when considering

victimization more broadly, having a history of multiple forms of peer victimization, exposure to other forms of victimization, as well as a longer history of peer victimization, were positively associated a higher odds of being hazed during college. This supported prior results from Wilkins et al. (2014), and Pereda and Gallardo Pujol (2014), as well as Goodwin's (2020) and Reid et al.'s (2019) subsequent findings, that multiple forms of violence, as well as the effects of childhood victimization can cumulatively affects one's risk of victimization during college.

Hazing as Interpersonal Violence

Despite growing attention violent physical and degrading psychological hazing activities, including deaths, reported in US secondary and postsecondary schools, students continue to join groups. Hoover and Pollard (2000) opened the executive summary of their study with the statement, "Joining groups is a basic human need" (p. 1). A basic formula for hazing can be identified from the juxtaposition of the need for social acceptance and "fitting in" or belonging among teenagers and the importance for group members of differentiating their association based on a set of shared admission norms. Hoover and Pollard noted that, "When initiation rites are done appropriately, they meet teen-agers' needs for a sense of belonging, and the group's needs for members to understand the history and culture of the group, and build relationships with others who belong" (p. 3).

Prevalence and Correlates of Hazing in Secondary Schools

As previously noted, nearly half (48%) of the participants in Hoover and Pollard's (2000) national study of high school juniors and seniors reported being hazed. This was consistent with Allan and Madden's (2008) later retrospective study, in which also half of the

students (47%) reported having experienced hazing behaviors prior to coming to college. Based on this trend, Hoover and Pollard estimated that more than 1.5 million U.S. high school students experience some form of hazing each year. According to the researchers, hazing starts at early age. Among those who experienced hazing, 10% said it first occurred before they were 9 years old. Among 10-12, the rate was 15%, followed by 61% among 13-15, and 15% for 16-18. Twenty-five percent of participants in the study reported first being hazed before they were 13 years old (Hoover & Pollard). According to (Daprano et al., 2006), this trend is especially problematic since students who have been hazed in high school may be more likely to endure hazing in college and "…they are more likely to engage in more dangerous activities to outdo their high school experiences" (Nuwer & Madden, 2003, p. 1).

Allan and Madden (2008) identified several settings in high school where hazing took place, including athletics/sports teams (48%), ROTC (46%), band/performing arts (34%), other school activities (20%), and class hazing (16%), which is initiation into the high school itself. Behaviors ranged from singing and chants, being yelled or screamed at, sleep-related activities such as deprivation, to several categories of alcohol use. Males (51%) were only slightly more likely than females (45%) to report being hazed, while the average number of hazing behaviors experienced also was higher for males (2.4) than females (1.5). Different from findings in the bullying literature, generally, hazing in secondary schools appears to transcend demographics (Edelman, 2005); few researchers have found significant or notable differences in victimization or perpetuation by race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, suburban or urban residence or region of the United States. The primary differences appear to be based on age and/or sex. For example, Taylor and Mumford (2016) found girls

perpetrate serious threats or physical violence more than boys at ages 12 to 14, but that by ages 15-18 boys become the more common perpetrators of serious threats or physical violence.

Much of the literature on hazing in secondary schools involves athletes. Waldron (2015) found in a small study using a convenience sample of 287 high school and college athletes that while the majority (72%) of high school athletes participated in at least one positive initiation ritual, more than 30% of high school respondents participated in at least one severe hazing activity (e.g., being sleep deprived, being hit) and 40.5% of the sample participated in at least one mild (e.g., carrying an item) and/or severe hazing activity. In particular, athletes who played non-contact sports were more likely to engage in hazing (Waldron, 2015). In a small number of cases, the hazing is sexual in nature (Fogel & Quinlan, 2020; Jeckell, Copenhaver, & Diamond, 2018). The strongest predictor of hazing participation is perception of team approval (Graupensperger, Benson, & Evans, 2017; Waldron, 2015). The desire to belong and to act as part of the team played a strong role in hazing tolerance as long as no one was injured (Waldron, 2008; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009).

Waldron, Lynn, & Krane (2011) found in interviews with 9 men who had been hazed in high school that social approval was a motivator for the unspoken code of silence around hazing. In addition to encouraging a culture of complicity, a social approval goal orientation showed associations with other health compromising behaviors such as binge drinking and disordered eating (Waldron & Krane, 2005). This kind of compromise of one's own wellbeing is part of the socialization in secondary school athletic culture. Athletes are socialized to make sacrifices, striving for achievement, playing through pain, and refusing to accept

hurdles if it impacts winning (Hughes and Coakley, 1991). Adoption of these principles encourages athletes to do what it takes to win and leads to unquestioning obedience, even in situations that include hazing (Waldron and Kowalski, 2009; Waldron & Krane, 2005) because "running away from or avoiding being paddled, for example, was perceived as weakness, which is ….inconsistent with team expectations." (Waldron, Lynn, & Krane, 2011, p. 121).

Hazing Motivations and Rationale

Several theories suggest why students in secondary schools are susceptible to hazing. Hoover and Pollard (2000) observed, "Without the wisdom of experience, young people use humiliation, abuse, and endangerment to produce a story, a secret, a heightened common experience that creates the sense of bonding that they seek" (p. 17). Their work on hazing behaviors and prevalence led the researchers to conclude that any outcome for hazing is "more destructive to human relationships than constructive" (p. 17). Fundamentally, the exchange of hazing for a bonding experience is imbalanced because it relies on problematic behaviors that diminish others mentally, socially, and physically. Hoover and Pollard elaborated on this observation:

> …[hazing] relies on substance abuse and other behaviors that are self-destructive, socially offensive, isolating, uncooperative, aggressive, hurtful, or disruptive at the expense of civility, integrity, respect, responsibility, cooperation, and compassion. The social, as well as personal, price of hazing outweighs the results unnecessarily so. (p. 20)

In a short article titled, “Why High School Hazing is Our Problem, Too,” Nuwer and Allan (2003) offered three explanations for why young adults and college students are susceptible to hazing activities.

1. Hazing attempts to fulfill basic emotional needs.
2. Hazing is a reflection of the larger society’s attitudes.
3. Sometimes a group’s culture takes on a life of its own.

Nuwer and Allan theorized that young adults come to college with perceptions of “pledging” their affiliation as part of a rite of passage or tradition that connects them to a group. Smith (2009) observed that participating in these activities through a desire for connection can result in an opposite outcome – the creation of fear instead of trust or division instead of unity. One of the most notable findings, which has been used in defense or explanation of hazing since, is that most students who experienced hazing (nearly 80%) did not consider it to be at the time (Allan & Madden, 2008).

Allan and Madden (2008) also observed that students who were hazed often receive mixed messages about its acceptance from adults. Allan and Madden reported that “a significant amount” of hazing took place “in view” of adults both in school and in the community. In a primer on preventing high school hazing, Edelman (2005) noted that when hazing cycles begin parents, teachers, and friends are often ignorant of the violence. Similarly, investigating administrative knowledge about bullying behaviors in schools, Bradshaw, Sawyer, and O’Brennan (2007) found staff at all school levels underestimated the number of students involved in frequent bullying when compared to student self-reported experiences. Over 40% of students reported frequent bullying (occurring two or more times

in the past month), with 23.2% as a frequent victim, 8.0% as a frequent bully, and 9.4% as a frequent bully or victim. By level, the prevalence rates of frequent victimization were 33.7% for elementary, 32.7% for middle, and 22.7% for high school students.

In a review of hazing in collegiate and school sports, Diamond, Callahan, Chain, and Solomon (2016) recognized that hazing is not exclusive to student athletes, however they regarded the circumstances and settings of team sports, coupled with additional mental and physical well-being challenges as unique. They also noted an overall failure to act in hazing situations by peers and coaches alongside both celebratory and chastising media portrayals creates a confusion around hazing problems. According to Hoover and Pollard (2000), most students (48%) participated in hazing because it was "fun and exciting." Many of these students, however, were involved in only humiliating, rather than dangerous hazing activities. Other reasons were that it helped them feel closer as a group (44%), provided an opportunity to "prove" oneself (34%), and that the individual "just went along with it" (34%). The less prevalent reasons were more negative, including being too scared to say no (16%), wanting revenge (12%), didn't know what was happening (9%), and rationalizing that adults do it too (9%).

Short- and Long-Term of Hazing

In terms of short-term effects, Hoover and Pollard (2000) found that 71% of students subjected to hazing reported negative consequences including getting into fights (24%), being injured (23%), hurting other people (20%), academic difficulties such as lower grades (21%), missing school (19%), and trouble eating, sleeping, or concentrating (18%). Being hazed also left them feeling angry (35%), embarrassed (28%), confused (25%), or guilty

(23%). A surprising number had positive feelings afterward, including feeling part of the group (43%), proud (30%), strong (27%), or trusted (18%).

In a CDC commissioned report, Wilkins et al. (2014) considered the effects of violence experienced across the lifespan, noting that brain development occurs in response to environments. So that when children are in safe, stable and nurturing environments, they learn skills that protect against violence including empathy, impulse control, anger management, and problem-solving. When adolescents who do not develop protective skills experience intimate partner violence, sexual violence, child maltreatment, bullying, suicidal behavior, and elder abuse and neglect, they become more likely to experience and to perpetrate these behaviors later. The researchers used bullying as an example, stating that experiencing physical violence increases risk of later victimization. Similarly, in a large scale study of abuse and related experiences in childhood, Anda, et al. (2006) found multiple short- and long-term health problems resulted from exposure to adverse childhood experiences. These include alcoholism and alcohol abuse, depression, illicit drug use, intimate partner violence, and suicide attempts.

Summary

Hakkola, Allan, and Kerschner (2019) concluded that based on the extant literature, hazing in the secondary education context needs for further investigation. Much of the data on prevalence and rates of hazing in secondary schools is dated. Further, widespread social media use among young adults has proliferated since the last major study of hazing in secondary schools. According to the most recent representative national data from the Pew Research Center (2018), 95% of teens have access to a mobile device and 45% say they are

online “almost constantly.” Nearly a quarter (24%) described the effect of social media in their lives as mostly negative. Within this group, 27% said social media has led to more bullying and overall spreading of rumors while 17% say it has harmed personal relationships. More directly related to interpersonal violence, 12% believed social media influenced them to give into peer pressure while 4% believe it causes mental health issues (p. 6).

Researchers also have suggested that hazing in the secondary context needs to be addressed alongside other issues relating to violence. Nansel et al. (2004) emphasized that programs designed to address bullying in schools are priority issues. Similar to hazing, education and intervention efforts must be holistic in focus, given the wide range of social and emotional correlates that influence individual development. The researchers recommended a comprehensive, systemic approach to addressing bullying behaviors, noting, “Intervention needs to target not only the individuals who are directly involved but also the peers who may inadvertently support the bullying, and provide educators and parents with the tools to help their children and youth” (p. 4). They also recommend that victims may need more intensive interventions, given the continued risk for maladaptive outcomes. Essex (2014) similarly suggested that solutions to hazing in the secondary context need to include the school community taking responsibility to address hazing, zero-tolerance policies, and mandating student reports when a hazing incident occurs. Essex noted that the priority is to create a school environment that promotes a safe atmosphere where students mutually respect one another’s worth and dignity.

Following are several summary statements from the research on hazing and related violence in the secondary education context reviewed in this chapter.

7. Only a few studies have exampled hazing in the grades 6-12 environment.
8. Those studies show that hazing in the secondary school context is prevalent, with an estimated 1.5 million high school students experiencing hazing each year.
9. Hazing is occurring in all facets, including athletics/sports teams, ROTC, band/performing arts, other school activities, and by class year.
10. Those students who experience multiple forms of interpersonal violence, including peer victimization such as bullying, have a higher chance of experiencing hazing in college.
11. Bullying is also occurring at high rates in secondary schools, with nearly 1 in 5 students reporting they experienced bullying on school grounds; Even more students experience bullying outside of school or on social media.
12. While the motivators for hazing and bullying are somewhat different, research suggests that the long-term physical, emotional, and social effects of victimization are similar.

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Chapter 3 Hazing in the College Context

Hazing persists in college because teams, organizations, and other groups sustain it as tradition. Hazing ultimately is about power over another person. Members perpetuate hazing behaviors as "rites of passage" (Sweet, 2004) that entitle "survivors" to presumed special recognition (Nuwer, 1999). The exertion of this power serves as a mechanism of dominance and control (Holman, 2004; McCready, 2019) as well as a way to build status among other organizations (DeSantis, 2007; Nuwer, 1999). In the introduction to *The Hazing Reader,* Nuwer (2004) posed a dichotomy. Students who want to confront hazing face two choices: Confront it and be isolated or accept it and be accepted by the group.

This chapter focuses on hazing in the college environment. It begins with an overview of descriptive studies on hazing pervasiveness. This is followed by a review of research detailing three themes, conceptualized as levels of influence (individual, group, and community), that contribute to hazing activities and tolerance. The chapter closes with a summary of the findings.

Hazing in the College Environment

In one of the most prevalent national studies of hazing, Allan and Madden (2008) found that more than half of students who hold membership in student organizations claimed to have been involved in a hazing incident. In a more recent follow-up, Allan, Kerschner, and Payne (2019) found that hazing occurred across a range of student groups and included high-risk drinking, social isolation, personal servitude, and humiliation. Students involved in varsity athletics (74%), fraternities

and sororities (73%), and club sports (64%) reported experiencing hazing behaviors most frequently and reported participating in more activities meeting the definition of hazing than their peers (Allan, Kerschner, & Payne). While not as prevalent, hazing also occurs in honor societies, recreational sports groups, and performing arts groups like marching bands. For example, data from a survey conducted by Silveira and Hudson (2015) found nearly 30% of marching band members observed hazing. Of those experiencing hazing, 60% believed faculty were aware, 22% reported that alumni were present, and 46% indicated the hazing took place on campus. Twelve percent of respondents indicated a fellow band membered encouraged the hazing.

There also is a disconnect between students' experiences of hazing and their willingness and ability to label it as such. Allan and Madden (2008) found that of every ten students who experienced some form of hazing only one of those students indicated they were hazed, consistent with work by Crow and MacIntosh (2009) and Lay (2019) who found that students often were not willing to characterize their experiences as hazing. In a recent exploratory study of Portuguese students, Favero et al. (2018) found 77.8% of the respondents were victims of violence in hazing rituals, 86.9% witnessed violent practices, and 39.8% admitted having had violent behaviors toward new students. There has been at least one hazing related death nearly every year since 1969, with the majority occurring in fraternities (Nuwer, 2022).

Hazing is becoming more sophisticated in the college setting and *sub-rosa*, consistent with observations of bullying in K-12 (Woods & Wolke, 2003). Often organizations are taking new members to remote areas or outside of an organizational facility. There are more frequent informal events that feature hazing without student leader involvement. Increasingly, students and student organizations use online communication and social media for hazing acts such as requiring posts of embarrassing videos or pictures. Additionally, students also come with pre-college hazing experiences from athletics, extracurricular, and summer camps and expect hazing in college.

Individual Contributors to Hazing in College

Motivations and characteristics help explain hazing perpetuation and victimization among college students. The research on individual contributions and influences on hazing centers on three areas. First, prior experiences with hazing, a need to belong, and beliefs from various sources including family are identified as contributors to hazing. Second, the transitional phase of emerging adulthood is recognized influencing hazing susceptibility and vulnerability. Third, a review of literature on racial and ethnic context along with the gendered beliefs is provided, which transitions to a fourth section that includes research linking hegemonic masculinity. Together, these influences highlight a more nuanced and holistic

picture of the attitudes, values, beliefs, and experiences students bring with them to college that contributes to their willingness to engage in hazing.

Individual Influences

Two primary predictors of hazing tolerance in college are whether an individual experienced hazing previously in high school (either as a victim or offender) (Allan & Madden, 2008) and the desire for belonging and connectedness. Canepa (2011) found students with a greater desire for social connectedness were more likely to engage in dangerous hazing, further demonstrating the power that group acceptance has on students. These and other factors such as media representation, glorified stories from friends or family, and identity characteristics, work in varying combinations to create both an expectancy (Allan, 2004) and a susceptibility to hazing (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Bryshun, 1997; Hollmann, 2002; Sweet, 2004). Depending on the situational strength (i.e., psychological pressure) of these influences, hazing propensity can increase. Situational strength increases through the "implicit and explicit cues provided by external entities regarding the desirability of potential behaviors" (Meyer et al., 2010, p. 122).

New member processes often replicate the larger fraternity and sorority experience, particularly with binge drinking (Wechsler, Kuh, & Davenport, 2009) as high-risk alcohol consumption appears prominently in the hazing activities of

historically White fraternities and sororities (Anderson, McCormack, & Lee, 2012; Hoover, 1999; Malszecki, 2004). Binge drinking culture is often embedded in the social experience of traditionally and historically White fraternities and sororities despite hazing policies forbidding consumption of alcohol as a condition of membership. The social culture, including drinking patterns, are often established during the new member process (Biddix et al., 2014) at a time where potential new members are most vulnerable to the drinking norms of their peers (Kuh & Arnold, 1993). This is especially dangerous for new members seeking a sense of belonging, where they may drink beyond their limits or engage in other harmful activities to prove their ability to assimilate into the group culture (Hughes & Coakley, 1991).

Emerging Adulthood

Hazing as a rite of passage occurs in educational setting and among college students in particular because the membership period takes place in a transitional time between childhood and adulthood. Recent high school graduates coming into college often are experimenting with their identities, views, personal boundaries, and ethical decision making (Arnett, 2004). Many seek ways to establish a transition from adolescence to adulthood by participating in a transitional experience such as joining a fraternity, becoming a full member of a team, gaining acceptance in an ROTC, or joining a high status campus club or organization (Arnett; Sweet, 2004). For

example, the stronger one's athletic identity, the more willing an individual is to participate in hazing (Hinkle, 2006).

Hazing provides potential members, who reside between an out- and in-group space, with distinct rules and expectations about how to gain acceptance. Aspirants demonstrate how much they are willing to give up to join the organization by taking reputational risks, enduring discomfort or embarrassment, and experiencing physical or emotional pain (Addelson & Stirratt, 1996; Jones, 2000; Malszecki, 2004; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Keating et al., 2005; Wellard, 2002). Often, hazers and those experiencing hazing cite group cohesion as a positive outcome of hazing activities (DeSantis, 2007; Hollmann, 2002: Morinis, 1985). Participation in hazing is tolerated as an exchange for membership (Stebbins, 1988). Unfortunately, involvement in hazing can have psychosocial effects even for the perpetrators, who convince themselves that ethical standards of behavior do not apply to them (i.e., moral disengagement) (Hamilton, 2011; McCreary, 2012; McCreary et al., 2016; Paciello et al., 2008).

Racial and Ethnic Differences

The literature offers limited information on racial and ethnic identity differences in hazing experiences and motivations, as much of the literature focuses on predominantly White organizations. In one study sampling attitudes by race,

gender, and fraternity/sorority affiliation, African Americans reported more positive attitudes about the purpose of the new member process than any other race or ethnicity (Cokley et al., 2001). Aside from this finding, which was part of a larger study, most of the literature focuses prominently on the experience of Black Greek fraternities and sororities.

If one wants to understand the hazing motivations and experiences of students with various racial and ethnic identities, the knowledge must be both historically and contextually situated within the context of White hegemony. For example, Black sorority women contend with the ways in which White supremacy has shaped the "social cleavages aligned with class and skin-color divisions" (Hughey & Parks, 2011, p. 25). Black men must contend with negative and dehumanizing societal images and in an effort to not confirm stereotypes, may feel pressure to simultaneously be calm, collected, and authentic, yet hypermasculine (Dancy II, 2011). Tran and Chang (2013) discussed the negative societal images of the Asian American man as weak which, they suggest, leads to hypermasculine overconformity.

Smith (2009) found that perpetuation of cultural traditions and values play an important role in the intake process for members of historically African American organizations, in contrast with predominantly White fraternity members who were

more likely to credit the successful completion of new member experience to hard work. Consistent with this finding, Lee-Olukoya (2010) reported that members of historically Black sororities emphasized the importance of the joining or intake process as a tool to ensure alignment with mission and values. This alignment was achieved through a focus on ensuring appropriate behavior among neophytes (new members) through the performance of tasks, an emphasis on uniformity in appearance, verbal abuse, and sometimes physical violence (Lee-Olukoya). Similar behaviors were observed in Asian interest, Latino/Latina, and multicultural organizations (Norrbom, 2014). In an exploratory study examining the experiences of Asian American interest fraternities, hazing and hypermasculinity were intermixed with cultural traditions that resulted in aggression toward individuals with less status in the organization (Tran & Chang, 2013).

The National Pan-Hellenic Conference (NPHC), the governing body for Black-serving fraternal organizations, made a pivotal decision in 1990 to eliminate "pledging," leading to the implementation of a more structured, supervised, and consistent Membership Intake Process (MIP). However, adoption has been slow in large part due to resistance from graduate members who play a larger role in supporting MIP than is seen among predominantly White organizations (Scott, 2011). For Black sororities, the secretive nature of an underground, shadow pledging process appears to have contributed to an increased frequency and severity in

hazing incidents in Black sororities since the transition to MIP (Whaley, 2010). Kimbrough (2003), Jones (2000), Parks et al. (2013), and Parks et al. (2015) suggest that hazing in Black fraternities includes more physical abuse, such as paddling, as well as higher instances of violence, and less reliance on alcohol than historically White fraternities. However, it has been suggested that Black fraternities and sororities are not more violent, but are simply policed more (Ray & Rosow, 2012). Using a mixed methods approach, Reddick et al. (2011) also identified similar inconsistencies in the ways NPHC intake and hazing policies were enforced on campuses.

Despite some of the differences between groups noted by researchers, there are also similarities. Many elements and motivators of hazing among culturally-based organizations are reflected in the broader hazing literature, including the use of violence (Stone, 2018), a strong emphasis on organizational norm conformity (Coakley et al, 2001; Parks et al, 2015), a reported fear of rebuff for refusing to participate (Lay, 2019; Scott, 2011), the development of commitment (Rogers et al., 2012) and perceptions among participants that hazing solidified their values and taught them important skills (Lay, 2019; Scott, 2010; Smith, 2009).

Gender Differences

Differences in gendered behaviors related to hazing are a result of the performance of gender which can change over time because it too is historically and contextually situated. For example, in the late nineteenth century, joining a fraternity was viewed as an avenue for becoming a man (Syrett, 2009) and hazing was a way to test that manhood. In contemporary times, hazing is often constructed as a test of strength or courage to prove one's manhood or masculinity (Allan, 2004; Mechling, 2008). Any efforts to resist hazing calls manhood into question and can result in college men expecting or asking to be hazed (Allan). There have been few studies on gendered differences in hazing views and actions, which Allan and Kerschner (2020) grouped into two categories: research that uses the lens of gender to explain why hazing happens and empirical research on frequency, types, and perceptions of hazing. Veliz-Calderon and Allan (2017) described ways in which gender schemas influenced students' understanding of hazing, with men seeing the actual hazing as important for bonding and women seeing the shared secrecy as important to bonding. According to Nuwer (1999), hazing in sororities is less common and less physical than that of men's fraternities, and more recent studies further evidence this observation (See for example, Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Allan & Madden, 2008; Allan & Kinney, 2017; Campo, 2005; Jones, 2000; Lafferty, 2017; Veliz-Calderon & Allan, 2017).

Cokley et al. (2001) examined attitudes about pledging [sic] and hazing in fraternities and sororities among a population of undergraduates and found that women were more likely than men to believe that pledging should be a positive experience and men were more likely to believe in "conformity to pledge rules." This gender difference occurred across all student respondents, not just those affiliated with a fraternity or sorority. Consistent with this finding, Lafferty et al. (2017) also found that women's university athletic teams in the UK reported fewer inappropriate activities than the male teams. Likewise, in another single-campus survey that included fraternity/sorority members as well as nonmembers, Drout and Corsoro (2003) explored attitude differences in response to a campus hazing incident. The researchers found sorority members were more likely than fraternity members and their unaffiliated peers to hold the leadership of an organization responsible for hazing when they were not directly involved in the hazing behavior. They also found that sorority members saw commitment to initiation and sense of obligation as having greater causal significance for hazing than did fraternity members. The researchers concluded that differential response to victimization by gender suggested a tendency for sorority members to view the organization as playing a more significant causal role in a hazing incident. Campo, Poulos, and Sipple (2005) reported that women are more likely to feel more susceptible to the dangers of hazing and more likely to believe that hazing is harmful.

Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is the concept that some men have access to power above women and other men, as well as ideals about interactions, power and patriarchy that serve as exclusionary practices (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In the context of hazing, which often include elements of infantilization and feminization (Dundes & Dundes, 2002), it posits that individuals with certain personality characteristics may also be more likely to perpetrate hazing behaviors. Even though little research has examined personality characteristics and hazing (see for example, Parks, Jones, & Hughey, 2013; McCready, 2020), related research suggests at least three major features: dominance orientation, moral disengagement, and low empathy (McCreary, 2012). Both social dominance orientation and authoritarianism correlate positively with justification for hazing in hypothetical work vignettes (Thomas & Meglich, 2019). People who do not fit the model of hegemonic masculinity, dominance, and control, are subject to harassment (Berdahl et al., 2018), particularly in settings where there is a pressure to succeed. Researchers also have identified links to hegemonic masculine behaviors, such as misogyny and homophobia, and hazing, particularly with regard to endorsement of social dominance hazing. Fraternity chapters that engage in misogynistic activities also may be more likely to use hegemonic masculinity to engage in hazing activities (McCready, 2019). Hazing among men often plays out in competition, which further

proves their aspirations of hegemonic masculinity (DeSantis, 2007). DeSantis interviewed men who described competitions to determine who could have more sex with women. This exhibition of hegemonic masculinity encourages and pressures men to treat women as sexual conquests and objects to be conquered. Men are often teased in hegemonic male cultures for developing intimacy with women, particularly when that intimacy would challenge the intimacy of the brotherhood (DeSantis). These links suggest hegemonic masculinity plays a role in motivating hazing perpetration (Jones, 1999; Sasso, 2015), particularly in historically and predominantly White fraternities (McCready & Dahl, 2022).

Group Contributors to Hazing in College

While specific motivators for hazing can help to explain hazing tolerance among individuals, organizational behavior plays a substantial role in influencing individual willingness to participate in hazing, organizational problematization of hazing behaviors, and group motivators to perpetuate cultures that reinforce hazing. Particularly among college aged students who are developing their own adult identities often in relation to those around them (Arnett, 2004), all the while seeking belongingness (Dalton & Crosby, 2010), the joining process is especially fraught.

Three primary organizational antecedents influence hazing tolerance and engagement within college group subcultures. First are organizational characteristics related to socialization and group cohesion, rationales of power and sacrifice, and establishment of social hierarchy with college student groups. Second is the formation and preservation of culture, which includes in- and out-group identification, tolerance and attitudes toward hazing, conformity toward group norms and expectations, and in-group "play." Third, the interaction and influences of other groups are powerful drivers of organizational behavior.

Organizational Characteristics of College Student Groups

The presence and prevalence of hazing in college student organizations is influenced by the developmental and psychosocial needs of the students who make up organizations whose membership changes every three to five years (Arnett, 2004; Jones, 2016). New leaders are peers who are experiencing complex organizational behaviors and often do not yet possess the experience or organizational savvy to harness or redirect these behaviors all the while navigating the complex interplay of identity (Baxter-Magolda, 2003; Jones, 2016). Additionally, this organizational turnover may lead to a lack of continuity which can be further exacerbated by poor documentation and transition. Student leaders might attempt to implement a vision that changes the following year when a new leader assumes

the role or to replicate activities conducted the year prior without critical analysis about whether the prior year efforts align with and effectively achieve organizational goals. These complex negotiations often take place in spaces absent of close oversight, direct guidance, or mentorship (Rosenberg & Mosca, 2016). In the case of new member socialization, often well intended students struggle to navigate the relationship between group relationships, the realities of social hierarchies, and the complexities of belongingness and power (Brown, 2015). Several themes emerge from the literature on the relationships of organizational behavior, hazing, and college student groups. Following is a review of emergent themes from the literature around three main areas: socialization and group cohesion, rationales of power and sacrifice, and establishment of social hierarchy.

Socialization and Cohesiveness

A common rationale students give for participating in or perpetuating hazing is that it builds solidarity; the more challenging the new member experience, the more cohesive the members (DeSantis, 2007; Scott, 2006). Friendships, especially for men, often form around communal hardship and hazing serves as a tool to establish shared adversity (Messner, 1992; Scott). Solidarity has been significantly correlated with hazing tolerance (McCreary & Schutts, 2015), a finding which supported DeSantis' (2007) interviews with fraternity members in which they identified hazing

as the “key to brotherhood” (p. 173). In a study on this phenomenon called maltreatment effect, Keating et al. (2005) found participants who experienced more mental duress while perceiving themselves to have more fun (compared to those who engaged in commonplace activities), reported higher levels of attachment to the abuser, a greater perception of the abuser’s power, and agreed more with the views of the abuser.

Among college fraternity subcultures, athletic cultures, and ROTC cultures, four common messages typically illustrate the expectations for belonging in organizations that haze: (a) you are expected to sacrifice yourself for the group; (b) members must always be striving to be the best; (c) you must be willing to take risks and tolerate pain; and (d) you should push limits and boundaries (Bryshun & Young, 1999; Malszecki, 2004; Messner, 2002; West, 2001). Demonstrating behaviors that support these group norms and expectations is viewed as critical to gain group acceptance (Alexander & Opsal, 2021; Hughes & Coakley, 1991). These expectations are sometimes exhibited in deviant behaviors such as heavy drinking (Arnold et al., 1992; Muir & Seitz, 2004; Sasso, 2015; West), pursuit of heterosexual sex (Boeringer, 1996; Kimmel, 2008), drug use (DeSantis et al., 2010; McCabe et al., 2005), and petty crime (Snyder, 1994).

Trust plays an influential role in socialization and cohesiveness within collegiate organizations (Muir & Seitz, 2004). Individuals must trust their aspiring members to support group norms, trust they will not be whistleblowers regarding any deviant behaviors, trust them to maintain the organizations' secrets, and trust them to reinforce the organization's status. Particularly for groups that engage in high-risk, dangerous, or deviant activities where trust is fundamentally critical to group success, there may be a tendency for the group to employ more extreme hazing (Cimino et al., 2019). Canepa (2011) found students with a higher desire for social connectedness were more likely to engage in dangerous hazing, further demonstrating the power that group acceptance has on students. Newer members are especially vulnerable because they have some knowledge of the inner workings of the organization yet have not fully proven their trustworthiness to the organization (Cimino et al.)

Within male athletic teams who participate in hazing, incorporation into the team is connected to socialization and group cohesion (Johnson & Holman, 2009). Hazers on athletic teams strongly believe that rookies "must experience hazing to become accepted" (Holman, 2004, p. 53). This same pressure occurs in fraternity settings (DeSantis, 2007). Students who chose to not fully participate in hazing activities risk being labeled by teammates as an outsider (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Bryshun, 1997; Hinkle, 2006; Sabo, 1987). The avoidance of ostracization can result

in complicity and uncritically accepting group norms, which fosters moral disengagement (Bandura, 1986, 1999). This occurs through many phenomena, such as dehumanization and attribution of blame to organization aspirants along with diffusion of responsibility for ensuring good treatment. The literature suggests a correlation between the likelihood of hazing and moral disengagement among college populations (Hamilton, 2011; McCreary, 2012; McCreary & Schutts, 2019).

Power and Sacrifice

While simultaneously signaling willingness to support normative group behavior, hazing is a tool to establish power and dominance within organizations (Bryshun & Young, 1999; Johnson, 2011). Members of college organizations often maintain power over new members by employing social isolation techniques that reduce interactions and information sharing with those outside the group, controlling access to basic needs such as food and sleep, and the use of intimidation and coercion to compel individuals to engage in deviant or dangerous activities. The role of deviant activities is critical in understanding power in college organizations. When aspirants engage in deviant behavior, they conform to group norms and also make themselves vulnerable for the good of the group, thereby establishing their willingness to sacrifice their bodies, reputation, and college enrollment for the organization (Snyder, 1994).

Organizational power derives when aspiring members endure sacrifice in the form of risk taking, embarrassment, social or physical restrictions, loss of autonomy, discomfort and, at times, pain (Addelson & Stirratt, 1996; Alexander, & Opsal, 2021; Jones, 2000; Keating et al., 2005; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Peralta, 2007; Wellard, 2002). These sacrifices then become dysphoric experiences that can further expose one's willingness to sacrifice for the group and to place the group's needs over one's own (Whitehouse & Lanman, 2014; Whitehouse, et al., 2017). Former or current student athletes often embrace an athlete ethic, which places a high value on sacrificing for the good of the team or organization and playing to win, even if it means risking yourself or your body in the process (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). Campo et al., (2005) suggested that athletes tend to engage in higher levels of painful activities and physical hazing compared to fraternity and sorority members, while fraternity and sorority members tended to engage in higher levels of embarrassment and deviance related hazing.

The power gained through sacrifice for the overall organization is then transmitted to organizational members. Cimino (2011, 2013a, 2013b) suggested that organizations use hazing as a gatekeeping mechanism to discourage freeloaders by requiring organizational aspirants to sacrifice for the group. This sacrifice not only establishes psychological commitment, but also ensures that the individual is willing to place organizational goals above their own needs to gain the status and benefits

of membership. Kiesling (2005) described the establishment of organizational power and the subsequent power afforded to fraternity members as a paradox in which "each must first be entirely dominated and powerless before he can be accepted into what the fraternity sees as a privileged and select group of men" (p. 708).

Establishment of a Social Hierarchy

Intimately tied with power and sacrifice is the establishment of the group social hierarchy. This hierarchy is both formally established through the election of officers or selection of team captains and informally established through the interactions of members. In both cases, the hierarchy determines who has power, influence, and access to resources within the organization. Individuals with a social dominance orientation prioritize the dominance of their group over others in a desired established hierarchy (Pratto, et al., 1994). This can lead to authoritarianism within a group, which occurs when members unquestionably accept and comply with group norms and expectations for behavior (Feldman, 2003). Researchers have found that individuals and groups oriented toward social dominance and authoritarianism are more likely to reinforce social hierarchies (Holman, 2004; Pratto et al., 1994; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009; Waldron et al., 2011). In particular, fraternity/sorority members were found to have a higher acceptance of

authoritarianism than non-member peers, therefore encouraging alignment with group behavioral norms (Drout & Corsoro, 2003).

Groups and the individuals within those groups who reinforce a high social dominance orientation, particularly in male-only environments that value risk-taking, heterosexual presentation, and objectification of women, generally want to ensure their organization is dominant and therefore tend to prefer activities that foster social inequality, such as hazing (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Arteta-Garcia, 2015; McCready, 2020). New members figure prominently in this hierarchy as they do not yet have the associated rights and privileges of full in-group members. This raises an important question about whether (a) the desire to establish a power differential between leaders and followers leads to hazing or (b) whether those who engage in hazing subsequently perceive a power differential? Understanding the causal or correlative effect may better support interventions designed to answer this question.

Formation and Preservation of Group Culture

Culture encompasses shared norms, values, and assumptions that influence both organizational and individual behavior and attitudes (Alvesson & Billings, 1997; Kuh, et al., 1988). Cultural transmission within groups is important for establishing group norms and maintaining continuity. Several student subcultures reside within

the greater culture on a college campus (Flacks & Thomas, 2007; Horowitz, 1987). Each fraternity or sorority chapter, athletic team, or student organization is a subculture with accompanying norms, behaviors, values, and assumptions. Student organizational subcultures are both reflective of the larger institutional subculture (Fink, 2010; Hesp & Brooks, 2009; McCreary, 2012) and at the same time deviant from the dominant culture (Donnelly & Young, 1988; Lee & Robbins, 1995; Morinis, 1985).

Identification of the In-Group and Out-Group

When dominant cultural norms and the subcultural norms are vastly disparate, the subculture can become subversive toward the dominant culture (Donnelly, 1981), forming in- and -out groups. In rebellion against or rejection of the dominant culture, subculture groups often espouse and enact opposing behaviors and attitudes (Alvesson & Billings, 1997; Donnelly, 1981; Muir & Seitz, 2004). As a result, the delineation of a clear in-group and a clear out-group is critical to the group's identity establishment. As group norms are established, members further may delineate who is part of their group through normative boundaries. These restrictions help distinguish in- from the out-group, while also creating a liminal and especially vulnerable space for new members.

Simultaneously, organizational forces establish in-group membership. Entitativity, or the perception that groups are one whole rather than individuals, compels groups to encourage homogeneity within the in-group (Alexander & Opsal, 2021; McGarty et al., 1995). Older members act out cultural norms for newer members through the adoption of cultural transmission tools that include similar dress, adopting unique language and slang as expressed through terms unique to the organization, nicknames, and through shared language expressed through songs, chants, calls, stories, myths, and jokes (Donnelly & Young, 1988; Lee-Olukoya, 2010; Rhoads, 1995; Sweet, 2004; Workman, 2001).

The organization can then select out those aspirants whose behaviors do not align with the norms established by members and can in turn distinguish who is a member of the in-group and who is a member of the out-group. One way that new members demonstrate their loyalty to the subculture is through overconforming to group norms through deviance or risk-taking for the organization, including participating in hazing activities (Cho et al., 2010; Donnelly & Young, 1988; Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Jones, 1999; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009). The willingness of aspiring members to obey group norms also are moderated by social acceptance of problematic behaviors (tolerable deviance), and desire to be part of the group (conformity).

Tolerable Deviance and Practical Drift

Tolerable deviance describes behavior that while problematic has become so normalized that most people accept the behavior (Stebbins, 1988). Tolerable deviance typically elicits mixed debate about whether a behavior is right or wrong and a more lenient reaction to its presence, such as with marijuana usage and underage drinking. While still illegal in many states, the behaviors are commonplace and accepted by many. Hazing also is a form of tolerable deviance, often considered or justified as an acceptable part of membership (Strawhun, 2016)

Additionally, over time, organizations experience practical drift, whereby small deviations from the rules and experiences grow unnoticeably until such time where the organization's everyday actions are vastly divergent from initially established rules, expectations, or values (Ortmann, 2010). This kind of drift appears in situations with low organizational transparency, perceived positive outcomes associated with violating the rules, lack of clarity about rules, and limited enforceability (Lehman & Ramanujam, 2009). Student organizations, particularly fraternities, have historically served as spaces to exist without the watchful eyes of authority figures (James, 1998; Syrett, 2009), and if administrators discourage hazing, hazing becomes one such way to challenge authority. Additionally, deviant behavior along the edges of what is acceptable (i.e., tolerable deviance) can help

reinforce group and individual status among other like groups (Cho et al., 2010; Workman, 2001).

Conformity to Norms

Hazing functions to supersede individual identity with group identity thereby generating intense loyalty and attraction to the group (Alexander & Opsal, 2021; Keating et al., 2005; van Raalte et al., 2007; Whitehouse & Lanman, 2014; Whitehouse, et al., 2017). Sweet (2004), using a symbolic interactionist framework (Blumer, 1969; Geertz, 1973) to understand college organization hazing, suggested that joining a college organization, such as a fraternity, causes new members to redefine their senses of self to align with the group. As newcomers to the group, new member identity is malleable, allowing organizations to manipulate their sense of identity. New members participate in shared experiences and receive items that symbolically solidify group identity such as apparel, pins, tikis, and manuals. Once the group identity overtakes individual identity, students will work to protect the group as a form of individual identity preservation. This sometimes leads to engaging in questionable behaviors, such as hazing (Addelson & Stirratt, 1996; Arnold, 2004; Graupensperger, Benson, & Evans, 2017; Waldron, 2008; Zacharda, 2009).

Conformity also makes changing an organization's hazing supportive practices difficult. One's sense of self as an organizational member is entrenched through hazing activities, which is one of the reasons hazing can be difficult to eliminate (Sweet, 2004). Changing hazing practices would require members to redefine their sense of self. Thus, students replicate these experiences and reinforce hazing supportive attitudes because to change their attitudes or behaviors would mean the identity they achieved through hazing would need to be reestablished.

In-Group Interaction and "Play"

Group interactions fall within the categories of work, communitas, ritual, or play (Hendricks, 2006). Groups perform work when individuals with a common goal join together in a structured, productive manner, which manifests, for example, in working to plan an event. Communitas occurs when individuals gather as equals to engage in a shared experience and group identity, as we see through a campus concert or festival (Hendricks, 2006). Rituals are serious, structured activities that use symbols and metaphors to mark an important transition or event, for example, a graduation; they are performed the same way each time, impart social meaning through shared experiences, and foster group cohesiveness (Schwartzman, 1982). In contrast to the other three forms, play is a voluntary form of human interaction that

helps a group construct meaning and generates group cohesiveness often using less formalized forms of interaction.

Play interactions exist on a continuum from less structured, for example, an impromptu wrestling match, to more structured, such as an organized game with agreed upon rules (Caillois, 2001; Coakley, 1978; Huizinga, 1950; Mechling, 2009; Schwartzman, 1982). Hazing and play share similar characteristics. Both types of activities occur in defined spaces and times, establish power and dominance, engage participants willingly, and establish group identity (Bateson, 1972; Cimino, 2013a; Huizinga, 1950; Manning, 1983). In a study of college fraternity members, Perlow (2018) found participants did not distinguish activities commonly understood as hazing from play. These included competitions between new and established members, experiences that result in planned failure (Cimino, 2016), rules for how to behave, mimicry such as modification of appearance and verbal abuse, and structured chaos such as sleep deprivation.

When hazing is enacted as play it becomes particularly powerful as an organizational tool. It helps ensure norm conformity, often conducted through behaviors such as teasing, practical jokes, harassment, and sometimes physical correction (Houseman, 2001). Even engagement in the play communicates the desire to be included in the group, because to refuse to play might result in

exclusion (Johnson, 2002; Sutton-Smith, 1983). Play also allows groups to deviate from socially acceptable behaviors as deemed by the dominant culture. Because play is often deemed temporary and unserious, players can experiment, bend norms, and behave in deviant ways (Grayzel, 1978; Sato, 1989). This kind of deep play (Geertz,1973) encourages risk-taking and reinforces shared group norms.

Group-to-Group Influence

The third organizational antecedent to hazing in the college environment is the influence of other groups on behavior and decision making. Members of collegiate organizations define their identities in relation to, in differentiation from, and in interaction with other groups. The relations can influence the diffusion and severity of hazing practices within a community. Meyer et al. (2010) outlined four environmental features that influence behavior in this context: clarity, consistency, constraints, and consequences. Clarity is achieved through clear environmental cues about how organizations should behave to achieve status and success-focused goals. Consistency is achieved when environmental cues are in alignment across organizations. Constraints are limitations to behaviors, which effect the actions of groups or the individuals within groups. Consequences result from an individual's actions and are acknowledged by their affect/s (positive or negative) on the group.

Environmental cues can be strong or weak, which determine the degree to which they influence decision-making. The stronger the environmental cues dictated by the four features, the more likely an individual will act in a way signaled by the situation. For example, hazing is more likely to be practiced in a college environment that clearly and consistently signals that high organizational standing is afforded to groups with high barriers to join, has little institutional oversight to moderate socialization processes, and where the perceived consequences of not adhering to norms that support organizational status are present. This type of environment exhibits situational strength, defined as the "implicit and explicit cues provided by external entities regarding the desirability of potential behaviors" (Meyer, et al., 2010, p. 122). Situational strength can explain why hazing happens within an environment. For example, Wilkins et al. (2014) found that communities can enable problematic behaviors, especially in groups where societal norms support aggression or coercion. At the same time, situational strength also could be harnessed to intervene in reshaping cues that tolerate or support hazing behaviors, thereby discouraging hazing practices.

In examining the literature on group-to-group influence and environmental, several themes emerge: status in relation to other organizations, differentiation from other organizations, and transmission among organizations.

Status in Relation to Other Organizations

The hierarchical position of an organization in relation to other organizations can serve as a driver for hazing (Alexander & Opsal, 2021). Higher status organizations risk their status and positional power should members behave in ways inconsistent with the public identity of the organization. Additionally, because that status is transferred to the members who join, groups need to ensure that those joining are prepared to behave in ways that reinforce the organizational norms. As a result, to maintain group status, organizations increase joining costs through hazing to ensure that that the member-based benefits such as prestige, power, and status are not transferred to organizational aspirants without investment on their part (Cimino, 2011, 2013a, 2013b).

Ciminio's work provides an example of this cycle. In their study of hazing motivation among undergraduate students in the US and Japan, Cimino et al. (2019) found that in high status groups whose membership was perceived to bring high individual benefit, group members supported hazing that was more dominance-oriented, required higher levels of sacrifice for aspirants, and included initiation practices that supported maltreatment. This finding supported Ciminio's (2011) prior work that hazing practices become self-reinforcing. A high effort to join increases organizational prestige, further reinforcing organizational intergroup dominance, thereby encouraging efforts to maintain that dominance, which can be achieved through hazing.

Differentiation from Other Organizations

Groups also seek to differentiate from other groups by performing distinct forms of hazing. Often this is exacerbated by a strong sense of entitativity (i.e., a group is considered to be an entity, rather than a collection of individuals), as defined by a shared experience such as a specific hazing practice (Alter & Darley 2009; Pickett & Brewer, 2001). This assumed homogeneity enhances in-group cohesion for members and differentiates the group from others that are perceived to be homogenous in their own right. This also results in greater in-group stereotyping and more restrictive thresholds for determining in-group membership (Pickett & Brewer, 2001). As a result, individuals draw stark contrasts between the culture of their group and other groups (Dutton et al., 1994). Additionally, groups with a closed environment can create and maintain boundaries through the control of resources and information (Schwalbe et al., 2000). On a college campus this can include managing access to alcohol and recreational drugs, social environments, social approval, dating partners, and the transferal of organizational status to the individual (Dalton & Crosby, 2010). Groups also may use hazing to provide distinctive experiences as a membership condition.

Competition between groups also can influence hazing. Competing with other groups demonstrates loyalty to the group; the fiercer the competition, the greater

the loyalty generated (Malszecki, 2004). Loyalty to the organization in highly competitive environments can lead to more unethical decision making (Hildreth, et al., 2016). Specifically, individuals with a high need for inclusion, which is the case with many college-aged students (Dalton & Crosby, 2010), are more likely to demonstrate unethical behaviors that benefit the group (Thau et al., 2015). This entitative mindset is particularly reinforced among students who adopt an athlete identity where winning at all costs is highly valued (Muir & Seitz, 2004). Consistent with the literature on moral disengagement (Bandura, 1999), researchers also have found that when individuals competed in a group, they were more likely to harm their competition than when they competed as individuals (Cikara, et al., 2014). Unethical pro-organizational behavior also increases when there is high interorganizational competition and a heightened sense of organizational identity (Alexander, & Opsal, 2021; Chen et al., 2016; Umphress & Bingham, 2011). In the context of hazing, as groups compete to be the highest status organization, the perceived difficulty of joining can serve as a differentiator with other competing organizations. As a result, hazing behaviors in all groups may escalate over time as groups compete with one another.

Transmission Among Organizations

Interorganizational relationships rely on three mechanisms: (a) proximity in space, function or role, and time (propinquity), (b) preferences toward shared or complementary identities, and (c) strength and quantity of connections (Rivera, et al., 2010). Each of these features can be easily found in the college environment, which hosts similar special interest groups such as fraternities and sororities, alongside other clubs and organizations with shared academic, social, religious or other values. The same spirit of competition that drives organizations to distinguish themselves from other organizations can also encourage replication of the behaviors of the high-status organizations to increase status. Although positive practices and behaviors may be shared across organizations through individuals (Aldrich & Herker, 1977), interorganizational interactions also can contribute to the spread of deviant behaviors such as hazing. This can be attributed to a phenomenon termed dark-side contagion, which occurs when organizations adopt negative behaviors occurring within other organizations within their social network (Zhang et al., 2021).

College students who are socially well-connected often have higher organizational status, carry more influence in their organizations, and are seen as leaders by other group members, particularly if they connect with other high-status individuals outside the organization (Burt, et al., 2021). If these individuals are supportive of hazing behaviors, they can both influence the organization and create

carry-over effects in which hazing activities are introduced into the other organizations with which they are connected (i.e., contagion). This can occur between two groups on the same campus or across groups belonging to the same national organization who may come together at a national or international conference, through regional networks, or via virtual or social media platforms.

Community Contributors to Hazing in College

In addition to both individual- and group -related antecedents of hazing in college, environmental signals, policies, and culture in the larger community can play a significant role in the behaviors that manifest in organizations and among individuals (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Kuh & Whitt, 1988). Several contributors emerged from a review of the literature: the presence of environmental cues, mixed messaging, organizational structures and practice, allocation of resources and rewards, and the presence of other unaddressed public health challenges.

Presence of Environmental Cues

The alcohol prevention literature points to the extensive role that community environmental features play in contributing to a culture of high risk drinking on college campuses. Features like deep discounts on drinks at bars, the relative absence of substance free alternatives, availability of alcohol in proximity to campus, and ineffective enforcement efforts all play a role in high-risk drinking (DeJong &

Langford, 2002). Additionally messages that alcohol use is an expected part of the college experience further normalizes its use and abuse (DeJong & Langford). Similarly, one can infer that environmental cues on college campuses send messages about whether hazing is a normative part of the campus culture. These cues might include visible indicators that hazing is commonplace and accepted, such as the presence of uniforms being worn around the campus, shared brands among organization members, shaved heads among all new members, or blacked out windows in fraternity houses during “hell week.” The presence of these indicators also may lead to a perceived indifference on the part of the university.

Mixed Messaging

The perception about oversight may be informed by mixed messaging from both the university broadly as well as from coaches, advisors, and other staff members about whether hazing is acceptable. Adequate, present, and capable staff who oversee and advise student organizations and teams can help reduce mixed messages about hazing behavior and tolerance. These individuals can provide examples and tools to implement alternative activities, supervision of physical facilities where organizational activities take place, and a clear understanding about how and where to report hazing if it is occurring (Diamond et al., 2016; Swingle & Salinas, 2018).

Informal messaging is often much more powerful than the formal messaging (Eckman, 1985). For example, a university official may send clear notifications about the policy on hazing to students and student organizations, however, if campus police officers do not receive the message and fail to problematize hazing behaviors when they see it, students and organizations interpret the behavior as acceptable. In two studies involving college athletes, 33% and 40% of athletes reported their coach had knowledge about the team's hazing activities and 25% and 33% reported their coaches were present during the hazing (Allan et al., 2019; Johnson et al., 2018;).

Allocation of Resources and Rewards

The ways in which resources and rewards are allocated also can influence hazing behavior. Expectancy theory (Vroom, 1964) suggests individuals are motivated to act when they expect to receive positive benefits from their actions. This motivation is duly affected by the societal expectation that hard work will lead to the desired outcome. This creates a belief that harder work will result in greater rewards, placing a high value for the rewards given. For college students, this can mean that experiencing the hardship of hazing is an expected part of joining a group or team to attain the valued reward of membership.

Consider a campus where fraternity members reside together in off-campus facilities, but sorority members live on campus in university supervised spaces. This

power differential can motivate sorority women who might not report or challenge hazing they observe in off-campus facilities for fear that they may lose access to high value rewards such as invitations to the fraternity facility, access to parties, or access to alcohol (Syrett, 2009). Similarly, a coach who may tolerate hazing behaviors or even tacitly approve them sends the message to students that one way to win favor with the coaching staff is to engage in the hazing. The deconstruction and replacement of these resources and rewards systems are an important component in any prevention strategy.

The Presence of Other Unaddressed Public Health Challenges

When other public health challenges also are prevalent in the environment, hazing may be intermixed with other problematic behaviors including binge drinking and sexual violence (Flanagan, 2014). These issues often can become deeply intertwined on college campuses. For example, an examination of hazing deaths shows that alcohol factors heavily into hazing related fatalities (Nuwer, 2022). Researchers also have found that over half (55%) of college athletes experienced hazing in the form of drinking games (Allan & Madden, 2013; Hamilton et al., 2016) and 71% of students who witnessed hazing indicated that alcohol was involved in some way (WITH US Center for Bystander Intervention, 2020). This link demonstrates that both hazing and alcohol are tolerably deviant, help form shared

experiences, and can create a sense of group cohesion (Arnold, 2004; Chin et al., 2019; DeSantis, 2007; Peralta, 2007). The messages that communicate acceptability of one related set of behaviors around dangerous and binge drinking are also inexplicably intertwined with normative messages, attitudes, and behaviors about how to build relationships and show commitment to an organization.

Summary

This chapter focused on a review of literature on hazing during college, its antecedents and correlates, and the individual, group, and community contexts for hazing. Hazing is a horizontal issue, and prevention and intervention efforts must take into account the individual and group contexts as well as the overall culture and community that supports hazing. There is still a clear absence of research on the demonstrated effectiveness of college (and high school) hazing related interventions and prevention strategies. Administrators, organization leaders, and stakeholders can no longer take the wide-swath approach to prevention. Instead efforts must be planful, systematic, and evidence based. Additional research is needed to establish whether hazing prevention strategies are shifting attitudes, changing student and organizational behavior, and sustaining behaviors over time.

Following are several summary statements from the research on hazing and related violence in the college context reviewed in this chapter.

1. Hazing persists because it is sustained as tradition and a rite of passage, and perpetuated as mechanisms of dominance, control, and status building and maintenance.
2. Hazing occurs in a variety of college organizations, but happens most frequently in varsity athletics, fraternities and sororities, and club sports.
3. College students are frequently hesitant or unwilling to characterize their experiences as hazing.
4. Individuals are more susceptible to hazing when they have prior experiences with hazing, a strong need to belong, or when those close to them hold pro-hazing attitudes.
5. Hazing must be understood through both the individual and group lens, as hazing often aims to supersede individual identity with group identity.

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Chapter 4 Hazing Intervention and Prevention

Hazing occurs across middle school, high school, and university settings, from sports teams, to honor societies, music groups, fraternities and sororities, religious groups, and military organizations. There have been numerous prevention efforts across each of these sectors and organizations, but the evidence of the efficacy of these strategies is sparse. In many cases, school personnel, student group leaders and advisors, university administrators, coaches, and organization staff take haphazard approaches to prevention, relying on promising practices and hoping for behavioral change (Katter, 2007). Given the lack of efficacy research, it is was necessary to identify and synthesize existing approaches effective for reducing youth violence and to use those findings, alongside the research on hazing, to identify and provide "what works" for hazing prevention.

This chapter begins with a review of evidence-based violence prevention efforts in public health, including school violence, bullying, and sexual violence, with some considerations for alcohol and other drug abuse. This is followed by a review of anti-hazing efforts and approaches including legislation, zero-tolerance policies, incident reporting, and educational programs. Research on addressing hazing at the individual level is next, followed by a multi-layered section on addressing hazing as an organizational problem. Recommendations for implementation of the research in

this chapter follows, as a transition into the case studies from practitioners appearing in the next chapter. Appendix A introduces a holistic model of hazing prevention, incorporating findings from the research and recommendations in this chapter. The model is operationalized with Appendix B, a Hazing Prevention Matrix that can be used to develop and evaluate effective hazing prevention programs.

Evidence-Based Prevention Efforts in Public Health

Youth violence prevention is a well-researched topic across several fields related to public health. Several meta-analyses and systematic reviews of topics, sponsored or commissioned by government agencies, provide insight into evidence-based, empirical, and effective prevention programs. Two types of resources form the basis of this section.

The Guide to Community Preventive Services (referred to as "The Community Guide") is a collection of evidence-based findings of the Community Preventive Services Task Force (CPSTF), an interdisciplinary, independent, nonfederal panel of health and prevention experts (Truman et al., 2000). The CPSTF was established by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services in 1996 to develop guidance on effective community-based prevention intervention approaches to a variety of issues, based on available scientific evidence. Community Guides are informational resources that provide systematic reviews of effectiveness research on "what works"

for cost-effective intervention approaches or behavior change, disease prevention, and environmental change across more than 22 health topics.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) produces comprehensive guides, or technical packages, focused on preventing youth violence and associated risk behaviors (David-Ferdon et al., 2016). Each guide includes strategies based on the best available evidence to help communities focus on prevention activities with the greatest potential to prevent youth violence and consequences. Strategies center on preventing violence from occurring as well as reducing immediate and long-term harms of violence to prevent future violence. Individual and community approaches included strengthening youth's skills; connecting youth to caring adults and activities; creating protective community environments; and intervening to lessen harms and prevent future risk.

Two considerations appearing throughout the research are important considering applications to hazing prevention. Often, the approaches used for violence prevention don't directly address violence, but the skills related to reducing behavior change such as emotional self-awareness, emotional control, self-esteem, positive social skills, social problem solving, conflict resolution, or team work. A common feature in prevention approaches for violence, bullying, sexual assault, and

to an extent, alcohol misuse, is a multi-tiered approach at community, organization, and individual levels.

Violence Prevention

The Community Preventive Services Task Force (CPSTF) produced a community guide for violence prevention within the school context (Hahn et al., 2007). Basing their guide on a systematic review of 53 studies, the Task Force found that community-based programs were successful in the following rates for reducing violence. Specific to a secondary school context, the median effects on violent behavior included a median relative reduction of 29.2% for high school students and a median relative reduction of 7.3% for middle school. In addition to community approaches for preventing violence in school contexts, the CDC added aspects of the home environment as precursors for future violence. In its guide for preventing Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs), the CDC (2019a) noted that aspects of the child's environment, such as substance misuse, mental health problems, or instability due to parental separation or incarceration, can significantly affect their sense of safety, stability, and bonding.

The CDC (2019a) recommended two prevention methods that appear in several other systematic reviews and meta-analyses of youth violence prevention. First is a social norms approach to protecting against violence and adversity. Norms are defined as group-level beliefs and expectations about how members of the group should behave. Preventing ACEs requires changing social norms about acceptance or indifference towards violence and adversity. These social norms can include promoting community norms around a shared

responsibility for the health and well-being of all children; supporting parents and positive parenting; including norms around safe and effective discipline; fostering healthy and positive norms around gender, masculinity, and violence to protect against violence towards intimate partners, children, and peers; reducing stigma around help-seeking; and enhancing connectedness to build resiliency in the face of adversity. In addition, they found that bystander approaches and efforts to mobilize men and boys as allies has shown to be effective for changing the social context for violent and abusive behavior. Examples are the Green Dot and Coaching Boys into Men, which have been effective in reducing violence against dating partners, negative bystander behaviors (e.g., encouraging abusive behaviors), as well as sexual violence perpetration and victimization.

In another CDC-produced technical package, focused on prevention of youth violence and associated risk behaviors, David-Ferdon et al. (2016) noted that youth violence starts early – aggression can be common among toddlers, and most children learn alternatives to using violence to solve problems and express their beliefs and emotions before starting elementary school – and that these signs can provide opportunities for identifying and changing behavior. This finding is also consistent with research focused on preventing ACEs, such as experiencing violence, abuse, or neglect; witnessing violence in the home; and having a family member attempt or die by suicide that occur in childhood (0-17 years) (CDC, 2019a). David-Ferdon et al. (2016) also reported that youth violence is influenced by the interaction of multiple factors, including individual characteristics and experiences as well as relationships, community, and society within which adolescents develop. Because of connections to other forms of violence, the researchers concluded that

approaches that address risk and protective factors across multiple forms of violence may be an effective and efficient way to prevent violence. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, they noted that youth violence can be prevented – there are multiple scientifically proven prevention strategies that can reduce youth violence victimization and perpetration and associated risk factors. As a result, they recommended a comprehensive approach to simultaneously target multiple risk and protective factors.

David-Ferdon et al. (2016) highlighted Communities That Care (CTC), PROmoting School-community-university Partnerships to Encourage Resiliency (PROSPER) and the Cardiff Violence Prevention Partnership as exemplar, data-driven programs for supporting communities in using data to assess local risks and protective factors. The researchers concluded that, "Creating protective community environments in which young people develop is a necessary step towards achieving population-level reductions in youth violence." p. 29). Community-level approaches at prevention, they noted, "can have a significant influence on individual behavior by creating a context that promotes social norms that protect against violence. These approaches can improve perceived and actual safety and reduce opportunities for violence and crime and, in turn, increase protective factors" (p. 29). These early intervention approaches also can reduce the risk for future violence. In the CDC technical package for preventing Intimate Partner Violence across the lifespan, Niolon et al. (2017) noted, "A large body of evidence highlights the importance of

intervening early to prevent future involvement in violence, including future risk of perpetrating partner violence" p. 25.

Bullying

Bullying is considered a form of youth violence and an adverse childhood experience that is prevalent at all school levels (Diliberti et al., 2019). Researchers have shown that bullying is a developmental precursor to multiple forms of violence including physical assault and sexual violence (Espelage et al., 2021). Addressing bullying among students may help prevent bullying as well as other forms of community violence. However, there have been few rigorous controlled trials (RCTs) testing the efficacy or effectiveness of programs designed to reduce or prevent bullying or offset its harm (Bradshaw, 2015; Jiménez-Barbero et al. 2016).

The most effective programs for preventing bullying, according to rigorous research, meta-analyses, and systematic review produced in the last decade, are schoolwide, multicomponent programs that combine both universal and targeted strategies for intervention (Bradshaw, 2015; Rigby & Slee, 2008; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Programs should include elements related to reducing risk or enhancing protective factors, and the effects are highest for youth with several risk factors, as early as elementary school. However, direct analyses of these programs often show only small effects for directly preventing bullying or bullying behavior. Positive effects from these programs generally relate to changes in attitudes and perceptions about bullying (Rivara & LeMenestrel, 2016).

The CPSTF produced a community guide for violence prevention related specially to school-based anti-bullying interventions based on a subset of 19 studies, from a systematic review of 69, conducted in the United States or Canada (Fraguas et al., 2020). They found that when interventions are implemented in school settings, students reported fewer experiences with bullying perpetration, victimization and lesser rates of anxiety and depression. Effective programs target bullying inside and outside school, and provide group education for students (which may focus on enhancing interpersonal and emotional skills), training (in the form of content or effective delivery) or consultation to school staff, or both. Skills students work on during bullying prevention programs focus on changing the way they think and feel about violence while enhancing interpersonal skills such as communication, problem-solving, empathy, emotional awareness and regulation, conflict management, and teamwork.

Most bullying prevention has focused on universal school-based programs, but the effects appear to be modest (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2016). “One-off” approaches such as awareness events or assemblies are not effective at producing sustainable effects on bullying behavior or changing a climate of bullying (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). Instead, multicomponent schoolwide programs have been most effective at reducing bullying.

A team of researchers found that the existing empirically supported preventive interventions for violence as well as support for those who have experienced it were most effective when integrated into a multi-tiered system of addressing bullying (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2016). This includes programs that

incorporate school climate, positive behavior support, social and emotional learning, or violence prevention as more effective and as a result preferable to implementing a bullying-specific preventive intervention. This approach is similar to a social–ecological framework perspective on bullying prevention and intervention, which considers the holistic effects of environment alongside the broader culture and climate (Espelage & Swearer, 2004). Creating change requires commitment to the implementation of a model but also to sustaining and authentically integrating it with other efforts so that it becomes routinized (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine).

The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (2016) recommended a three-tiered public health approach (universal, selective, and indicated preventive interventions) for prevention of emotional and behavioral disorders to frame their recommendations for bullying prevention (see Institute of Medicine, 1994; National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2009). However, while researchers encourage a multi-tiered approach to address bullying (Bradshaw, 2013; 2015; Swearer et al., 2012); few large-scale RCT studies have examined the combined and tier-specific effects of multi-tiered programs on bullying. The approach includes the following:

1. Tier 1 is Universal preventative intervention. These programs are aimed at reducing risks and strengthening skills for all youth within a defined community or school setting. At this tier, all members of a target population are exposed to the intervention. In a school setting, these are often taught at the classroom level. More specifically, Vreeman and Carroll (2007), in a systematic review of bullying preventive

interventions, found that whole-school approaches with teacher training or individual counseling were more effective than curricular-only approaches.

2. Tier 2 is Selective preventative intervention. These programs target youth at risk for being bullied or youth who are at risk for bullying. They are specifically used with youth who have not responded to the universal preventative intervention. These types of programs may include more intensive social-emotional skills training, coping skills, or de-escalation approaches.
3. Tier 3 is Preventative intervention. These programs incorporate more intensive approaches with target at-risk youth. These include more intensive supports and activities for individuals who have a history of being bullied, or are displaying bullying behavior that also are showing early signs of behavioral, academic, or mental health consequences. These programs also use a community approach that can include parents, teachers, educational support staff, health care professionals, and community members. This is the least researched of the tiered approaches.

Most school-based bullying prevention programs fall under the universal category of preventive interventions. Characteristics of effective schoolwide programs include positive behavior support, a common set of expectations for positive behaviors across all school contexts, and the involvement of school staff and personnel in prevention (Ross & Horner, 2009). A guiding principle is that all individuals can benefit from ways to improve school climate, change attitudes or awareness, or reduce aggressive behavior in general. Researchers have supported this approach, noting that universal programs aimed at reducing violence have the potential for producing significant and meaningful change across

a broad range of outcomes in addition to bullying (Biglan et al., 2015; Institute of Medicine and National Research Council, 2015). National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (2016) noted that, even if bullying behavior is not the primary focus of the intervention, there are valuable benefits to using evidenced-based approaches such as reductions in aggression and improvements in social skills. This was supported in older meta-analytic studies. For example, Merrell et al. (2008) found after reviewing 16 studies from K-12 settings from 1980-2004 that most of the positive outcomes were related to attitudes and knowledge improvement rather than reduction of bullying reporting or perpetration.

Ttofi and Farrington (2011) published the most comprehensive review conducted to date, applying the Campbell Systematic Review procedures in reviewing 44 rigorous program evaluations and RCTs. The researchers' findings supported other reviews and meta analyses that the most effective programs are multicomponent (even if they are not multi-tiered), schoolwide programs aimed at reducing bullying and aggression across a variety of settings. They found that most prominent school-based bullying prevention programs are aimed at middle school students. According to the researchers, among the programs that have been evaluated with RCT designs, the observed effects were generally more effective for older youth (11-14) than for younger (10 or under). However, some inconsistency in this research supports the hypothesis in other violence prevention research that early intervention is effective for preventing a broad spectrum of behavior problems (Waasdorp et al., 2012).

Three additional observations from bullying research that might be relatable to hazing prevention, are notable. First, is the importance of identifying "hot spots" such as the playground, that needs increased supervision (e.g., Rapp-Paglicci et al., 2008). This suggests that identifying and targeting the locations of hazing activities may be beneficial. Second, research has shown little evidence about the effectiveness of successful anti-bullying legislation, largely due to lack of awareness and ambiguities in researching-hazing laws. These include lack of awareness of the specific components of the laws and policies among administrators and teachers, confusion over the scope of the laws and policies and the bullying behaviors they cover, and the ability of local jurisdictions to fulfill mandates required by law (e.g., teacher training) without additional resources (The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2016). Finally, research has not supported the effectiveness of zero tolerance policies in keeping schools safe. The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine further concluded that such approaches should be discontinued and the resources redirected to more evidenced-based policies and prevention programs.

Sexual Violence

Effective sexual violence programs focus on individual interventions, education, and training with particular emphasis on bystander training (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Brecklin & Forde, 2001, Katz & Moore, 2013). Bystander programs have been found to reduce rape myth acceptance and rape proclivity, and intent to intervene. Researchers also have found that bystander programs reduce some

forms of sexual misconduct among high school–aged populations (Capilouto et al., 2014; Coker et al., 2017; Taylor, Stein, Mumford, & Woods, 2013), although these programs do not appear to change reported rates of rape perpetration in college populations (Katz & Moore). In their meta-analysis of 69 studies, Anderson and Whiston found that educational programming presented by a professional, offered for a longer duration (in terms of minutes, although the range in lengths varied significantly, see p. 382) and that included topics such as risk reduction, gender roles, and myth busting were effective strategies for reducing sexual violence.

The CPSTF produced a community guide for primary prevention interventions aimed at preventing or reducing perpetration of intimate partner and sexual violence among youth, ages 12-24 (Niolon et al., 2017). A secondary aim of many programs is to promote healthier relationships between peers and partners. Interventions often include one or more of the following approaches: teaching healthy relationship skills, promoting social norms that protect against violence, and creating protective environments. The CPSTF finding is based on evidence from a systematic review of 28 studies, conducted by a team of specialists in systematic review methods, and in research, practice, and policy related to intimate partner violence and sexual violence.

Several findings are notable to highlight. Successful interventions were grouped into three categories. First, interventions that taught healthy relationship skills or promoted social norms to protect against violence (success was defined as reporting favorable and consistent decreases in perpetration). Second, interventions that taught healthy relationship

skills or combined teaching healthy relationship skills with efforts to promote social norms that protect against violence (success defined as reporting favorable and consistent decreases in victimization). Third, interventions that promoted social norms to protect against violence through bystander education and empowerment, engaged men and boys as allies in prevention, or both (success defined as favorable and consistent increases in bystander action within six months of intervention completion (Niolon et al., 2017).

The CDC developed STOP SV: A Technical Package to Prevent Sexual Violence to help communities use the best available evidence to prevent sexual violence. The supporting research for this technical package focused on creating a protective community environment as a necessary step toward achieving population-level reductions in sexual violence (Basile et al., 2016). Communities are broadly defined to include defined populations with shared characteristics and environments, such as schools, neighborhoods, organizations (e.g., workplaces), or institutions. Community-level approaches specifically operated by modifying characteristics of the community, rather than individuals within the community. Examples include changes to policies, institutional structures, or the social and physical environment. The primary goal is to reduce risk characteristics and increase protective factors that affect the entire community. The approach operates on a model that suggests aspects of the social and physical environment can have a significant influence on individual behavior. This approach creates a context that can promote positive behavior or facilitate harmful behavior.

Although not specifically focused on sexual violence prevention among youth, two evidenced-based approaches are applicable to educational contexts (Basile et al., 2016). The

first centers on the workplace as a community, emphasizing that establishing and consistently applying workplace policies such as zero tolerance, notification to applicants and new hires of harassment-free environments, regular organizational assessments, and consistent, specific training can reduce workplace SV behaviors. Applied to an educational setting among students, this mandates the establishment of clear and consistent policies in student handbooks, and includes regular assessment. The second is more directly linked to other approaches reviewed in this section, addressing community-level risks through environmental approaches. For example, research has shown that changes to alcohol-related policies that restrict or reduce excessive consumption can reduce the risk of sexual violence (Lippy & DeGue, 2016). This also applies to the location and concentration of alcohol outlets in a community, which can affect the perception of safety and influence rates of violence. The most effective alcohol policies reduce excessive consumption by increasing prices or reducing the density of outlets in a community, which are associated with lower rates of victimization.

Alcohol/Drug Use Prevention

Ninety percent of hazing deaths “involved extreme alcohol consumption” (Rutledge, 1998, p. 370). Since alcohol use is intertwined with hazing, it is important to understand what has been effective toward the general reduction of alcohol use in college students. Group-based alcohol intervention strategies focus heavily on peer-related norming or larger ecosystem variables (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2019). Examples include establishing amnesty policies (Hass

et al., 2018; Monahan, Nable, & WinklerPrins, 2019), training students who may be providing alcohol to their peers (Caudill et al., 2007), and implementing peer monitoring approaches to prevent overconsumption (Saltz et al., 2010). When implemented as part of a comprehensive approach, they appear to increase help-seeking and increase intervention when high risk drinking is occurring, and reshape peer norming messages. These strategies have important translatability to hazing prevention work in that they challenge practitioners to consider the ways in which the larger ecosystem influences student decision making. When a comprehensive effort is implemented to reshape the environmental messaging, behavior change can result.

In the realm of youth substance misuse, the interactive effect of risk and protective factors requires programs that address multiple factors to be the most effective (Robertson, David, & Rao, 2003). Risk factors such as early aggressive behavior, academic problems, undiagnosed mental health problems, peer substance abuse, and peer rejection can all contribute to youth substance misuse; protective factors such as secure attachment, self-regulation, adequate socioeconomic resources, and strong, positive peer relationships can potentially prevent youth from engaging in substances (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2009). Lions-Quest Skills for Adolescence (SFA) utilizes a five-component structure including classroom curriculum of 102 skill-building lessons; parent and

family involvement; positive school climate; community involvement; and professional development. In randomized control trials, reports of recent usage of marijuana and binge drinking were lower in SFA groups than control groups (Eisen et al., 2003).

Summary

Models employed to address public health challenges may translate effectively to hazing prevention efforts. In many cases, these strategies employ a socio-ecological model (Dahlberg & Krug, 2002) that explores ways to increase protective factors for individuals and rethink group processes, while simultaneously shifting environmental cues and social norms at the institutional and policy related levels. For example, the use of a socio-ecological framework and associated strategies to reduce high-risk drinking have shown efficacy in reducing alcohol use and abuse on college campuses (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2019). Also in the realm of alcohol prevention and mental health, SAMHSA's strategic prevention framework (SPF) (SAMHSA, 2017) suggests a five-step framework that uses assessment data and capacity building to implement an iterative planning, implementation, and evaluation process. In both the case of the socio-ecological model (SEM) and the strategic prevention framework (SPF), the engagement of a cross-organizational team of stakeholders is key.

Hazing Prevention Efforts and Approaches

Hazing prevention efforts are described in the literature and there are some cross-sectional or evaluative studies, but there are few efficacy-support approaches. This includes the lack of vetted resources such as the Community Guide or the CDC's technical report. The existing research focus on the effects of anti-hazing legislation, zero-tolerance policies, incident reporting, and educational efforts.

Anti-Hazing Legislation

Hazing is illegal in 44 of 50 states (StopHazing, n.d.), however, what constitutes hazing and the subsequent penalties vary widely. While hazing is a felony in 14 states, in many states hazing is considered a misdemeanor no more severe than a traffic violation. For example, in Massachusetts, the maximum penalty for hazing, as defined legally, is one year in jail or a $1,000 fine (Mass. Gen. Laws ch. 269, § 17, 1985). In many hazing situations, colleges and universities and state and local law only hold the organization accountable for hazing violations. This can shield individual students from repercussion. Recent legislation following high profile deaths in states like Ohio, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania have led to increased regulation, oversight, and higher penalties for those found responsible for violating the law. For example, Collin's Law, enacted in Ohio in 2021, expanded the definition of hazing, widened the list of individuals responsible for reporting hazing,

required training for staff and volunteers at colleges and universities, and increased the legal liability for those found responsible for inflicting serious harm (Wagner, & Hendrix, 2021, July 6).

Whether increasing penalties serves as a deterrent for hazing is not yet empirically supported. However, research shows that stringent drunk driving laws have reduced risk only among those unlikely to drink and drive, however, perceptions about the likelihood of arrest and other consequences served to reduce the prevalence of drinking and driving for most individuals. Actual enforcement of the law did not impact behavior (Bertelli & Richardson, 2008). More stringent hazing policies with more severe consequences for both organizations and individuals may serve to reduce hazing frequency and severity because of the perceived impacts, but only coupled with strategies to increase *perception* of consequences (Owen et al, 2008). Similarly, seat belt usage and mandatory seat belt laws are an important tactic utilized by state and federal government to reduce motor vehicle fatalities caused by accidents. Mandatory seat belt laws reduce traffic fatalities (Cohen & Einav, 2003). In a study examining Texas seat belt laws, Loeb (1995) found that seat belt laws reduced the driver-related injuries. Wearing a seat belt reduces both fatalities and injuries (Jones & Ziebarth, 2017), however, a problem persists with how to increase passenger seat belt usage. Studies have shown that consistent and

primary enforcement and implementing fines or penalties are effective in increasing the use of seat belts and decreasing fatalities and injuries (Nichols et al., 2014).

Zero-Tolerance Policies

Similar to findings in the violence research, zero tolerance hazing policies have not been effective in preventing hazing (Borgwald & Theixos, 2012; Parks, 2021). In the K-12 schooling system, administrators are rethinking the idea of zero-tolerance policies, as the practice has been shown to negatively impact graduation rates, increase additional disruptive behavior, and make communities and schools less safe (Teske, 2011; Wald & Losen, 2003). For example, a meta-analysis of zero-tolerance policies designed to prevent bullying showed no benefit in most cases and a minor benefit in a very small number of cases (Smith et al., 2004). In the wake of zero-tolerance policies, bullying has increased and has instead become more hidden from view as students employ strategies outside of policies designed to address overt bullying, such as cyberbullying, ignoring the victim, shunning, and other non-physical forms of bullying (Woods & Wolke, 2003). Moratoriums or pauses in operation, which have become a popular strategy on many campuses (see for example, Luczak, 2018; Satullo, 2020; Solomon, 2021), have not been demonstrated to empirically work. One exploratory study found that moratoriums on two campuses led to unintended disruption of organizational functions that deflected

attention from the intended goals of the moratorium. These pauses impacted risky behavior only briefly (Esquenazi, 2021).

Incident Reporting

Efforts have been made to increase knowledge of reporting avenues. Some data supports that the fear of consequences, particularly with the police, may dissuade some students from engaging in hazing (Owen et al., 2008). However, other researchers found students choose not to report hazing for fear of getting in trouble. Allan and Madden (2012) found 37% of respondents chose not to report hazing, cited not wanting to get their organization in trouble. The fear of being ostracized by one's peer group may serve to mitigate any fear of punishment from those outside the organization (Johnson, 2011). This becomes increasingly more salient among a generation of high school and college students who are deeply seeking belonging, particularly post-pandemic (Peterson, 2021). Despite efforts to end hazing, the frequency of reported hazing has remained largely the same since the 1990s (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005, Perlow, 2018; Hoover, 1999).

Educational Efforts

In the 2000s and 2010s, prevention efforts focused on educating students on unintended harm associated with hazing. HazingPrevention.Org created a number of campaigns associated with hidden harm and numerous speakers educated

students about the unknown impacts of hazing in bringing forward prior trauma (HazingPrevention.Org, 2016). Other efforts focused on encouraging bystander intervention behavior (Long, 2012). A pilot intervention at two high schools showed some early evidence that hazing training helped increase the ability for participants to recognize hazing, bystander intervention skills, and knowledge of school policies and procedures (Hakkola, Allan, & Kerschner, 2019). Additionally, at the college level, use of video vignettes has also shown participants to have greater definitional alignment with current hazing definitions (Allan & Kerschner, 2020). However, there is no substantial evidence that increasing knowledge of hazing reduces intentions. Evidence from one study suggests that even when knowledge of hazing increased, there were no differences between treatment and control groups on measures of intention to haze or intentions to prevent hazing after participating in a hazing prevention workshop (Capretto & Keeler, 2012).

In one evaluative study, researchers implemented a pilot project at two high schools in Maine that consisted of hazing prevention training and assessment (Hakkola, Allan, & Kerschner, 2019). Findings suggested that staff and student participants benefited from the hazing interventions through increases in perceived and measured knowledge, awareness of hazing and hazing prevention strategies, and enhanced understanding of bystander intervention. Knowledge of hazing policies depended on the school where the students were enrolled, with knowledge

being higher at the high school that had a hazing related athletics case (where hazing was more of a conversation within the school). Students at that school were more aware of the hazing prevention policies, but also more of them expressed faith that their teachers, coaches, and administrators would sufficiently address hazing and enact the policies if needed (Hakkola, Allan, & Kerschner).

Meriwether (2020) outlined a comprehensive campus-wide hazing prevention model based on the underlying notion that education can reduce hazing. The program offers specific “levers” to implement across campus to educate both students and staff about hazing: pre-membership strategy and post-membership educative measures. The pre-membership strategies include: (1) conducting new student and parent programs; (2) engaging local, regional, and national officers; (3) hosting advisor training and certifications; and (4) disseminating policy and state law information prior to rush or membership intake. Meriwether noted that it is important to certify trainers who will deliver the content so they understand reporting structures and knowledge about the institution. The post-membership educative measures includes: (1) engage local, regional, and national GLO officers; (2) implement the Greek council and peer education model; (3) implement advisor-involved preventative education; and (4) disseminate policy and state law information prior to rush or membership intake.

Meriwether (2020) also offered several practices for addressing hazing generated by scholar-practitioners in student affairs and higher education. This included that investigations of hazing should consider the source, start immediately within 24 hours, separate the accused and victims, communicate appropriately to all stakeholders, and issue a final written report. These actions create a culture of reporting and responsiveness. Meriwether suggested that nuances should be considered between student sorority/fraternity councils such as NPC, NALFO, and APIDA organizations. To date, there has not been an evaluation of the model to assess the efficacy of the approaches outlined.

Summary

The existing research provides few validated approaches for preventing hazing. Much of "what works" for hazing remains anecdotal or based on participant perceptions or researcher' self-reports. However, the existing research offers some insight into which elements might be effective, that could be implemented alongside validated violence prevention programs from the public health literature, to create a holistic program. Exploration of these considerations follow.

Addressing Hazing as an Individual Problem

Many hazing activities can be classified as violent behaviors (Holman, 2004; Jones, 1999; Jones, 2000). The violence prevention literature lends some interesting learning, particularly as it pertains to masculinity. The Conformity to Male Norms

Inventory (CMNI) shows a connection between violence supportive attitudes and other forms of victimization. Participants who abused alcohol and supported norms about power over women, being a playboy, disdaining homosexuality, being dominant, taking risks, and supporting violence were more likely to accept rape myths and engage in aggression (Locke & Mahalik, 2005; Jacques-Tiura et al., 2007). Similarly, research suggests a correlation among men who report a violence supportive climate (as measured by the CMNI) and hazing motivation (McCready, 2020) and in cases where members perceived higher group masculine norm conformity, there appears to be a moderate correlation with hazing frequency (Perlow, 2018). Locke and Mahalik recommend educational approaches centered around reframing masculine norms as a tool to reduce support for violence. These same approaches may be helpful in reducing hazing (Perlow).

Prevention training videos have been identified as promising hazing prevention strategies (Allan, Joyce, and Perlow, 2020). In a study of 395 students at three U.S. colleges and universities, students who watched the film, *We Don't Haze*, reported being more likely than their peers to gain knowledge about hazing prevention and to assist in the development of inclusive group dynamics (Allan & Kerschner, 2020). After students viewed *Intervene, a* film demonstrating ways student bystanders could successfully intervene in a wide range of high risk scenarios involving hazing, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, sexual

harassment, emotional distress, alcohol emergency, and bias, they were more likely to intervene in bystander situations compared to the control group who did not view the video (Allan & Kerschner).

Addressing Hazing as an Organizational Problem

Group-based interventions must be focused on increasing organizationally driven protective factors that achieve the following goals: (a) Harnessing peer culture; (b) Harnessing stakeholder power; (c) Harnessing organizational behavior, specifically disincentivizing organizations who engage in dangerous hazing; (d) Reducing transmission of dangerous hazing across organizations; and (e) Replacing dangerous hazing related dysphoric activities with safer, positive, euphoric activities that achieve the same goals or outcomes. The following recommendations, informed by the literature, provide recommendations for promising strategies, directly linked to hazing motivators.

Comprehensive hazing prevention should incorporate a campus-wide orientation, to avoid the mistake of situating hazing prevention solely in fraternity and sorority life (Allan, Payne, & Kerschner, 2018). That compartmentalization ignores the overall campus culture and the many ways in which hazing persists on campus, including high rates of student athlete hazing (Allan & Madden, 2012).

Addressing and Reshaping Group Norms

Peers play a tremendous role in influencing decision making within organizations, influencing attitude about and tolerance for hazing, and an organization's adoption of hazing. As is the case with alcohol-based norms (Borsari & Carey, 2001), students report having wide knowledge of hazing occurring on their campuses (Allan & Madden, 2008), yet they seldom intervene or report the behavior to campus staff. Peer norming approaches have been effective in addressing sexual assault (Mennicke et al., 2021) and drug and alcohol misuse (DeJong et al., 2007). DeJong et al. found three components in an analysis of effective interventions: (1) changing attitudes and norms; (2) reducing short term risk; and (3) intervening to prevent long term impacts. These same three components may play an important role in hazing prevention efforts, with peers as a central player in each step. Recently Marchell et al. (2022) published results of an intervention employing a public health approach to hazing on one college campus. Results showed some success influencing hazing-related norms, which could have organizational implications.

Group-based alcohol intervention strategies focus heavily on peer-related norming or larger ecosystem variables (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2019), such as establishing amnesty policies (Hass et al., 2018; Monahan,

Nable, & WinklerPrins, 2019), training students who may be providing alcohol to their peers (Caudill et al., 2007), and implementing peer monitoring approaches to prevent overconsumption (Saltz et al., 2010). When implemented as part of a comprehensive approach, they appear to increase help-seeking responses and increase intervention behaviors when high risk drinking is occurring, and reshape peer norming messages. These strategies have important translatability to hazing prevention work in that they challenge practitioners to consider the ways in which the larger ecosystem influences student decision making. When a comprehensive effort is implemented to reshape the environmental messaging, behavior change can result.

Social norming may have promise as a prevention strategy for hazing among athletes (Waldron, 2012), though results are mixed. The methodology used in Waldron's study was to look at how the social norms approach applies to hazing workshops. Two findings that showcase how social norms theory is evident in hazing is false consensus and pluralistic ignorance. False consensus is a cognitive bias that leads us overestimate the extent to which our beliefs and choices are common among our peers Pluralistic ignorance is when individual members of a group participate in an activity because they believe the majority of the group is in favor of it (Waldron). While there have been mixed findings among other studies (Marchell

et al., 2022; Schutts & Shelley, 2014), there may still be opportunity to influence behavior by harnessing social norms.

Véliz-Calderon and Allan (2017) found college student definitions of hazing often reflected common gender schemas around socially constructed notions of masculinity and femininity. Social expectations of masculinity and femininity can impact decision-making around participation in hazing behaviors (Véliz Calderon & Allan). The researchers recommended providing students with opportunities to explore gender norms as well discussing topics such as gender schemas in safe and open environments will allow students the opportunity to make sense of assumptions around hazing particularly around social expectations of masculinity and femininity, disrupt stereotypes, and foster social justice within these communities.

McCready (2020) found that chapters promoting masculine norm climates that perpetuate misogyny, homophobia, or risk taking are also likely to endorse social dominance hazing rationales. By identifying the chapters that promote these masculine norm climates, practitioners can implement targeted interventions to mitigate misogyny, homophobia, and risk taking, as well as address social dominance hazing. Practitioners should develop programs that help men understand how to positively build intimate relationships and strong emotional

connections with other men without conforming to hazing or hegemonic masculinity behaviors for acceptance (McCready).

Identifying and Working with Influencers

Students often disregard anti-hazing messaging from positional power holders like high school or university administrators, as evidenced by the fact that despite more than 50% of students receiving anti-hazing messages, more than 95% of students who experienced hazing indicated they did not report it (Allan & Madden, 2008. It is critical to communicate in ways that influence students to make more effective decisions around hazing (Dalton & Crosby, 2010). One way to achieve this goal is to ensure that hazing education and messaging comes from influential peers. Often the influential peers are not those in positional power such as student government, team captains, or fraternity/sorority council leaders (Rivera et al., 2010). Instead, they often are students with influential and informal power who have the social capital to influence groups. These influential peers are often considered boundary spanners, in that their influence spreads across multiple organizations. Identifying and working with these individuals to transmit messages may impede the spread of dangerous or detrimental practices (Zhang et al., 2021) by reshaping hazing supportive norms and attitudes.

Even if student leaders are not often influential boundary spanners because of their connection to administrators (Rivera et al., 2010), student leaders are critical in supporting a healthy organizational and campus ecosystem. A study of students in a social change focused leadership program showed student leader trainees were more likely to be involved in hazing and less likely to report hazing than students not in the training program (Malaret et al., 2021). While further research is needed to better understand this phenomenon, this finding suggests that student leaders may need training focused on the personal impacts on leaders and the importance of ethical leadership. This includes prioritizing how to recognize and respond to organizational politics, recognize the important role of informal influence and consensus building, and create effective change management.

Influencers also can create opportunities or barriers for decision-making. In consensus-based organizations (i.e., actions generally require votes or general agreement), influencers who support hazing behaviors can severely undermine prevention efforts. For example, Perlow (2018) found that as the amount of hazing increased across fraternity chapters, members were more engaged in the new member socialization process, which seems to indicate that consensus based decision making can allow for hazing practices to thrive. In contrast, in organizations with a more authoritarian approach to decision making, as is the case where one team captain or one or two central leaders make centralized decisions for the

organization, general members need permission to take action. If those organization leaders are committed to ensuring an experience free of hazing, this can be positive, however, if they are hazing supportive, this can result in dangerous decision-making.

An important part of the role of student leaders is consistent messaging about what the organization or team represents and tolerates, as moral leadership has been shown to have a moderating effect on member judgment with regard to unethical pro-organizational behavior (UPB) (Umphress, Bingham, & Mitchell, 2010; Zhang & Xiao, 2020). This messaging has been shown in a business environment that "clearly communicates the range of acceptable and unacceptable behavior (e.g., through leader role-modeling, rewards systems, and informal norms) [to be] associated with fewer unethical decisions in the workplace" (Kish-Gephart et al., 2010, p. 21).

Establishing Consistency with Advisors, Coaches, and Leaders

There must be clear and consistent messaging across the organizational ecosystem. If students are hearing different messages about hazing tolerance and norms from coaches, parents, and administrators, (as suggested by the research – Kowalski & Waldron, 2010) this erodes the effectiveness of prevention efforts. It is critical that clear and consistent messaging be presented to all stakeholders in a method customized to the audience that is tailored to their specific goals and

interests (Meyer et al, 2010). Developing buy-in from these stakeholders in supporting prevention efforts are critical to the prevention of hazing. It will also be critical to implement strategies that position the university or high school staff as a support resource rather than adversarial. It is developmentally appropriate that students want to rebel against authority or take risks that break "rules" (Arnett, 2004; Cho et al., 2010), however, to dismantle hazing practices, students need to see teachers, coaches, and administrators as supporters with expertise and experience to assist them in offering healthier options rather than enforcers from whom they must hide their activities. In the same way that the Title IX process provides for confidential advocates that students can talk with about their options for reporting, there should be methods to encourage transparency around hazing practices with trusted advisors, through which students can be offered tools and resources for making change or reporting incidents, all while being afforded the protections of anonymity.

Kowalski and Waldron (2010) examined the role of the coach in hazing behaviors on athletics teams through a qualitative analysis of student athletes' perceptions of hazing. The majority of athletes in the study reported that coaches allowed and tolerated hazing, as long as the coach felt that it was under control. Many coaches reported being skeptical of the effectiveness of anti-hazing policies and they often ignored the hazing on their teams (Kowalski & Waldron). Coaches

need to communicate an anti-hazing message to student athletes so that their silence is not misunderstood as being pro-hazing, and coaches should encourage team bonding through productive and healthy ways to build tradition within the team (Swingle & Salinas, 2018).

Individuals such as coaches, parents, advisors, alumni, and teachers also can serve as the institutional memory for a group. Over time, organizations experience practical drift, where the group starts to slowly deviate from the organization's purposes, expectations, and values (Ortmann, 2010). Often this occurs incrementally over time and is not noticeable until something catastrophic occurs. To prevent this, it is important for organizations to regularly assess their practices in alignment with organizational expectations. This can be facilitated by consistent messaging and practices closely related to the mission of the organization or team. School and campus leaders can help reduce practical drift by ensuring clarity of expectations and clear communication about the impacts of deviation from community expectations.

Marching band hazing culture provides some additional helpful context toward understanding hazing prevention work from a broader lens. It has been noted that while most states have anti-hazing statutes, many legislative and judicial policies exclude marching bands or have other limitations such as restricting the

definition of hazing (Silveira, 2018). It is also crucial that policies take into account that hazing can occur at any point in a student's involvement with a group, not just during initiation. In addition, it is important to note that many individuals may not have the education, training, and awareness around hazing prevention of which collegiate advisors or coaches have been subjected. For example, it is unlikely that many marching band directors have the training or education to address and prevent hazing.

Recognizing and Accounting for Organizational "Status"

Cimino (2011, 2013a, 2013b) has suggested that gatekeeping is a prominent motivator for hazing. Status, social opportunities, and credibility, both within the organization and as perceived by the organization from external audiences, plays an important role in organizational decision making, specifically around hazing. For example, in the case of fraternities and sororities, fraternal men's and women's groups are competing for social status with other organizations of the same gender. On many campuses, men's organizations gain status through offering what is perceived as the hardest new member experience, recruiting the most masculine members, and socializing with the most beautiful women. They use hazing as a gatekeeping mechanism to ensure members who join will further enhance this status and then use their status to further gatekeep the ability for stakeholders,

such as women's organizations, to access their resources. Women's organizations gain status by being the most hyperfeminine group desired by hypermasculine men, thereby possessing the ability to socialize with the most high status men's group who grants them access to their resources. If women have access to their own resources and if status for both organizations could be redefined perhaps they would no longer compete for these resources, thereby breaking the unhealthy status generating cycle. Reducing the connection between status and deviance, risk taking, and edgework could play an important role in future hazing prevention efforts.

It also is critical to understand situational strength, or cues provided by other organizations about the acceptability and desirability of hazing (Meyer, et al., 2009), as part of hazing intervention and prevention efforts. Identifying these cues and working to reduce the communication of these cues can help reduce hazing within organizations and also transmission across organizations. Four facets of situational strength influence organizational decision making: Clarity, consistency, constraints, and consequences (Meyer, et al.). Gaining an understanding of the strength of both the *clarity* and the *consistency* of hazing supportive environmental cues (most often from other organizations) can help aid hazing prevention teams in crafting targeted solutions that work to weaken the strength of those cues, while simultaneously strengthening the clarity and consistency of hazing preventive cues. It is also

important to better understand the degree to which organizations or individuals perceive *constraints* to respond differently to cues and the degree to which they believe different responses will result in positive outcomes (i.e. *consequences*).

Empowering student leaders and boundary spanners to see benefits in responding differently to environmental cues is essential to successful organizational and community wide hazing prevention efforts. Status as a reward plays an important role in reinforcing the strength of environmental cues, given one of the organizational risk factors to hazing appears to be pursuit of organizational status in the community (DeSantis, 2007). As part of efforts to reshape environmental cues, it is simultaneously important to provide clear and effective guidance to organization leaders, members, and advisors about ways to identify dangerous hazing, and the individual and organizational risks of this hazing, accompanied with strategies to replace hazing activities with equally rewarding alternatives.

Replacing or Reframing Hazing Activities

Too often, high school and college aged students lack the experience and understanding of group related dynamics to effectively replace hazing behaviors. Students also often lean on the outcomes achieved by specific activities , often failing to recognize those positive outcomes could also be achieved through

healthier activities. Students receive numerous messages about what activities are not permitted, but often there are few messages about what is appropriate. In replacing or redefining activities, the goal is to shift dysphoric activities to becoming more euphoric (Whitehouse & Lanman, 2014; Whitehouse, et al., 2017), thereby resulting in the same outcomes students are seeking.

Researchers have advocated for an individual approach to working with student organizations or teams to identify and change activities that lead to hazing (Reese, 1993). Some researchers have posited that outdoor adventure or other team building experiences can facilitate the replacement of hazing activities (Chin & Johnson, 2011; Macintosh, 2018; Owen et al., 2008). These activities are more efficacious when there is a positive campus climate (Rankin et al., 2011). Team-building activities usually include ropes courses, leadership curriculum, or other weekend retreats that might include hiking or canoeing (Chin & Johnson). These alternative team building activities may create new traditions that can be transmitted without the negative and physical harm noted by Katter (2007) and also can achieve the group cohesion desired by students (Parks & DeLorenzo, 2019).

In many cases there are no example activities available or the activities suggested by administrators fail to fulfill other needs for risk taking or perceived challenge or difficulty (Syrett, 2009). It is critical to ensure that replacement activities

are tailored to the specific organization's needs and norms, have clearly articulated positive team outcomes, reduce the potential for negative outcomes, and still maintain a sense of challenge inherent in the deep need for a rite of passage (Sweet, 2004).

Students must be involved in crafting these activities, as they serve as powerful mitigators of dangerous play-based hazing. This play often takes place outside the eye of administrators, coaches, and advisors and thus peers are important in helping to address, minimize risk, and replace activities. Because students may not be problematizing play behaviors that constitute hazing, particularly the hazing play that is dangerous, educating peers to better identify risky play and to replace with less risky play behavior must be embedded in any replace or reframing strategy.

Summary

This chapter focused on a review of evidence-based violence prevention efforts in public health, including school violence, bullying, and sexual violence, with some considerations for alcohol and other drug abuse. This was followed by a review of anti-hazing efforts and approaches including legislation, zero-tolerance policies, incident reporting, and educational efforts. Finally, the chapter concluded with an exploration of addressing hazing as an individual problem and addressing hazing as an organizational

problem. Following are summary findings from the chapter, that include considerations from public health prevention and the existing research on hazing.

1. Violence is a multifaceted problem that arises from a combination of individual characteristics and multi-level environment factors.
2. Violence prevention and intervention efforts are best framed and addressed as community problems, with the understanding that tiered approaches are necessary for non-responsive or at-risk individuals.
3. Violence prevention and intervention efforts should be sustained, repeated, and delivered and supported by trained individuals. Single instance awareness events, such as a day training or speaker, does little to reduce violent behavior.
4. Policies and laws can be effective at reducing youth violence, but the evidence is mixed and can vary based on the type. For example, zero tolerance bullying policy does little to curb bullying behaviors, but can be effective when consistently related and applied for sexual violence.
5. Interventions targeting violent behaviors should include additional skill-building approaches to psychological and psychosocial development.
6. Bystander intervention training is effective in reducing some forms of violence, but may be more harmful in others such as bullying prevention.
7. Effective programs should focus on both groups and individuals, and often are more effective when the focus is on skill-building. This includes changing the way people think and feel about violence while enhancing interpersonal skills such as

communication, problem-solving, empathy, emotional awareness and regulation, conflict management, and teamwork.

8. Because youth violence often is connected to other forms of violence, approaches that address risk and protective factors across multiple forms of violence may be an effective and efficient way to prevent violence.
9. Excessive alcohol consumption is directly related to nearly all forms of violence. The most effective alcohol policies reduce the availability of alcohol by increasing the price or by reducing the density of outlets in a community.
10. Youth violence prevention is a well-researched topic across several fields related to public health. There is more of an evidence base for prevention efforts in public health, and there are important considerations to be applied to hazing prevention.
11. Much of "what works" for hazing remains anecdotal or based on participant perceptions or researcher self-reports. However, the existing research offers some insight into which elements might be effective.
12. Successful hazing intervention must be a sustained effort that is simultaneously focused on addressing behavior in community, group, and individual contexts.
13. Since hazing is not often problematized by those involved, coaches, advisors, organizational leaders, and influential peers must work to reframe and replace hazing activities with traditions that achieve the same expected outcomes but reduce the level of harm.

Conclusion

The research reviewed in the prior four chapters of this volume provided grounding for a model of hazing prevention. Chapter 5 contains case studies to demonstrate how the principles for prevention can be applied in multiple settings.. Appendix A is a proposed model for prevention builds on the theory and practice of hazing and hazing-related prevention efforts. Appendix B provides a matrix of prevention efforts that incorporates the research reviewed in this monograph

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Chapter 5 Hazing Case Studies

Individuals who have been involved in hazing incidents as administrators or researchers were asked to write case studies about them, a review of the intervention and prevention response in the aftermath of the incident, and what suggestions and alterations to those responses are considered when applying empirical literature. This chapter provides six practical hazing scenarios. Each incident and issue followed the initial prevention and intervention response. A critique of the prevention and response follows each case study to demonstrate the application of contemporary hazing and hazing adjacent prevention research in the secondary education and college contexts.

Six hazing case studies are presented. The first two cases involve high school sports teams. The first case involves a well-documented high school football hazing incident and was written by a researcher who studied the case. The second case is a recent lacrosse team incident profiled in the media and was analyzed by authors. The third case profiles a fraternity and sorority community written by administrators immersed in campus hazing prevention. The fourth case is a single fraternity incident and also written by campus student affairs staff. The fifth case involves multiple music groups and a campus orchestra program that was written by a researcher who followed the case. The sixth case profiled a single fraternity at a Historically Black College and University and was written by the international organizations professional staff.

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate applications of findings from this review. Critiques are intended to demonstrate a “what works” approach with regard to

hazing prevention and intervention, as grounded in the direct and adjacent psychology, public health, and educational research.

Case Study 1

Evolving Internal Policies and Community Action into a Hazing Prevention Strategy at a Small Southwest Elite High School.

Incident and Issue

A small conservative community with just over 1,000 residents where the majority of the populace is upper-middle class to wealthy. High school athletics, specifically football, are a focal point of the community based on success. The incident involved hazing in the athletic department at the high school. Multiple underclassmen athletes (minors) reported being sexually assaulted on multiple occasions in the locker room, showers, and at a house party by upperclassmen who were members of the several varsity athletic teams. The victims of the various incidents reported acts of sodomy involving the use of various foreign objects, while other participants held them down, stood as lookouts, or just stood by and watched without doing anything to stop it.

After incidents were reported to coaches and administrators, parents contacted local authorities to file charges. Parents claimed that the acts of “hazing” were not new to this school or community and that coaches sanctioned the ritual while school and district leadership did little to investigate the allegations. Coaches denied any knowledge of the incidents as did administration. After the initial allegations were made, as many as 10 other students came forward with similar claims of sexual assault dating back over the years. One female athlete claimed to have been sexually assaulted at least 30 times, mostly in the

locker room and showers, while attending the high school. In all, almost 20 student athletes were accused of having taken part in the incidents of hazing involving sexual assaults on minors.

Initial Prevention and Intervention Response

The response to this situation differed from what might be considered the norm. The school's initial response was to call for an internal investigation. The coaching staff's denial of any knowledge or complicity in these incidents, coupled with what was interpreted as a lack of action by administration, prompted parents to seek legal action. Charges were filed against roughly 20 students alleged to have participated in these incidents. Civil lawsuits were also filed by the parents. Four of the accused were indicted for participating in organized criminal activity. All but one of the students accused accepted plea deals of various natures. The lone remaining student did not accept the plea deal and the issue is being adjudicated. While none of the administrators or coaches accused of having knowledge of these events were found responsible, charged with a crime, nor were they terminated, all but one left the school district within a few years of the incident, most of which left at the end of that school year. The superintendent at the time also resigned that school year and the high school principal also left the district. Three of the four coaches, the superintendent, and the principal all moved to new districts and assumed positions similar to what they had left, with some actually accepted positions that were considered promotions.

Responses to policy were not immediate based on the ongoing legal cases waiting to be heard by the courts. One initial response was an update to local school board policy to

include the use of the term “hazing” in sections related to prohibited student conduct. A statement on freedom from bullying was amended to include hazing and a section was amended dealing with organizations and hazing. Athletic Codes of Conduct were also updated to include hazing, sexual assault, and others actions as prohibited behaviors for student athletes.

Several key components were not addressed through policy or in any other formal way. No training was required for students or coaches including anti-bullying, anti-hazing, or legal aspects of actions like assault, sexual assault, or other similar behaviors. Additionally, no formal policy of the program was implemented for reporting of incidents, either anonymously or otherwise, within the school or athletic codes of conduct. While issues like social media monitoring, visitors on campus, and community partnerships agreements were addressed with policy, hazing only received wording additions to existing board policies on conduct. Informally, coaches were instructed to have a visual presence in locker rooms or facilities where athletes are at all times if their presence is related to athletics.

Counseling services were offered by the school but at the time most of the issue had played out through courts or plea deals, the victims of the incidents had graduated and were no longer affiliated with the school.

Critique of Prevention and Intervention Response

Several items need to be prioritized including policy development, education, and community action.

Individual Level

More robust definitions of hazing, ways to report hazing, and good Samaritan policy to reduce the barrier for peer reporting need to be implemented. While a Zero-tolerance approach provides political coverage, this approach has not been found to be effective in changing hazing cultures. The next priority is anti-hazing and anti-bullying educational programs to a, identify hazing and bullying behaviors, explain reporting options, good Samaritan rules, and further introduce the concept of unintended harm and the long-term impact of hazing. Given the high school hazing culture that spans class generations and reach in multiple sports all students should be required to complete educational sessions prior to the start of their respective sport each year.

Organizational Level

The definitions of hazing and associated discipline measures related to general codes of conduct, the temporary suspension, removal from sports teams, and disqualification in participating in all sports throughout the duration of the time the violator is in school are recommended policy changes. Reporting is an area to enhance. A more secure and effective reporting protocol that allows for anonymity if desired, while also creating documentation of all parties is important to achieve transparency. In school cultures where athletics and athletes are viewed with immunity, policy measures will serve to be a deterrent.

Supervision by coaches, teachers, sponsors, and others also needs to be enhanced. Literature discusses that a strong deterrent to hazing is the consistency in being found responsible for hazing. Those responsible for the safety of students must not only provide that safety, but also be held accountable when there is a breach in that safety.

Community Level

Community involvement is an area that could be beneficial but there can be no assumption that all communities are the same. In this situation, the community backed the accused because of who they were as athletes or who their families were. To truly have the greatest positive impact, the community has to stand behind the anti-hazing policies as well as the responses for those who violate the policies. While the "it takes a village" mindset is cliché, it has been proven that communities that band together can help address issues such as disasters, fund raising, and coping with trauma. The same positive impacts can be experienced in regards to the social-emotional needs of all students.

What should not be done, at least not until the school environment can be molded into one of cooperation, trust, and community, is to continue with the same internal investigative processes. In this case study, the internal investigation was deemed unsuccessful for a variety of reasons such as favoritism, the want to limit negative exposure in the media and to those outside the community, and even to protect the accused and alienate the victims. Until such a time where there is a well-established and trusted procedure in addressing these types of issues. Accusations and reports associated with bullying and hazing through should be handled with an external, non-biased investigative entity. This will remove any instances of favoritism, covering up of violations, and complicity in actions that may be deemed illegal. An external investigative body has the opportunity to produce a more accurate and trusted account.

Case Study 2

A Team-Centric Approach to Hazing Prevention Strategy at a Highly Competitive Midwest Sports Team.

Incident and Issue

In an affluent suburb of a large Midwest metropolitan area, a winning high school lacrosse team gained attention for a physical hazing incident. The team boasts a phenomenal track record of winning championships and competes with prestigious high schools in out-of-state competitions. Video surfaced of a sophomore student being hazed at a party by members of the varsity lacrosse team. The video, shared with the press, depicted a newer and younger player on his hands and knees being physically assaulted. The graphic recording shows at least male individuals pouring canned liquid on another individual, who is down on all fours with a cardboard beer box covering his head. One individual then strikes the victim near the head and face with the end of a plastic baseball bat before at least three people continually kick the victim as he lay on the ground. One of the players begins to call for everyone to stop and eventually the kicking ceases and the video ends.

Initial Prevention and Intervention Response

Administrators said those student's involved faced "significant consequences," as individuals. They also launched a "comprehensive investigation of the incident. Police were also called to investigate the physical battery. Soon after the incident all social media accounts for the team were deactivated and the team put on probation.

The high school's code of conduct has stated policies that prohibits alcohol use and possession, assault or battery, and bullying, intimidation, hazing and harassment in a variety

of forms, whether within or outside the school day. Consequences vary for breach of the code of conduct but typically a suspension from the team results, according to the school document. The school called on parents and families to discuss the values of the high school with each student. Finally, the administration asserted that if the investigation uncovered other serious behaviors that it would end the team's season.

Collectively, the team was also put on probation for the following season, and was temporarily barred from out-of-state competitions and put on a two year probationary period. Off-campus team social events were also prohibited. Further the school mandated that the select sports team must participate in anti-hazing programming. The anti-hazing prevention program focused on positive team culture as well as work restorative justice. Administrators wanted to ensure it was clear that hazing is a serious violation of school's values and school policies and will not be tolerated.

As a footnote, after the incident, the longtime head coach, who served in the capacity for 25 years, did not return to the field to lead the team in its next season. It is unclear if he will return as head coach or not. Two other assistant coaches lead the team.

Critique of Prevention and Intervention Response

A mix of individual and team level prevention and intervention strategies were employed by the high school administration. This multilevel approach individual and team is a good first step, however, there are other opportunities to expand hazing prevention and intervention.

Individual

The individual measures to help reinforce the school's values is an important first step. While unclear in this scenario if all high school parents were contacted, a broader community approach to hazing prevention is a sound strategy. Additionally, the communication lacked leadership closest to the incident which could have strengthened the reinforcement of the schools values. Three coaches closest to the sports team could have added that connection. The reinforcement of consequences was a missed opportunity. Sharing the details of what are the serious consequences have been found to be more effective than strong language alone.

Organizational

While the team sport where the incident occurred was an important group to focus attention, reinforce values, hold accountable, and focus education - the school could have expanded its approach. The school should assume that hazing is happening across different student involvement spaces such as other related sports teams and investigate its occurrence in online spaces.

There is an opportunity to invest in a broader cultural audit of the high school's team and after school activities than just a single sport. Cross membership in other activities and sports programs may reveal that individual students bring the same power dynamic and hazing mindsets to other programs. A single incident of hazing is an opportunity to look beyond one team to reveal potential issues and incidents in other programs.

Community

Fourth, it is laudable for the school to engage in education of the affected team and for that education to include a restoration aspect. An opportunity for students responsible for or bystanders of incidents can be powerful representatives in hazing prevention. If actors in the hazing incidents remained unphased, their lives will return to normal and according to research by Sasso et al. (2020) may continue to engage in hazing if they enter college.

Finally, future directions and interventions would need to address hazing and bullying in compliance with the state laws related to hazing, bullying, and intimidation (HIB). This would entail a state-level report, rather than just involve a school district response.

Case Study 3

Using Relationship Building and Transparency to Address a Hazing Supportive Culture at an Urban Flagship Research Institution in the Southwest

Incident and Issue

At a large urban flagship research institution with a large student organization presence, including a diverse array of sorority and fraternity organizations and strong involvement from alumni, advisors, and parents, no one incident prompted institutional response, but rather the rising tide of a growing number of incidents and concerning culture.

The institution is rooted in tradition, academically competitive, and student organizations tend to embrace self-governance and independence. The university addresses and adjudicates hazing cases among student groups, yet culturally, hazing remains

unrecognized or is considered acceptable among stakeholders. Hazing reports span across student organization types but tend to be skewed toward sorority and fraternity organizations. The sorority and fraternity community is large and made up of many governing councils. The type of organizations span from traditional, large, housed organizations, to many mid-sized identity and culturally based organizations. Each organization has autonomy in their off campus planning and programming and while many groups use campus resources and space for general meetings, organizations often plan social or community building events off campus.

For decades, the separation of the university and the organization experience created opportunities for detrimental practices, traditional approaches, and a hands-off experience from local alumni advisors and a disconnection to the national organization. Internal accountability was in place among many chapters, but only used for the most egregious of matters. Most organization members had no working knowledge of governing documents to address problematic behavior. Reported hazing-related incidents over the past 10 years ranged from initiation or big brother rituals with extremely dangerous group activities, servitude, forced alcohol consumption, and extreme stress or physical challenges for new members to endure. There was a general unwillingness to seek support or learn how to improve passed down among members. Similarly, a number of these behaviors are mirrored in non-fraternal organizations with less oversight and access to education or prevention resources.

Initial Prevention and Intervention Response

With the prevalence of reported hazing behaviors and the acceptance of behaviors ranging in severity among sorority and fraternity life chapters, students, and stakeholders, members of the Sorority and Fraternity Life (SFL) staff began with something quite simple: relationship building. At the time there were some severed, and non-existent relationships with member organizations and university staff, specifically in conduct. Students were more likely to trust the university staff, but involved advisors were often skeptical or did not understand the role of the SFL office. Additionally, upon analyzing problematic organization behavior and seeing only minor improvement year after year, it became clear that organizations that were actively engaged, attending programs hosted on campus, and had active advisors more successfully engaged in educational meetings and better understood the value of the conduct process.

Given the opportunity to use the SFL community as an unofficial pilot for innovative ideas and processes that could later help all organizations, the staff strategized the best way to change the culture around hazing and other risk behaviors while also being deliberate in creating meaningful connections about the membership experience with students and stakeholders. Additionally, incorporating insights from involved stakeholders and data from surveys of SFL community members elevated the institution's ability to focus prevention and education efforts. The target was changing the culture around risky event planning and other high-risk behaviors such as hazing for the whole community by developing stronger student leaders and advisors with closer working relationships with the university at large.

With this vision in mind, staff hosted leadership retreats and training efforts for involved student leaders. The department elevated the role of the chapter president for the whole community by engaging them in chapter coaching and regular president's meetings. Staff learned about the chapters, their interests, and needs and created opportunities to speak to advisors through email newsletters, copying them on communications, and hosting volunteer institutes which created space for sharing and learning and positioned the staff in SLF as experts.

Lastly, collaboration was critical. SFL staff collaborated with the conduct office to focus on clearer communication and education including sharing investigation findings with stakeholders, as well as active involvement from international organization leadership. SFL staff advocated to increase orientation related tabling efforts so that organizations could access potential members in a safer, substance free on-campus environment. Staff partnered in launching bystander intervention education workshops and passive poster campaigns targeted toward multiple audiences, to ensure consistent, shared messaging. Finally, staff within SFL became invested in and ultimately responsible for required safety education training which directly engaged all student organizations. This structural change highlighted that problematic behaviors were possible in all student organizations and not just within SFL.

Staff and stakeholders understood this approach was designed to be slow and steady; the vision was for the long haul and the impacts were noticeable in small ways every semester and year. This approach required a continual review and adjustment to

programmatic offerings and other adjacent processes as the students and stakeholders began to respond.

As the national and legal hazing prevention landscape evolved, the relationships yielded two important results: key stakeholders better problematized hazing and the university established hazing prevention as a responsibility of a full-time coordinator. The coordinator prioritized re-building a campus-wide hazing prevention coalition. By utilizing the statistics from a recent campus survey on hazing behaviors, the coordinator was able to help staff across campus better recognize hazing as a community issue and not just a sorority and fraternity life concern. Key relationships were established with other prevention areas across campus focused on mental health, sexual assault, interpersonal violence, and substance use which would lead the way to future cross functional programming.

Beyond coalition building, the institution approached hazing from a socio-ecological lens that considered strategies at the individual, organization, governing council, and community wide level. Staff recognized the necessity to engage in educational dialogue with alumni, parents, advisors, and community members. Through this work and with donor support, the institution established a pilot outreach program to educate community members and incoming students on hazing and other high-risk behaviors. Concurrently, state level hazing prevention advocates were lobbying for the hazing laws changes, including increased transparency of reporting violations, which further propelled the work already underway. Proactively, staff engaged with organization leadership to discuss risk

management plans for events and new member processes. Reactively, staff engage in conduct processes and sanctioning of any organizations found in violation of hazing.

This work all continues at the institution to this day. The goals remain the same and the methods continue to evolve. At the center is a focus on (a) strong relationships, (b) open communication with all levels of leadership, and (c) creating a safe and responsible community of campus organizations.

Critique of Prevention and Intervention Response

The research presented throughout these chapters both bolsters the institution's approach and provides opportunities for growth. As noted by the authors, Allan, Payne, and Kerschner (2018), while the university has learned from the challenges of addressing hazing within the sorority and fraternity life community, they have embraced a campus-wide approach to hazing prevention efforts. More so, by engaging stakeholders from across the institution as partners or as members of the hazing prevention committee, the institution has increased capacity to integrate hazing prevention work across the institution and educate staff on how to more effectively recognize, intervene, report, and support organizations during hazing incidents.

Individual

The university continues to work toward consistent audience specific messaging. The staff work tirelessly to ensure content is tailored to a specific audience's needs, and regularly hosts pre-calls with students or other stakeholders to understand their perspective and goals. Staff at the institution work collaboratively with experts on interpersonal violence, substance use, bystander intervention, and mental health to

integrate the topics in educational content. They have established co-branded social media campaigns on the intersection between hazing, power dynamics and substance use, integrated hazing prevention and healthy community building into mental health programs for student organizations, and developed hazing specific bystander intervention content. Additional takeaways from the literature include grounding more resources and education in the research about hazing prior to college, centering influential peers as partners in hazing prevention, ensuring that social norms campaigns draw from our most up to date data, and exploring restorative justice to resolve hazing cases.

Organizational

The institution will continue to purposefully ground their work using the socio-ecological model (SEM) (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) and the hazing prevention framework (HPF) (Allan, Payne, & Kerschner, 2018). From a socio-ecological perspective, the institution provides opportunities for students to engage in hazing prevention workshops as individuals, tailors outreach to groups and leadership of organizations, and strategically partners with influential stakeholders to host hazing prevention webinars for parents and high school administrators. Additionally, policy review on campus, coupled with the passing of an updated state law, were important milestones to support change at a community level. Coupling a strategic approach utilizing the SEM and the HPF enhanced the institution's ability to broaden their impact, add legitimacy to hazing prevention efforts, and provide a roadmap for success.

Efforts are currently underway to define what a healthy community looks like and to ensure consistent messaging is engrained across units. Beyond providing healthy

alternatives, the institution has developed structures and programs to address stakeholders who are supportive of hazing activities. Prevention efforts are stymied at times because hazing activities are perceived as harmless and fun by many students, alumni, and advisors (Nirh, 2014). Through a donor supported program designed to reach beyond campus and into communities across the state, the institution continually educates and shifts the culture of hazing among community members, parents, alumni, and students before they arrive on college campuses.

Community

The research literature also provides examples of areas for continued growth, such as the need for the institution to address the intersection between hazing and gender norms. As noted by Gershel et al. (2003) the type of hazing one endures correlates to one's gender identity. More emphasis on identity development linked to prior experiences could be a new way to understand how a student may experience hazing or be emboldened to haze others. This also supports the idea that different types of hazing may call for different intervention, therefore more could be done to develop tailored sanctions. Notable too are the structural barriers that create challenges. The scale of the institution as well as the need for more staff with hazing prevention as a focus limits the speed and depth of knowledge on a macro level that would support even more culture change in this area.

Hazing continues to be viewed as a tradition by many (Nuwer, 1999; Sweet, 1999). This was true when the university set the goal to shift the culture, and it will continue on the campus and in communities across the state. However, using this multifaceted approach to address the issue of hazing along with continued institutional support, applicable strategy

and data, and proven methods that allow more communities exposure to education, organizations and individuals will respond and evolve. The institution has proven that in almost a decade of efforts and a marked increase in experience, energy, and forces joining together in the prevention of hazing, the goals to create healthy, responsible communities across campus are possible and within reach.

Case Study 4

Deconstructing Long-standing Culture: A Look at Horizontal Hazing Across on a Performing Arts Campus

Incident and Issue

A small urban performing arts institution in the northeast is part of a larger university. However, it is an independent school downtown and anchors a vibrant community arts district. There are theaters, bars, coffee shops, vegan cafes, restaurants, and loft apartments that adorn a several block urban oasis. It is a tier-one, world class institution that has existed for over 100 years with a large endowment. The largest majors at the institution are music and voice and live in university housing. Students can also double major in the arts and earn a second degree within their undergraduate experience. There is a flourishing student life with almost 1,000 students in which there 600 and 400 graduate students who have the opportunity to participate in a sorority/fraternity community that includes societies, local organizations, and music interest organizations. This comprises about 15% of the student body. These organizations were secondary to participation in the academic curriculum as the students were identified as professional musicians and artists. The academic experience consisted of formal, required involvement

in juries, recitals, or various ensembles, trios, or the university orchestra. The orchestra was divided into traditional sections such as brass or woodwinds.

A uniquely student-constructed culture evolved over the 100 years of the institution to follow the social mores and traditions of a symphony. The various sections and chairs caused a power differential which was abused by upperclassmen students. First-year students and sophomores had to compete and perform to earn their place in various music sections and societies. This positioning often led to forms of servitude to garner favor with upperclassmen students. Additionally, graduate teaching assistants and other "conductors" dominated access as cultural gatekeepers.

To find the best available housing, students were instructed to "rush" for housing across the various special interest housing floors controlled by the student organizations or vocal societies. Incoming students could also live in available standard university housing, but often wanted to join various societies or sorority/fraternity organizations to position themselves into other music or arts performance groups which would allow them more academic opportunities. This hegemony and power levied by student organizations often led to hazing across campus in all spaces.

Undergraduate students began to gradually informally report incidents of hazing that included drugging with cocaine or Adderall, sleep deprivation, late night performance rituals, and servitude that include polishing instruments full of spit and feces. It was unclear to the campus student affairs professionals how pervasive student hazing was across campus. A ninja sword was even intercepted by the campus post office and referred to university police in which a first-year student was forced to purchase by his section chair.

Initial Prevention and Intervention Response

The initial response to the ninja sword was that the student received an initial illegal weapons charge which was adjudicated to off-campus city law enforcement. The student conduct office also inquired with the first-year student who confessed to purchasing the weapon, but suggested they were coerced as part of a larger pattern of intimidation and harassment by their section leader. The student also suggested that there was a larger culture of similar issues. The student conduct office investigated the claim by the student, but they were unable to validate the intent of the section leader as there was no evidence other than swipe card access logs that were inconclusive.

However, the discussion among undergraduates was that the student came forward about bullying and harassment. More students began to come forward about their own experiences which resulted in more than 15 active hazing cases involving several student organizations, graduate teaching assistants, section leaders, and various performing art and music ensembles. Each case was heard and resulted in more than 30 sanctioned students charged with bullying, hazing, or harassment.

These significant issues eventually led to a broader policy revision that extended the hazing policy to forms of servitude. A stricter scrutiny standard was reduced to ”more than likely” or ``preponderance” of the evidence approach. These changes to the student code of conduct were implemented by the main campus in partnership with the student life office at the downtown arts campus. However, communication was often infrequent or as needed. All student conduct issues were adjudicated to the main office as a way to

centralize all cases as part of a standardization revision several years earlier. Thus, tracking cases on campus was difficult despite the use of case management software.

Collaboration issues across campuses within the broader university led to consideration by campus professionals that hazing was pervasive and woven into the social fabric of the institution. The institution formed a committee to explore alternatives to the current organization of student life. There were additional initiatives undertaken by the institution beginning with dismantling the local vocal societies, further regulations for performance ensembles which include limits on times, and preventative education during new student orientation. The “rush” system for housing preference was ended and faculty as well as graduate teaching assistants received bystander intervention training. A mental health and wellness program was started which included additional counselors, music or art therapy, as well as a massage program for music students.

Critique of Prevention and Intervention Response

Initially the first response by the institution was slow and unintentional. It was disconnected from the lived experiences of its students. While a ninja sword ordered through the mail by a fellow student at the behest of an orchestra section leader may seem like an individual incident and troublesome, the school soon began to see a larger pattern of harassment and a hazing culture emerge from a variety of sources and incidents.

Individual

While unclear in this scenario a focus should also be on the creation of student leadership positions that hold power differentials over other students. These roles deserve added expectations, training and responsibilities incorporated into job descriptions,

onboarding education, and supervision. Additionally, these elevated student leadership roles should also be held to higher accountability standards in the code of conduct that clarify their unique role in both their educational experiences and carrying out the university's mission and values. Students serving in these roles are cultural bearers on setting the mindsets and tone for the acceptance or rejection of hazing.

Organizational

In addition to the focus on individual accountability and organizational accountability is something the institution should consider. The dismantling of campus organizations to change the culture of the institution may sound like an appropriate posturing, however, the elimination of the groups themselves may do little to reduce or end hazing cultural practices. An alternative is to create strategies in which these organizations are more transparent, have closer relationships with staff and faculty, and are part of restorative measures.

Sociology literature maintains that students hold relationships past student group boundaries and hold tremendous influence over behavior across organizations. An in-depth audit should be conducted to determine which groups hold more influence over each other before determining what groups to dismantle. Further, the likelihood of this effort being successful over time is limited, in that students most likely will find other informal ways to gather and continue cultural practices without individual and organizational accountability.

Institutional

In a critique of the institutional response, the university strengthening of policies and definitions within them is an excellent first step in creating a clear understanding of the

institutional expectations. Adding language that maps to the core issues presented in the hazing cases enables students to draw distinctions on what is and isn't acceptable behavior.

The hazing culture seemed to permeate both student and institutional spaces, it is probable that faculty, parents, and community members were aware of incidents and issues. An opportunity for the institution is a broader communication program that clarifies the institution's position on hazing. A well planned communication program that reverberates both the values of the institution and outlines clear expectations, examples of hazing that occurred, shares ways to report, and explains individual and organizational accountability measures will help the campus community level-set expectations.

Case Study 5

More Oversight and Regulation Following Fraternity Hazing Death at a Large, Rural, Land-Grant University: Does Regulation Work or Are There Other More Effective Research Based Strategies?

Incident and Issue

On an autumn evening in the early 2010's, a student collapsed after a hazing ritual of alcohol consumption at a fraternity "Big/Little" night. The student was provided with a fifth of whiskey and was instructed not to leave the cramped room until he finished the bottle with his newly appointed "Big Brother" while a timer was activated.

After two hours, video footage showed a lifeless body being carried from a private residence back to the fraternity house. The student soiled himself. The members threw him face-down on a make-shift stage utilized for dancing during social events. Another inebriated new member was tossing and turning on a couch to the right while hours went by. An older, CPR trained member of the fraternity returned home from working a late-night

weekend shift when he noticed the lifeless body and blue face on the dance floor. He began shouting for others to call for help while he performed CPR.

Medics arrived and transported the student to the emergency room to be placed on life support. His parents made the six-hour drive overnight to be met by a crying emergency room physician who told them that their son would not recover from the alcohol-poisoning and time lapsed. The parents (and the dying student) were never told that the fraternity incidentally lost recognition from the large, land-grant institution days before the event was to occur for multiple violations of the campus Code of Student Conduct.

Initial Prevention and Intervention Response

University administrators outlined next steps, including a system-wide moratorium on all activities for social fraternities and sororities. Upon more direct attention towards the staffing model in the Division of Student Affairs, it became evident that there was no stand-alone department or office providing guidance to fraternity and sorority organizations. Fraternities and sororities were treated the same as the other 500+ organizations, even though they had unique needs and challenges. Instead of running away from the problems associated with Greek Life, University leadership decided to invest more resources into their oversight. An Office of Greek Life was established, and a search began for an inaugural Director. Upon the director's hiring, the institution implemented the following policy changes:

- A deferred recruitment policy requiring a 2.5 minimum GPA and 12 earned credits at an institution of higher learning in order to join a social Greek organization moved primary recruitment efforts from the fall semester to spring

- The Interfraternity Council was provided with a model *Conduct Program* to be incorporated into their Constitution and Bylaws that employed a Uniform Sanctions Code that fined and punished fraternities for members violating a new strategic plan aimed at curbing problematic behavior such as alcohol abuse, drug use, hazing, and engaging in acts of sexual misconduct
- New member education programs were to be submitted each semester for review and approval by Office of Greek Life staff

Critique of Prevention and Intervention Response

After reading the provided chapters regarding the student experience with hazing prior to and during the college years, there are action steps that could be reformed or reframed to better align with empirical research.

Individual

There are certain aspects that need to be changed, including the student-led governing board of our collegiate fraternities following a uniform code that punishes an entire organization versus holding individuals accountable. There were many references throughout the manuscript that indicated the power of student *influencers*. More focus needs to be given to identifying these influencers and engaging them fully on campus priorities surrounding hazing prevention. This includes having elected Council officers review new member program submissions along with full time staff to emphasize the shared management of the fraternity and sorority experience. The discourse provided discusses moving away from the mundane, standalone activity that is enshrined under chapter tradition. Coaching students on making meaning through intentional new member

interactions aimed at positive interpersonal development shows investment in their shared experience. Students will likely be inspired to see how hypermasculinity, alcohol abuse, and a lack of moral regard for an individual over a group identity permeates the fraternity and sorority experience. From prioritizing the attraction of female attention while interweaving homophobia (whether advertent or inadvertent) into words and actions, to recognizing how the mental health of the perpetrator and the victim are impacted, these phenomena often occur without intentional thought and reflection. In a sense, a person's moral compass is often reprogrammed to fit in with a new group.

Organizational

There was little discussion as to the efficacy or impact of holding primary recruitment in the second semester. Institutional administrators tend to be in favor of a deferred recruitment policy because a.) it is a form of action both proactively and reactively that serves as an influence for a cultural paradigm shift, b.) it allows first semester students time to acclimate to the rigors of higher education curricula, c.) it provides a proverbial *shopping around* period for students before they make a supposed life-long commitment of joining a social fraternity or sorority, and d.) it does tend to increase data points such as GPA as following metrics (a minimum earned credit load and a minimum earned GPA) identifies higher performing students.

The campus must consider establishing incentives for students who elect to participate in the hazing prevention process. This includes loosening Medical Amnesty clauses in the Student Conduct Code to be more inclusive of situations involving hazing, alcohol, and/or drug use. Funding for student organizations to engage in hazing prevention

programming should be provided, as should money be allocated to the campus-wide task force for meaningful dialogue and intentional programming, removing the desire to program *for the sake of programming*. Another idea would be to financially support a victim going through the Student Conduct and/or criminal process while reporting hazing. This can take the form of covering the costs of legal representation or providing a *Good Samaritan* scholarship for brave service to the overall campus community.

Community

Having a stand-alone unit within a Division of Student Affairs primarily focused on fraternity and sorority student development, oversight, and chapter management with relevant financial resources provides needed guidance for a positive Greek community. It is through this particular investment that many of the proactive measures listed throughout the book chapters can come to fruition.

The already established campus-wide hazing prevention task force must realign itself with codified, peer-reviewed hazing prevention models based in social science research. This includes directly engaging in dialogue surrounding what Veliz-Calderon and Allan (2017) posited as socially constructed notions of masculinity and femininity. The soft power and influence of hegemony in gender studies impacts the individual, chapter, and community levels presented by the Piazza Center in their *Horizontal Campus Hazing Model*.

The University has affirmed its commitment to transparency through the publishing of a semester scorecard of chapter metrics and list of current statuses of recognized and not recognized general fraternities and sororities. It also emphasizes intentional outreach to parents and families through its Parents Club.

Case Study 6

Systematic Long- and Short-Term Hazing Prevention Efforts in a Culturally-Based Organization

Incident and Issue

In the early part of this historically African American organization's history, new member socialization incorporated hazing practices that included physically rigorous activities such as calisthenics and paddling. Though some steps were taken during the 1980s to move away from pledging, the fraternity in support of the collective decision by members of the National Pan-Hellenic Council, a coordinating body comprised of nine international organizations (four sororities and five fraternities), officially banned the pledge process in 1990 and replaced it with the Membership Intake Process (MIP). The decision to abolish pledging was a response to negative outcomes of the process that included injuries and increased lawsuits. The tipping point was the death of a student pledging an NPHC fraternity at a prominent HBCU (Historically Black Colleges and Universities). The MIP was criticized by NPHC members because it lacked the physical rigors of the pledge process and was perceived to deemphasize the rites of passage which were a staple of the fraternity's new member education program. The change from pledging to MIP did not involve feedback from the members, and as a result, brothers did not buy into the shift in policies. Eventually, this created an underground pledging culture, one that took place in secrecy with minimal guidance from responsible members who could provide guidance and mitigate risks.

A chapter at a small southwest HBCU prepared to conduct MIP. On an early October morning, members of the chapter subjected a group of students pursuing membership to a

series of pre-dawn rigorous physical workouts at a local high school. One of the candidates for membership, a 20-year-old student, collapsed during the workout and instead of calling for an ambulance, the group of candidates drove the collapsed student to a hospital thirty miles away. Upon arrival, the student was pronounced dead. An autopsy revealed the student suffered from a rare condition known to be aggravated by intense calisthenics.

Initial Prevention and Intervention Response

The fraternity implemented a combination of short-term and long-term strategies to address the incident. Initially, the leadership implemented an international moratorium on all MIP activities for the next year, meaning the fraternity did not initiate new members during that time, except for chapters with no recent disciplinary actions that were experiencing low membership numbers. Thereafter, the fraternity assembled a committee to review the current MIP, which had been in place for nearly 20 years. As a result, a revised process was approved by the fraternity. Enhancements included a strengthened zero-tolerance policy towards hazing that included expelling members who were found responsible for hazing and dissolving charters of chapters with chronic hazing violations. The fraternity also considered broader solutions. In concert, the leadership recognized that the way the chapter managed the incident exposed a gap in risk management practices. In response, fraternity leaders traveled to all regional conferences to provide members with risk management training.

Long-term, the fraternity focused both on hazing and other safety risks informed by a holistic approach to operational risk management. The fraternity engages in risk identification, risk assessment, measurement, and mitigation of risks, and monitors and

reports potential risks. To do this effectively, the fraternity empowered their International Director of Risk Management to lead the organization's efforts. The design has three interconnected components: structure, technology, and learning and development. Structure refers to the partnerships and operations established to increase compliance with organizational policies. This includes external collaborations with stakeholders such as campus-based fraternity and sorority professionals and internal collaborations at the local, regional, and international levels. Technology encompasses electronic systems and platforms designed to streamline operations and increase compliance. Learning and development are part of the fraternity's strategy to provide members, including fraternity leadership, with on-going education, as well as increase their decision-making abilities and compliance with policies and practices that enhance safety.

In support of these priorities, the fraternity also implemented initiatives to enhance risk management and harm reduction efforts. These included clear communication about outcomes for potential policy violations, required hazing education for all members participating in MIP, and the use of a membership management platform allowing the fraternity to better manage membership, track chapter activities, and provide oversight by headquarters staff and regional volunteers.

The fraternity recognized the need to communicate and consult with experts. They established an advisors' council. Composed of fraternity members who are higher educational professionals, this group provides feedback and executes projects that influence organizational policies and practices. The fraternity also focused on generating stakeholder education and transparent communication through semesterly webinars and

the development of a guide for college/university professionals that provided an overview of the fraternity's structure, MIP, and risk management policies. Additionally, a team of more than thirty volunteers, who are professionals in the insurance and risk assessment industry and law enforcement, review fraternity policies, and make recommendations to the headquarters and leadership. They conduct investigations of alleged policy violations, and report findings to the fraternity's leadership.

The implementation of a learning management system (LMS) made training and development opportunities more accessible to members and enabled the organization to track and report member progress in the courses. Training included risk management and MIP certification modules which must be completed by all members and collegiate advisor certification.

Finally, these efforts were complemented by a robust communication strategy, inclusive of emails, text alerts, social media engagement, and webinars, that provide members with accurate, up-to-date information and promptly addresses misinformation. This communication strategy also includes a hazing reporting hotline.

Critique of Prevention and Intervention Response

Individual

As suggested by expectancy theory (Vroom, 1964), the potential to receive positive benefits for their actions motivate individuals to act in a particular way. One area for the fraternity to further explore includes ways to increase rewards for chapters that not only follow policies and procedures as outlined by governing documents, but also demonstrate exemplary positive behaviors. These behaviors include high academic performance,

graduation rates, maintaining positive campus relations, and consistent recruitment and chapter growth.

The fraternity recognizes the value of initiating members who are prepared to behave in ways that reinforce the organizational norms rather than chapter or regional norms. Over the course of the last few years, we have become more intentional about using the word recruitment and instilling a culture of recruitment of qualified individuals into our organization. We elevated the value of being a dues-paying member by attaching benefits to being in good standing. We discussed the fraternity as a brand, and the importance of and strategies for protecting the brand. We help our members understand that by doing their part to behave consistently with the organization's expectations, they help the fraternity maintain current partnerships and secure new collaborations, benefitting members and the communities we serve.

Organizational

Research advocates for maintaining a sense of challenge in new member education activities, the need for a rites of passage experience, and replacing unhealthy behaviors with activities that are specific to the organization's needs and norms (Sweet, 1999). The revision team proposed a new member education experience that combined the effective elements of MIP with challenging team activities and rites-of-passage components that are important to our members. The proposal for the program was completed and we spent the next two years introducing it to stakeholders at various gatherings. We collected feedback and revised the proposal. The program was adopted and the rollout of the program, delayed by the pandemic, will occur in the near future.

The organization leadership examined formal and informal structures within the organization that may communicate to members that hazing is acceptable. This analysis led us to identify another area for growth, specifically, the ways local or regional volunteer leadership protect individuals and chapters who violate organizational policies and procedures. To help address this potential messaging, the fraternity assigns investigators to examine potential hazing violations cases outside of their own regions. This was done in response to feedback from some campus partners who expressed concerns over regional leadership bias.

Finally, the fraternity revamped its membership intake process to incorporate organizational learning, specifically application of lessons learned from MIP failures. MIP overhaul included a thoughtful and planned approach that engaged stakeholders from across the fraternity. An international team to revise the content from collegiate and alumni members from all levels and areas of the fraternity was created.

Community

The fraternity's position as an effective risk manager is due to ongoing benchmarking of safety standards across industries. This benchmarking helps strengthen safety practices. In alignment with the literature discussed in this monograph, one area for improvement was in the turnover in leadership among our collegiate members, which may lead to a lack of organizational experience to help the remaining chapter members effectively navigate fraternity processes and redirect behaviors. For this reason, the organization implemented the membership management platform and LMS to help members and chapters document

chapter activities and access chapter reports, key fraternal governing documents, policies, and procedures.

The fraternity reconfigured the collegiate chapter advisory structure as a team model to increase the amount and depth of support our alumni chapters offer to our collegiate chapters. The organization strengthened our internal communication efforts to proactively address potential continuity issues before they became a problem. For example, the headquarters team follows up with collegiate chapters that do not have a collegiate advisor listed in the leadership roster. The appropriate regional leadership is copied on the message to make them aware of the requested roster update.

Summary

As outlined in previous chapters and as demonstrated in these case studies, there are different types of hazing. Therefore, the various forms of hazing may require different kinds of interventions. The variance in approaches to resolving or preventing hazing are grounded in the intent of hazing. Bonding activities for group cohesion is distinctively different than hazing for "fun" or forced bonding. These forms of hazing are designed to enact pain or sacrifice, and dysphoria which in our examples often becomes physically or emotionally dangerous or even unfortunately deadly. Although somewhat scarce, there is developing research which measures the efficacy of interventions designed to reduce these extreme forms of hazing. The current research outlines there should be multitiered and layered population-level approach. Such interventions should be concurrently used as "cocktail" or in concert with one another through a matrix.

Complex individual, organizational, and community layers compel, support, and reinforce hazing. Therefore, strategies must be multipronged and multi-tiered. Standalone strategies are not effective. Systematic, measurable approaches to hazing prevention grounded in psychosocial and environmental motivators, and violence reduction efforts are emerging as effective approaches. Several key themes are highlighted from the six hazing incidents presented, in combination with the review of public health and behavioral psychology literature.

The first is that institutional or school responses often target the individuals and then pause organizational activities. These measures are reactionary and the degree of the response is tethered to the involvement level of parents and other stakeholders in which tensions increase with liability, especially if there is a hazing death or serious injury. Higher education institutions and K-12 school systems are haphazard in their responses as noted in each of these case studies.

The next theme is that institutions focus on individual interventions in responses to students and group accountability approaches. Many students walk away from hazing events with few or short-term repercussions, while victims are left with life-changing trauma or families might be left with loss in the wake of a death. Interventions should consider the horizontal anti-hazing and prevention model used in this final chapter in responding to hazing incidents at the individual, organizational, and community levels.

At the individual level schools and universities attempt to dislodge the actors from each of the hazing incidents such as coaches, administrators, and students. Hazing as a form of violence originates from a combination of individual characteristics from students and multi-level environmental factors within colleges and schools. However, students and well as any external national organizations that might be involved in a hazing incident often look towards individual accountability to absolve themselves such as in fraternity hazing or the lacrosse team events. For example, zero tolerance bullying policies or hazing laws that have recently become more stringent do little to curb the spectrum of hazing, intimidation, and bullying behaviors.

The institutions and schools in these case studies engaged in little or no bystander intervention training which should include additional skill-building approaches to include learning domains of psychological and psychosocial development. Bystander intervention training is effective in reducing some forms of hazing, but may be less efficacious than others such as bullying prevention which begins at a younger age in K-12 school systems.

Organizational

At this level, intervention efforts should be targeted to specific student populations such as athletes, marching bands, or fraternal organizations. These interventions should be sustained and repeated annual in an intentional cycle of hazing curriculum. Singular instances of events such as an awareness workshop or a speaker do little to change student

behavior. In these case studies, organizations may have participated in one-day mandatory hazing awareness at the postsecondary, but not at the secondary level.

At the organizational level, colleges and schools should use trained facilitators with subject-matter expertise in hazing and bullying prevention to design and implement interventions. Effective interventions should be comprehensive curricular programs which focus on skill-building in groups and with individuals. The way students think and feel about hazing and bullying can be significantly changed by developing enhanced interpersonal skills including communication, problem-solving, empathy, emotional regulation, conflict management, and teamwork.

Community

Higher education in each of these case studies did not address hazing as a campus-wide issue and K-12 schools continued to ignore the problem. Intervention efforts are framed as community problems and addressed beginning at the community level and then permeated down to targeted individual interventions. This is especially salient because there are frequent non-responsive students who minimize hazing as a problem or at-risk individuals who victims of the power differentials within hegemonies

Within student communities in secondary and postsecondary levels, hazing is often connected to other forms of violence such as hypermasculinity or substance abuse. IAt the secondary levels, youth violence often is connected to other expressions of hazing and approaches need to be developed that facilitate protective factors to buffer against risk factors that are often out of the control of parents and school administrators. In college,

alcohol misuse and violence prevention are peripheral issues related to most all hazing (Sasso et al., 2020). Identifying and addressing these issues, using evidence from the broader prevention research fields such as public health and behavioral psychology, are necessary to develop holistic prevention efforts. Prevention frameworks from these sources are helpful for developing prevention efforts as excessive alcohol use is strongly connected to hazing.

In addressing hazing connected solutions are best to form prevention and intervention strategies versus singular or disconnected solutions. Increasing the consistency and probability that individuals and organizations will be found responsible for hazing results from the stability and frequency of targeted interventions. Sustain, repeat, deliver, and support hazing prevention by trained individuals who are supervised. The implementation fidelity and adherence to specific hazing issues needs to be maintained.

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Appendix A Piazza Center Model of Horizontal Campus Hazing

The Timothy J. Piazza Center for Fraternity & Sorority Research and Reform at Penn State University has conceptualized a Horizonal Campus Hazing Model by Veldkamp, Sasso, and associates (2021). This is drawn from initial data from qualitative research study about hazing perspectives and extends the boundaries of groundbreaking work by Allan and associates (2008, 2020). This the model identifies how hazing transitions from pre-college experiences in high school to the undergraduate college experience (see graphic 1).

As noted in chapter 3, there are different definitions of hazing. However, this model considers hazing as any humiliating or activity of risk that is expected of a member for belonging within a group (Crow & Macintosh, 2008; Ellsworth, 2006). This definition recognizes there are differences between willingness to participate in hazing and nuances and how it is perpetrated against people attempting to challenge hegemony (Kirby & Wintrup, 2002; Nuwer, 2018a; Roosevelt, 2018). There are also different motivations for hazing which may include fitness or groupthink (Crow & MacIntosh, 2009; Parks & DeLorenzo, 2019; Waldron, 2015, 2016). This model also recognizes that hazing exists across different spaces across campus and is perpetuated by the same student leaders into other constructed spaces or organizations.

Pre-College Experiences with Hazing

Experiences with hazing in high school through formal participation in athletics, summer campus, or other student organizations will reinforce tolerance to hazing. Increased tolerance for hazing connects to the capacity to expect to be hazed during the

undergraduate experience. Expectations for an experience with previous exposure is rooted in expectancy theory. This theory has been validated with college populations in their use of alcohol in which students come to college with established patterns of drinking and self-select into socially constructed student spaces that match their levels of alcohol misuse. This concept of "matching" these expectations to student spaces can also be translated to hazing. For example, college men often seek out hypermasculine spaces to reinforce their need for social approval and often feature alcohol misuse and hazing which are related to student injury (McCready, 2020; Sasso, 2015; 2016).

Horizontal Levels of Fraternity/Sorority Hazing

In this model there are three levels of hazing that occur on campus which describe the ways in which hazing permeates across spaces and student constructed subcultures. These individual, chapter, and campus levels. The individual outlines the ways in which hazing begins and then is supported within a chapter. Then, the campus levels outline how hazing may expand across campus. All of these levels are parallel and interact with one another to perpetuate a culture of hazing. These three levels operate on the assumption that students have already experienced various forms and degrees of severity across a wider spectrum.

Individual. Individual reasons for hazing include group cohesion to maintain hegemony (Hamilton et al., 2016; Sasso, 2015). Other motivations may include retribution and jealousy (Hoover & Pollard, 2000; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009). Cimino (2011) suggested in his dominant macro theory that senior members haze to reinforce group dominance.

Individuals with prior exposure to these hazing environments may be more submissive or compliant within these social systems. However, additional research supports the notion that some might be fearful to not engage in hazing, thus giving into the pressure and making it appear as if there is group cohesion (Massey & Massey, 2017). Therefore, there might be false consensus and others may overestimate the ways in which others share their perspectives (Parks & DeLorenzo, 2019). This illusion of group conformity is reinforced by the cloak of mystery to hazing as a rite of passage because it is often experienced in secret (Sasso, 2015). Others make assumptions about groupthink because they do not experience this hazing and have an emic perspective (Pollard, 2018).

At this level, students hold expectancy to be hazed and conform to the activities of hazing to begin a sense of group belonging. Thus, there is a concept of individual susceptibility. Some students seek hazing as a rite of passage and others may join based on a need for validation for reinforcements of masculine or feminine norms. The role of gender is noted within chapter 3 of this monograph. This is especially salient in all-male environments where victimization is a sex-role threat which challenges manhood and masculinity (Pollard, 2018; Robbins, 2019).

Additionally at the chapter level, the perspectives of leadership and their character towards hazing reinforces social norms about hazing. Often individual leaders will deny and minimize hazing (Maxwell, 2018). Victims of hazing where it is widespread will also perceive it as normal and acceptable (Pollard, 2018). This denial of hazing by chapter leaders and acceptance by hazing victims, buffers the idea that there are no victims whereas they

volunteered for these character-building experiences (Cimino, 1999). Sweet (1999) noted that members often deceive new members if they are going to be hazed or not.

Organization. This level of hazing is characterized by group rites of passage, diffusion of responsibility during hazing in which there is either consensus or dictatorship, and who determines the value of the organization. There are experiences of adult play activity and forced bonding through shared hazing experiences. There is also over conformity to group norms presented by demand characteristics from an established hegemony within the chapter. There is a wide power differential between new members and initiated members which becomes an in-group (etic) versus out-group (emic) perspective. These forms of hazing reinforce expectations of membership and transmit social capital that is used to perpetuate a broader drive for organizational capital and status. In this larger system, alcohol is ceded to social status (Sasso, 2015; 2016). Organizations also may have secondary status efforts such as athletics or philanthropy, but alcohol is the primary driver of social status and it is used in hazing to socialize new members into this chapter culture.

Organization-level processes for hazing lead to deindividuation which detaches individual responsibility and shifts to the organizations. When there is anonymity in groups, they are more inclined to perpetrate hazing which is often led by seniors (Cimino, 2011). Individuals experience loss of identity in which others assume moral disengagement which is related to hazing frequency (Hamilton et al., 2016; McCreary et al., 2016). Bandura et al. (1996) noted that at the group level there are eight practices of moral disengagement: moral justification, euphemistic language, advantageous comparison, displacement of

responsibility, diffusion of responsibility, disregarding or distorting the consequences, dehumanization, and attribution of blame. These were validated by Kowalski et al. (2020) who found that these practices are positively related to the continuation of hazing. When empathy is low there are increases in physical and other forms of hazing such as cyberbullying which is also related to moral disengagement (Baughman et al., 2012; van Geel et al., 2017; Zych & Llorent, 2018).

Group cohesion is a goal at the chapter level which the sports hazing research suggests helps create a dichotomy of insider and outsider which may increase group performance through competition motives (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). However, some other studies have found that hazing decreases cohesion in athletics (Lafferty et al., 2017; Van Raalte et al., 2007; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009). Moreover, hazing as competition facilitates a "sports ethic" identified by Hughes & Coakley (1991) is what they also suggest is a "win at all cost" approach in which hazing becomes more tolerated. This singular mindset also produces groupthink (Janis, 1982).

There are two forms of groupthink which include "Greek think" and "sport think" and they are very similar. Greek think was identified by Nuwer (1999) and describes groupthink in sororities and fraternities and sport think refers to competitive cohesion which all perpetuate forms of hazing (Kirby & Wintrup, 2002). Members assume group identity and this inculcation into a group is characterized as tradition or rituals, not hazing (Haslam, 2004; Massey & Massey, 2017).

Cimino (2013) suggested an evolutionary theory of hazing in which groups may add members to increase size when it is beneficial such as when there is competition. However, increases in group size challenge hegemony and can shift power. Automatic accrual theory suggests that group membership should present automatic benefits. However, there is an expectation of meritocracy in which those automatic benefits should be experienced through increased severe hazing (Cimino, 2013; Thomas & Meglich, 2018). Additional research proposes that new members to groups may dispossess resources from established group member, thus deidentification or devaluing them is a broader test of their commitment to the group (Waldron, 2016).

Hazing also presents as a filtering process to determine who is "best fit" to automatic accrue benefits from group membership (Cimino, 2011; 2013). These tests of fitness to fully affiliate with are through hazing (Denmark et al., 2008). Kirby & Wintrup (2002) noted this process as "being rookied" in athletics which Nuwer (1999) paralleled as "pledging." Cimino (2011) noted that one of the underlying group level processes of hazing is to prevent those from gaining benefits without demonstrating commitment which is often colloquially known as "paying dues." Bullying process may individuate persons who are perceived as different or may not immediately assimilate in ways their peers may at the same pace (Hoover & Milner, 1998). Marching bands referred at one time referred to this process as "weeding out 'crabs" (Harris, 2011, p. 95).

Group level processes often are related to previous hazing victimization and reinforcement, as was the case where 76% of respondents who had been a victim of hazing

at least once perpetrated hazing (Hamilton et al., 2016). There is a connection between acceptance, severity, and reinforcement of hazing (Owen et al., 2008). Thus, a common dialogue among professionals is if a campus has *one bad apple* it does not take long to infect other good apples, no matter how healthy their chapter experiences have previously been. The assertion that external relationships hold influential power over individuals and chapters may be true. In this hypothesis toxic cultures that support hazing and dangerous behaviors worm their way into other positive cultures.

Higher education, psychology, and neuroscience research points to the structural phenomenon of groups' influence over other groups and even individual behavior. The facts are mounting that groups' influence over other groups as well as individual behavior is a real phenomenon. Factors that can play into this group dynamic, according to the research, are that groups provide a sense of anonymity that makes individuals feel less likely to be caught and punished, and a diminished sense of personal responsibility for the collective action of the group). Further, they found, groups provide insulation from personal beliefs and even morals, making people more likely to do things they normally would find wrong.

Community. Hazing is a horizontal issue and the space in between groups may be more important than within the formal groups themselves. When approaching hazing prevention and intervention, our focus needs to expand from individual groups, to include those who hold influence between formal groups. When you look at the overall context of a campus community or regional community that supports hazing, dangerous drinking, or other divisive traditions, we need to focus on organizations but moreover the relationships

between defined groups. We know from our own Piazza Center research on the early warning signs that hazing permeates across student organizations and campus. Participants identified that hazing incidents involve the same students across different types of organizations or involvement activities such as marching band, performing arts, or athletics. Thus, hazing can be a campus-wide cultural challenge that needs a wider lens approach, one is that is horizontal.

Burt (2012) examined how information flows through organizational networks from a sociological perspective. The basic notion is that if you have Group A where everyone knows each other and Group B where everyone knows each other, the person or persons who links Group A and Group B is in the most advantageous position. That person or persons forms a bridge and creates a “structural hole” between organizations (Burke).

Students who are in this bridging role are most likely to be perceived as leaders or influencers. This research suggests that “leadership” is a result of network position. This positionality is based on who people know more than formal titles and roles. This phenomenon may help explain how groups of informal leaders wield influence and control over groups without having membership in the second organization. Further this influence is outside of the formal power structure (Rivera et al, 2010; Capone et al. 2009, and Cashin et al., 1998).

Fraternity and sorority chapter leaders often wield significant control over their membership with regard to hazing and alcohol use (Myers & Sasso, 2022). This supports the findings of Cashin et al. (1998) which suggest that chapter alcohol use and other behaviors

are related to a case of “follow the leader.” However, additional research by Sasso (2015) on fraternities also suggests more informal influence by senior members, rather than formal authority. When tethered together, chapter leaders and senior members set expectations of behavior for their chapters. Thus, institutions should target those like chapter leaders who are influencers across campus to address hazing across campus. These are the purveyors of hazing and social norms in the co-construction of student life.

The implication of this for student affairs intervention is that adults involved need to have a much better understanding of the actual network ties that exist among students, particularly those that bridge structural holes. This phenomena describes bridges from group to group on a particular campus or organizations across campuses. As an example, if fraternity members in formal capacities are networked with advisors or staff rather than with peers, and adults are of low status, then almost by definition being in a formal "leadership" capacity will deprive individuals of the ties and the influence to serve as true leaders and/or influencers of behavior.

In today’s social media driven society, we now understand the role of an influencer and how they drive perceptions. An influencer seems to shape individual and group preferences and priorities in close proximity. Kuh (year) highlighted the concept of propinquity in his college cultures course. Propinquity is proximity, kinship and culture. Keeping this definition in mind, add in the ‘structural hole’ influencers discussed previously and now we have a more complete picture of the space between groups and who holds power and influence over group norms and behaviors that exist outside of the group where

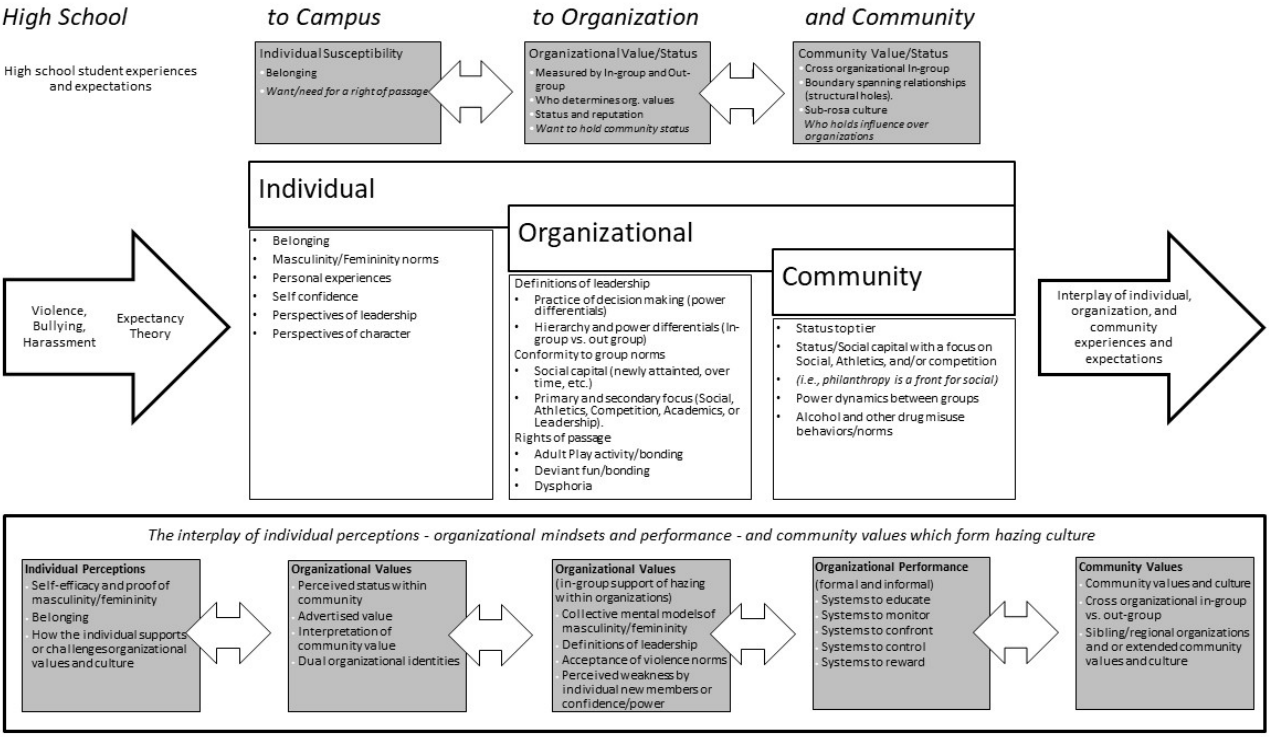
the behavior is demonstrated. From a campus advisor's perspective you have to not just address hazing in a single group, but also think about the influencers that are not easily identified, potentially actively promoting unhealthy behaviors, are likely untouchable by the formal leadership or either group, and most likely are not being reached by programming or advising.

Thus addressing campus hazing should be at the community level and should focus energy on the building of powerful networks between groups. The Social Ecological Model (SEM) (Dahlburg & Krug, 2002), is effective in forming strategies, we know that hazing and dangerous drinking needs to be addressed at the campus level horizontally and as we work through the SEM model - focus on community to group and group to individual. However, group influence over other groups may be a key part of how fraternities and sororities need to approach hazing prevention. These should include: (1) Talk to formal leaders about who are the influencers; (2) identify who holds informal power in communities; (3) add influencers to communication channels; (4) make a habit of talking with influencers regularly; and (5) engage them to review your strategies and pay them if you can.

Our remedies are limited and research is thin on hazing prevention strategies. However, thinking about the students that we might not be able to reach in campus based programs and advising as well as headquarters visits to organizations may be the key in addressing campus and community hazing cultures. The primary focus of a change campaign is at the campus level and specifically with students who hold influence over groups via structural holes. Campuses are better positioned to take the lead on mitigating

risk via right prevention and intervention strategies, both campuses and headquarters can work to increase the deployment of protective factors, and primarily headquarters should focus on character education and increasing ethical leadership with reinforcement of these messages at the campus level.

Graphic 1 Horizontal Campus Hazing Model



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Appendix B Hazing Prevention Matrix

Level		Efficacy			
Individual - Attempt to facilitate changes in attitudes toward hazing to reduce tolerance for hazing behaviors within student organizations or involvement experiences (band, athletics, etc.). The expected outcome is that students will understand the warning signs of hazing and be more likely to intervene in hazing situations on behalf of a peer or prevent hazing from occurring. Individual efforts do not consider tertiary behaviors such as substance misuse or competition or even socially constructed student subcultures.					
Program		*Low*	*Medium*	*High*	*Combination*
Bystander Intervention	These interventions focus on individual actors to intervene in hazing events.		X		X
Brief Motivational Interviewing	These programs are targeted towards reducing substance misuse that is often associated with hazing.		X		
Parental Notification	These policies focus on FERPA exceptions for parental notifications for student conduct violations.	X			X
Educational Sanction	These interventions focus on educational assignments to promote intentionally structured reflection or restorative justice initiatives.	X			
Bullying/Harassment/ Intimidation (HIB) Training	These trainings are typically in-person workshops taught by a school counselor or an athletics coach at the secondary levels.		X		X

Group/Organization- Focused on delivering large scale educational programming to student organizations or athletics teams. These are typically singular events that focus on group accountability. The expected outcome is to change organizational culture and climates for tolerance of hazing					
Program		*Low*	*Medium*	*High*	*Combination*
Video Workshop & Reflection (Education)	This is an intentional multi-part program in which students use pre-and-post reflection after watching videos about hazing.		X		
Speaker (Education)	These are usually mandatory singular events in which an external expert is invited to speak, or a victim shares a survivor story.	X			X
Policy/Law Education	Educational training about changes or updates with focus on consequences of hazing and bullying laws or policies.	X			X
Peer Leader/Educators	Near-peer program to educate fellow students about substance misuse or HIB behaviors.		X		

Community - Aimed at delivering continued messaging or pausing activities for student involvement experiences. The expected outcome is that activities is that hazing behaviors will cease or reduce hazing-tolerant climates.					
Program		*Low*	*Medium*	*High*	*Combination*
Social Norming	Visual media messaging with targeted frequency intervals with norm-referenced data to challenge cognitive assumptions or schema.		X		X
Activity Moratorium	Temporary pause or temporal cessation of activities caused by hazing or harassment.	X			
Mandated Online Curriculum	Intrusive completion mandate for an online pre-orientation education requirement.	X			X
Awareness Campaign	Specific timeframe such as a dedicated week to increase awareness about hazing or HIB	X			X
Taskforce/Committee	Coordinating group responsible for implementing programming and recommendations for policy revision	X			X