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By

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ABSTRACT.

Existing literature has examined the manifestation of race-based treatment in non-Jesuit higher education Greek Life Organizations (GLOs). These studies found that the history of white male-only spaces such as GLOs made for an exclusive campus environment even after minority groups gained access to higher education. This paper seeks to understand whether these same exclusive tendencies manifest in Jesuit institutions that cherish inclusivity such as Santa Clara University. Thus, it asks: How does race impact college students' experiences in Greek Life? This study utilizes 6 interviews conducted with white and non-white racially identifying members of Santa Clara University GLOs. Additionally, it analyzes 6 hours' worth of digital observations on media affiliated with or in relation to Greek Life. The data found that an inductee's racial identity was most significant during the rushing process. If and when an inductee was accepted into a GLO, race was no longer critical to the nature of their experiences. However, the data also indicated the significance of numerous non-identity measures to one's experience which were: the importance of self-presentation, rationalization of the individual benefits, and idealized reforms to be made within the GLO. These findings suggest that one's experience in GLOs is dictated by more than their racial identity. More importantly, in cultivating a harmonious environment within this prevalent social culture in many higher education institutions, GLOs need to do more than diversify their membership and reconcile with their racialized past.

INTRODUCTION

One of the major modern controversies surrounding Greek Life is its legacy of excluding racially minoritized populations. The scale and history of exclusionary practices in Greek Life can be traced back to their creation in a racially charged and discriminatory era of U.S. social politics. Existing studies found that the history of white, male-only spaces such as Greek Life/Letter Organizations (GLOs) made for an exclusive campus environment even after minority groups gained access to higher education. Since the attendees of the first higher education establishments were reserved for white Christian males, this became the status quo for most of US history. Many Greek Life chapters consequently normalized exclusionary Constitutions, which made it difficult for women and non-white students to join the same Greek Life organizations (Hughey 2007). The deeply embedded racial heterogeneity of Greek Life became a hidden but overarching factor that reproduced the anti-inclusionary sentiment of nationwide social norms.

Greek Life and Whiteness

The development of whiteness can be drawn back to the history of Greek Life and its pattern of exclusion and racism towards minority students. Institutional racism played a large role in the

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founding of Greek organizations before students of color and women were allowed to attend college. When societal norms shifted and they were allowed to as minorities, they were still excluded from these historically white male groups (Gillon, Beatty, and Salinas 2019). An article reporting on recent racial makeup in GLOs found that the ratio of people of color to white is still often in favor of white members, who make up about 70% of their organizations (Gamar 2020). Only by accepting and acknowledging organizations' exclusionary acts, racial reconciliation from GLOs can be considered (Hogg 2020). However, social media has worked to bring to light still prevalent and recent exclusionary events against individuals within GLOs, showcasing the need and demand for these issues to be investigated. The question that remains is how deeply embedded whiteness is in GLOs and if any progress has been made toward moving away from its normalization.

The existence of whiteness in Greek Life in more recent decades can be directly reflected in statistical data, such as a report that among eight GLOs that participants associated with, there was an average of 3.8% non-white members per organization (Hughey 2010). Hughey (2010) further looks at how already participating "non-white" members employ strategies and behaviors to obtain the perception that they belong with their white counterparts despite being in predominantly white GLOs. What was found within this study is that the process of framing themselves as belonging within these GLOs involves a strong pattern and tie between their awareness of their racial identities being "different or inferior" (Hughey 2010:1). A different study conducted in the University of Michigan measured and found high in-group racial preferences among black and white students (Combs, Stewart, and Sonnett 2017). The prevalence of same-race preferences was significantly higher among those in GLOs, indicating that membership is also a considerable factor in an individual's same-race biases (Combs et. al 2017). Through these findings, the concept of homogeneity was emphasized by the participants themselves, as they both acknowledged this racially enclosed group of people as well as their perceived reasons why this homogeneity exists (Joyce 2018). Both these studies identify further unaddressed barriers to making Greek Life a more racially-harmonic setting on campus, but GLO members have tried to downplay the severity of these issues.

Joyce (2018) contributed to this racial dialogue within Greek Life by exploring how men in a white fraternity perceive the concept of "fit" within their organization. Members of the GLOs minimized race by claiming that it never played a significant role in their organization. They also compared themselves to larger demographics and other Greek organizations to claim their organizations were quite diverse (Joyce 2018). They additionally promoted the normalization of whiteness, which was explained through the fact that membership is earned through first impressions and that this quality will trump other factors including race. Additionally, members further discussed the origins of Greek life have simply carried over through time which is why whiteness is prevalent in Greek life culture. The importance of this concept is that it provides a baseline to which we can further examine Greek life. With the understanding that this culture is predominantly white, it provides all the more reason to which we can further our understanding of it.

Jesuit Values and the Debate Over GLO's

Jesuit universities are built on similar values such as care for others, service to one's community, and empathy for all. Thus, when the controversies of GLOs and racial exclusivity are brought up, these universities have had to make compromises to allow GLOs to satisfy

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student demands but also bar any formal association with the university itself (Prout 2014). Georgetown University, a Jesuit campus in Washington D.C., was faced with an intense decision as many students rallied to establish Chapters with infamous practices that came into conflict with Jesuit ideals (Prout 2014). The article, which was published by Georgetown University's publication *The Hoya*, gave a close look into its Greek Life and how the university compromised its Jesuit values to allow students to establish unofficial Chapters. It was argued by principal opponents to Greek Life at Georgetown that practices such as deciding which students are admitted can easily become based on the characteristics of the student themself, which fosters a community founded on exclusion (Prout 2014). Because the premise of "rushing" a Greek Life fraternity or sorority is based on whether one gets chosen by that organization, Jesuit institutions like Georgetown have struggled to incorporate those organizations into their campus climate in a satisfactory manner for the students. Students at Georgetown have expressed their frustrations with universities using conflicts with Jesuit values as an excuse not to allow GLOs.

Students who are members of GLOs see their organizations as bringing diverse opportunities to members and being capable of handling conflicts based on race (Prout 2014). Their claims are also supported by a quantitative study conducted by Severtis and Christie-Mizell (2007), which uses data from more than 3,000 respondents to show how being a member of a Greek organization provides opportunities after graduation for African American college students more than their European counterparts. The findings looked at different variables in terms of what contributes to the college retention of different races, such as sociodemographic variables, human capital, financial capital, social capital, and the overlap between race, education, and social capital. The study concluded that "membership in a Greek-letter organization increases the odds of college graduation by a little over 370%, compared to non-members" (Severtis and Christie-Mizell 2007:107). This is crucial in understanding the perspectives of people of color within GLOs who not only gain social relationships but support systems and resources to feel comfortable at college and pursue their studies with more confidence in their outcomes.

Georgetown's resolution has allowed Chapters of GLOs under the condition that they are not considered a part of the university. This seemingly temporary solution opens up more discussions on how other Jesuit institutions address the issue. Our study seeks to understand whether these same exclusive tendencies manifest in Jesuit institutions such as Santa Clara University. Jesuit institutions are notably founded on the principles of inclusion and care for the whole person.

Thus, we ask the question: How does race impact college students' experiences in Greek Life? Our study found that while racial identity was present throughout the data collection process, its role was largely confined to the initiation process. We determined that factors defining one's experience beyond recruitment were the importance of adhering to the norms of the organization regarding one's presentation, the conceptualization of the individual benefits all members reaped, and what each member saw as ideal changes to be made within their organizations.

METHODOLOGY

Our research group decided to use the Greek Life community at Santa Clara University as our

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research population and decided upon a sample of 6 interview respondents, with three being white and three identifying as students of color to gain a holistic collection of data on experiences of the racial spectrum. Our respondents were members of different non-professional fraternities and sororities and were reached through convenience sampling. We decided to interview solely from nonprofessional GLOs because the motivations for membership and experience would presumably vary greatly.

Data Gathering and Methods

Utilizing convenience and snowball sampling methods, we had the organization's gatekeepers reach out to their connections within these organizations to gain access to other potential respondents. In terms of our interview protocol, it was organized into the following sections: asking respondents for personal definitions, experiences with GLOs, racial identity, and its presence in GLOs, and concluded with desires for organizational changes.

When creating the interview questions and format, we tried to make these questions as open as possible to account for the many experiences with race our participants were likely to have. We thought this would be necessary for establishing a good interviewer-respondent relationship (Weiss 1994:65). By showing that we are open to all perspectives, especially when dealing with a sensitive topic like race, we hoped to build rapport with our respondents. Additionally, during our interviews, we ensured that we participated in casual conversation and small talk upon arrival to the interview as well as before departing to build a better relationship between us and our respondents in hopes of making them feel both welcomed and comfortable.

We also chose to focus on the topics of racial identity, Greek life experience, interracial interactions within the Greek Organization, and feelings of inclusion/lack thereof. We conducted and recorded our interviews during weeks 5-7 in both virtual and in-person settings. Within these interviews, we worked to maintain the complete confidentiality of our respondents as well as the GLO with which they were associated. This was an important ethical agreement because we had to ensure that we kept consistent upon respondents' comfortability with talking about sensitive topics or experiences as well as their openness in telling truthful anecdotes.

We also conducted our observations virtually during weeks 8-9 due to non-existent access to in-person observations because of gatekeepers and weather conditions that canceled the events we sought to attend. These virtual observation sites included different media sites tied to GLOs, such as their official organizational Instagram, the Panhellenic Organization Instagram, their official organizational websites, a website that allows individuals to rate specific GLOs, and the Markkula Center for Applied Ethics. A mix of descriptive and reflective field notes was taken as the observations were conducted on social media sites and more traditional websites providing the information in a more structured manner. Additionally, it's important to take into consideration the possible ethical consideration that a few of these virtual sites that we observed were connected to individual GLOs, to which we did not get verbal permission to use them within this study. However, because these platforms are open to public access we did not reach out to ask for consent and thus we do not believe any ethical boundaries were crossed.

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Coding

As for the coding, according to Lofland et al. (2006), some of the units which we should pick out from our data and group together included certain practices, roles/social types, relationships, groups, subcultures, and lifestyles. For example, regarding relationships, we coded intraracial interactions, for specific roles and social types, our group coded different organizational hierarchies that emerged, and so forth. Additionally, according to Emerson et al. (2011), when doing line-by-line coding, researchers should be entertaining all analytic possibilities. They should not be coding with the intention that we will be using all these categories but with whether these categories are emerging and what is in front of us. Prominent codes that emerged included: rushing and recruitment, meeting people, supportive sisterhood/brotherhood, type of social event, ideal organizational changes, and identity. These helped identify examples and experiences going through recruitment of their respective organizations, the people and relationships they have created within them, their commitments to their organizations through social events, and how they perceived themselves and their identities. After sharing and discussing codes that appeared throughout our interviews, we worked on reforming some codes to best capture ideas we felt brought insights for our research. We thus created "focus codes" which "makes comparisons between incidents, identifying examples that are comparable on one dimension or that differ on some dimension and, hence, constitute contrasting cases or variations" (Emerson et al. 2011). The focused codes that emerged consisted of individual benefits, care for one another, presentation of self, barriers, diversity, feelings of mutual support, and shifts in perception. These allowed us to create connections between the experiences described in our interviews and insight when coding our observations by identifying different types of support and benefits as well as the challenges within GLOs. When coding our observations, we used existing codes from our interviews as well as added to them with new findings and patterns. From our codes, we created memos to help foster the ideas and patterns that emerged throughout our data collection. These memos often highlighted a "wide range of new ideas, linkages, and connections" (Emerson et al. 2011) that helped us develop our main findings.

Subjectivity and Reflexivity

Subjectivity is centered around the culmination of the researcher's values and characteristics that may overlap with the research being conducted. As Peshkin states, "It is an amalgam of the persuasions that stem from the circumstances of one's class, statuses, and values interacting with the particulars of one's object of investigation" (1988:1). Reflexivity is closely related to subjectivity as one might say reflexivity is the researcher's ability to recognize their subjectivity and how it might affect their results and analyses. Positionality includes the contexts of your identity and life position such as social class, the environments in which you grew up, and one's racial identity. Within our study, our positionality in terms of having existing relationships with individuals in these social groups and organizations helped to open up the potential for our respondents to be comfortable with us and we did not need to spend as much time establishing trust and rapport. Additionally, being immersed in the same age group as our respondents as well as being a part of the same university community allowed us to form a more equal dynamic when interacting. In terms of our reflexivity, we acknowledge that there is the confounding factor of us holding preconceived notions of Greek Life largely drawn from stereotypes and historically constructed assumptions. These preconceived notions influence how we interpret our data, especially regarding our observations where our notes and data are based on our understandings of the virtual platforms and perceptions of the presentation of these

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organizations. Additionally, our own identities as people of color looking into the case of race brings into a certain bias in representing minority groups. Hence being conscious and aware of these perspectives will mitigate any risks or issues that may come up.

RESULTS

We initially thought we could measure one's experience in Greek Life based on single identifying factors such as racial identity. However, our data has shown us that this is not possible as identity characteristics are often interwoven with others and participant subjectivity also distinguishes how one measures their experience. Thus, while we collected data on the manifestation of racial identity in some aspects of Greek Life, we also needed to include the three major non-identity measures that were used to define the overall experience: The importance of self-presentation, the individual benefits one has, and how they see reform within the organizations they are a part of.

Race as a Constant Factor in Rushing

Discussing race was a central but complicated section of our interviews because of how personal some of the answers to our questions were. We started our open coding by looking at instances of our interviewees/observation participants "identifying their racial identity" or that of other members and citing places where "racial identity was not a contributory factor" to one's experience. We noticed these codes tended to be grouped in places where the respondents also mentioned "rushing or recruitment", another one of our most significant open codes. From this first round, we then generated focused codes around "diversity" (or lack thereof), "barriers" to inclusion or being accepted into a GLO, and "instances of interracial interactions" with other members of similar racial identity.

When reflecting on the importance of racial identity in Greek Life experiences, our interviewees reported its power in the rushing process and gaining entry to the organization. Our interviewees expressed feelings of discomfort around the knowledge their racial identity was a factor in their admission to certain GLOs. Marie, who is a self-identifying Asian American woman, claimed "I didn't think it [race] was going to completely diminish any chance of getting it anywhere, but based on reputations I knew there were certain sororities that I had a better chance of getting into than others just strictly off of my race." Marie, however, is not alone in being concerned about the weight her racial identity has on her Greek Life experience.

Kristine, who is of white racial identity, stated that "I was just very fortunate to basically have a higher chance of getting in because…I had basically a larger chance of getting into certain sororities because of my race". Kristine recognized her privilege as a white-identifying inductee and believed it applied to her during the rushing/recruitment process. She also shared that she heard most non-white inductees "…felt that they were the token diversity factor", which is why they got into X sorority/fraternity. She concludes "If I was not white, I may have dropped the recruitment process". Kristine making the statement that she would have otherwise dropped recruitment had she not been white due to fear of being a diversity requirement indicates the impact of one's racial identity regardless of whether they are white or non-white.

Sam, who identifies as a biracial individual with a mixed white and black identity, provides a different perspective as she was on the recruiting side of rush. She stated that while going

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through the recruitment process for her sorority, they enrolled everyone in bias training, which she felt was unnecessary until she realized, " actually going through the process of like recruiting people like when you only talk to someone for 10 minutes, as half of what you like to think about them is like their initial appearance. Oh, that's what it's for". She emphasized that despite having a conscious awareness of bias, she ultimately found herself unconsciously making judgments about appearances due to the constraints of time within their rush.

Through field observations of the Santa Clara Panhellenic Instagram account, 5 pictures were included in a post with the caption, "Missing bid day … #gogreek" highlighting and reminiscing on the bid day for each of the affiliated sororities during that year's rushing and recruitment week. These 5 pictures consisted of small and large group pictures with only 2 of the 5 pictures including women of color, and one of them was by default since it was a large group picture of a sorority. The predominance of whiteness and lack of diversity within these organizations, especially during recruitment, was showcased in the pictures. The 5 pictures consisted of: 1) 3 girls in matching shirts in a pastel ball pit 2) a group of 6 girls wearing matching shirts in the theme of Lucky Charms- the cereal 3) A sorority outside of a house all wearing matching lavender shirts and showing new members with some diversity but majority white. 4) 2 girls matching in yellow on the porch of a sorority house 5) 3 girls amongst others in a blue theme holding bids. While the Instagram account posted these pictures where everyone is coordinated, wearing matching outfits, and overall predominantly white, there is a portrayal that the image of a recruited member looks like everyone else racially and aesthetically.

Importance of Self-Presentation

Coding our second major finding started with instances where the organization was "transparent" about its expectations for the appearance of its members. This was commonly associated with instances where we coded the "beliefs/values" of the organization and consequently its members being featured. These open codes led us to create focused codes looking explicitly at instances where the "presentation of oneself" was emphasized and whether that contributed to a "comfortable atmosphere" within the organization.

Our interview respondents and online observation of the GreekRank website and GLO's social media revealed the essentiality of presenting oneself as compatible with the values and norms of a respective GLO. When talking about the rushing process, Kristine, a member of her sororities leadership team, mentioned how she "very much spent time…finding the dresses that [she] needed to wear, and [she] was going to present [her]self…[she] lost some of who [she] was so that [she] would be like almost like an ideal candidate for recruitment". The taxing cost of rushing was the loss of one's autonomy over how one presents themselves. This staple of Greek Life was also reported by George, a member of an SCU fraternity, who said "…The rush process was pretty straightforward. You attend events. You meet the brothers and kind of like just gain interactions. You try to present yourself in the best way possible, so you can get that like recognition, or get that bid, as they say". Both George and Kristine note the importance of reforming their physical appearance and social behaviors to align with that of the GLO during the rushing process. These expectations are not formally communicated and are often based on one's observations of current members.

Furthermore, in terms of appearance within these GLOs, many pictures from the sorority Instagrams would often present different groups wearing dresses, and being done up and it would often seem as though there was a specific dress code that all of the girls fell in line with in

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terms of appearance for specific events. Although it's unclear from the outside perspective, whether or not these GLOs explicitly create such codes or requirements for the presentation of their members, it's clear that there is at least coherence in their looks and style. This is additionally supported by the common appearance shared by sorority members in the Santa Clara Panhellenic Instagram, showcasing original and tagged photos from the five sororities in the Santa Clara community. When spotlighting each affiliated sorority through original posts, alongside general information, 3 group pictures were shown, of which the majority of the women seen were white and seen wearing similar colors, or within a certain causal aesthetic.

In addition, many of the reviews/discussions on GreekRank indicated the values of the person posting/the GLO being reviewed. In one such discussion, a user stated "[In a review of a fraternity] The guys are actually pretty chill and have a good brotherhood as well. They're still a smaller frat, however, and need more houses and parties before they can truly rise in the rankings." This user demonstrated the importance of having strong inter-group relations and a supportive community, something valued by both of my interviewees. However, this user also commented on the importance of having houses/properties and extravagant parties, something the fraternity they were discussing was still lacking in. This review indicates the essentiality of balancing strong communal relations with notable social events to be considered a good GLO.

Individual Benefits from Membership

In the process of coding our data, we found various cases of "social aspects" that many of our respondents claimed to be one of the most prominent reaped rewards from joining a GLO. Further, there were many layers to these social aspects such as expanding one's social circle, the ability to meet new people, and making new close friends. Hence we were able to condense this finding into a focused code encapsulating individual benefits. Through this focused code as well as the care for one another and the open code of a supportive sisterhood and brotherhood, it was determined that besides the drawback of having to conform to organization norms, respondents also measured their experience based on the different ways in which individuals found themselves benefitting from joining a sorority or fraternity.

One prominent example was the social aspects of these Greek Life Organizations (GLOs) and the expansion of social circles for these individuals. One of our respondents, George, shared his feelings about his organization after just becoming an active member of his fraternity recently and claimed:

> I got to get to know people at a really deep and personal level. Which I enjoyed during the process, so now when I get phone calls nightly and text nightly about people wanting to either A) study or just talk to me, it makes my day that I was able to impact these guys in that way.

This sentiment is further expanded upon by a respondent from a sorority, in which Marie shared that she felt one of her main motivations for joining her specific GLO can be explained by her feeling like she "had like a solid set of like group of friends", however, she "wanted to like, broaden that, and have more connections to like more people like with the alums and stuff". Marie explained to us that networking plays a large role in GLOs and hence she wanted to explore that opportunity.

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Furthermore, a second individual benefit that many individuals found especially important was the culture of care that emerged creating an enhanced sisterhood or brotherhood for them and their peers. For example, George explained that there was a strong sense of "camaraderie" among him and his peers both from going through the rush and pledging process but also when becoming an active member as well, " it was a process through not finding your friends, but building something deeper than friendship, which is just like kind of brotherhood, in a sense". In a different interview with our respondent within a sorority, Cathy stated that her perception of her sorority's main goal was promoting a feeling of community and mental health,

> But I think a main goal is…mental health. And then I would also say, like community, and I think having a good, solid community, can definitely help with people's mental health because it gives you like good friends and resources to go to.

Cathy provides insight as to the support that she feels her GLO provides her in terms of having solid friends to turn to or even free therapy services provided to her and her sisters to ensure the wellness of their members.

The social media observations of these GLOs further supported these findings from our interviews. One example of a fraternity's Instagram is in which their posts predominantly portray and highlight the social ties and friend groups that form within the organization. Oftentimes many of these pictures and posts included large groups of people socializing, smiling, and generally having a good time together. They also included reels of their brother's activities over school holidays and breaks, promoting the notion that regardless of if they're in their social settings or outside of it, they keep up and check in with one another. A second example of the emergence of a culture of care can be found in an observation of a sorority's official chapter website, under the "about us" section they write about the main values of their sorority claiming that their "keystone is friendship- warm, simple, and sincere. In [X sorority] there is encouragement, understanding, and opportunities to grow". This observation was consistent with findings amongst the sorority Instagrams as well in which they would post habitual "member Mondays" or "senior appreciation posts", consistently showing their active support for one another and their constant recognition for all of their peers or sisters.

Ideal Changes Within Organizations

A fourth finding brought up in the research was the potential for reform within GLOs, which was recurring in our open code "ideal organizational changes" suggested throughout our interviews and observations. These suggestions overlapped and provided solutions to challenges in the experiences of joining or being members of a GLO, these recurring challenges became our focused code "barriers" which provides an experience as a reason for making organizational change. Our open code "rushing/recruitment" was also used in collaboration with our organizational change code, due to the limitations of recruitment which respondents highlighted as needing reform due to its dependence on first impressions. Also noted by our white-identifying respondents was the privilege of seeing themselves represented in the racial demographic of sororities which could have led them to feel less comfortable or welcome if they were of another race. One respondent, Sam, a mixed black and white sorority member, when asked about potential changes she would make, brought up, "if we like, took the girls that were women of color like, and have a separate meeting of them, and they saw themselves represented in the actual, initiated members, that might be good, and that might make them feel

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more comfortable." This idea would aim to provide a more comfortable atmosphere where minority potential new members could identify with current members within the organizations. Sam also discussed the process of voting to allow potential new members to join their organizations and the subjectivity of it because "there's no reason why, like if someone like really likes a girl that they like get booted because like no understands like how to rate someone well and how to rate someone". Since decisions in letting people into sororities are made through impressions, in meeting someone of a minority, potential new members could feel more comfortable and willing to present themselves more naturally helping foster a space for more diverse students to join GLOs, allowing the active members of the GLO to get a better send of their personality and let them in.

Another area for reform brought up in our interviews was the limitations of the organizations in reaching people through not being affiliated with the university and therefore not being able to recruit or advertise to the larger school community publicly. Our respondent, George, a white fraternity member discussed the potential of reforming outreach stating:

> Yeah, the only thing I would change is probably you have a better advertising program, and just kinda reaching out to more students and kind of saying "hey it's not just like a simple fraternity you see on TV or in the movies". It's more than that. It's a social club of people that care about your…success in the future, but also want you to enjoy your college experience aside from school and kind of school clubs.

Through reforming their ability to publicize, a potential for increased diversity becomes possible in recruiting people without as much knowledge of Greek life.

Room for reform in Greek life was also informally expressed through the observation of the Markkula Center for Applied Ethics, where multiple student authors published short scenarios about common experiences in Greek Life and encouraged readers to reflect on the ethics of the situation. In one example, the subject of the scenario was faced with a decision on whether to engage in hazing activities which can be dangerous and oppositional to the person's morals, or abstain from joining Greek Life and risking potential social connections. In this example, the role of personal values is crucial in shaping one's experience with Greek Life.

DISCUSSION

Our research has found that at Santa Clara University, race plays a minimal but still existent role in one's entry and experience in Greek Life. Our interviewees and observations have revealed that the racial makeup of some SCU GLOs is still predicated on racial identity. Marie's feelings of inclusion being heavily shaped by her racial identity corroborate the existing literature that identifies racial identity as a continually significant part of Greek Life recruitment. However, many of our interviewees, especially non-white inductees, have reported low levels of racial animosity which indicates the reduced power of race compared to other studies analyzed in our literature review. Unfortunately, we cannot attribute this finding solely to the Jesuit values of SCU because we have also learned about various criteria inductees use to portray their experiences in Greek Life. Whether it is norms about physical appearance, the goals, and values of a GLO, or the desire to make change within the organization and the broader community, our

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findings have revealed the limitless interconnected ways in which one's experience is illustrated.

The social expectations for those rushing to conform to strict standards paint Greek Life as artificial and disrespectful of diversity in each of their members. While this expected conformity to become "one of them" is not predicated on racial identity, physical appearance is nonetheless taxing on inductees. Yet, the individual benefits one receives when joining, whether it is new friends, finding supportive communities, networking opportunities, or a place to find common interests, seem to outweigh the costs of compromising one's standards of appearance. Thus, it is understandable why interviewees like Kristine and George would modify their appearance or behaviors when they were rushing. To them, sacrificing a little bit of their identity to achieve the social capital mentioned earlier is a worthwhile tradeoff, even if it brings stress or the need to change oneself. The slight compromising of one's identity is also a testament to the impact of group social norms and expectations within social settings. If entry/acceptance into a social setting is desired, it is not unreasonable to assume their weighing of the trade-offs may be different than if they did not desire the group's acceptance.

What was further found amongst our findings was that the women within sororities emphasized the issue of race and the disadvantages that came with being an individual or color more often than our interviewees who were men and members of fraternities. Santi, who identifies as an Asian American male as well as George who identifies as a white male, both made strong opinions that race did not play any role during the rushing process to become inducted members of their organizations. This opinion and belief carried on throughout both of their interviews when prompted about the role of race, if any, in their experiences with their GLO. What this pattern amongst our respondents is suggesting is that there may be evidence of intersectionality between not only race but possibly gender, especially for women within this study. This may provide a line of inquiry for future studies to investigate if individual experiences within sororities and fraternities differ and to what extent both gender and race factor into those differences.

From both our interviews and observations, we were able to identify the power of participants' subjectivity. During our interview reflections, we were sure to note the way our subjectivity as researchers on interviewees and the coding process. But, we also noted how the participants in our observations had their own more pronounced subjective thoughts that affected what we learned about Greek Life. A good example of this from the GreekRank observation was the ranking of each sorority/fraternity in a pseudo-scientific manner. Each GLO was assigned a percentile ranking based on the number of reviews it received. What was unclear was how these rankings are calculated from each review and why the criteria listed (housing, involvement, social scene, and looks) are what determine a GLO's rank. Each individual that ranks a GLO will have their subjective thoughts at the forefront, especially in an anonymized environment where the reviews cannot be linked back to the original poster. The anonymized environment also masks the lived experiences of each user and we could not ask for further details on the observation participant's thoughts due to the constraints of the online environment. Regardless, the increased presence of participant subjectivity in anonymized online observations yielded interestingly specific and dramatic experiences about Greek Life that we did not have in our in-person or virtual interviews.

Limitations and Conclusions

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This study wanted to see if coming from a Jesuit school that emphasizes diversity and inclusion could be a confounding factor of our study's findings on Greek Life members' experiences. It is unclear to us the extent to which these values have also been instituted amongst our participants as well as the broader sector of Greek Life here at Santa Clara. We have also found that GLO members utilize their subjectivity to define their experiences using more than one measure such as racial identity. As members of the SCU community alongside our interview and observation participants, we know the institution's core curriculum requires all students to partake in courses celebrating and studying Jesuit values of ethics, diversity, social justice, and civic engagement. However, the small scope of our study was confined solely to the population of Santa Clara University as well as the ten-week time constraints became considerable limitations. Our data collection process was rushed and we felt unable to explore the deep connections our positionality as student researchers afforded us. Despite these limitations, our study adds to the existing knowledge of Greek Life experiences by analyzing the role of multiple varying influences in a specifically Jesuit setting. To build on our work, future research should attempt to quantify how noteworthy Jesuit values are in the decisions of its followers. Expanding the research to other Jesuit institutions, or even non-Jesuit institutions, and how they address the ethical implications of GLOs would allow us to have a more robust picture of Greek Life experiences. For now, we understand that creating a harmonious setting open to all requires more than just diversifying the racialized settings in which they were constructed.
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