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PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS THAT UNDERLIE HAZING PERCEPTIONS: A
MIXED METHODS STUDY

by

Jenna Marie Strawhun

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of
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Under the Supervision of Professor Susan M. Swearer

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PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS THAT UNDERLIE HAZING PERCEPTIONS: A
MIXED METHODS STUDY

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University of Nebraska, 2016

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The quantitative phase of this mixed-methods study examined psychological predictors, including previous bullying involvement, moral disengagement, the need to belong, and their influence on students' perceptions of hypothetical hazing behaviors. The following qualitative phase was used to explain and contextualize Phase I results through an understanding of the psychological processes related to participants' constructed meanings of their experiences as perpetrators, witnesses, and/or victims of bullying and hazing. Study participants for Phase I and Phase II included undergraduate students enrolled in psychology courses who participated in the study for research credit. Phase II participants also received a \$25.00 gift card as compensation for participating.

Multiple regression analyses were used to investigate the hypotheses that previous bullying and victimization experiences, higher levels of moral disengagement, and a higher need to belong would lead to a decreased likelihood of identifying bullying and hazing, as well as intervening in hazing vignettes. Results suggested that participants' previous victimization experiences significantly increased their ability to define situations as bullying. As predicted, moral disengagement significantly reduced participants' likelihood of defining situations as bullying and hazing, as well as intervening in the

scenarios. Participants with higher needs for belonging were more likely to define situations as bullying and hazing, but were less likely to intervene in the vignettes.

Phase II involved interviews with four undergraduate students who participated in the Phase I surveys. Participants were asked to describe their bullying and hazing experiences, including the dynamic relationships and events that impacted the bullying and hazing incident(s). Qualitative responses were analyzed using constant comparison and domain analysis, and subsequently connected to quantitative data in MAXQDA. Participants' interviews reflected several of the study variables of moral disengagement, need to belong, acceptability of hazing, and defining hazing on a continuum of mild to severe hazing. This study further expands on bullying and hazing research and supports the use of explanatory mixed-methods designs as a robust methodology for understanding social-ecological, social learning, and personality factors that underlie bullying and hazing.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The etiology and effects of school violence have been studied extensively. In academic outlets, researchers have explored child and adolescent aggression and victimization, with a particular emphasis on bullying as a subset of these behaviors (American Educational Research Association, 2013; Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000; Griffin & Gross, 2004). Bullying arises from complex and bi-directional social interactions occurring within the individual, family, school, educational, and community contexts (Bradshaw & Johnson, 2011; Gladden, Vivolo-Kantor, Hamburger, & Lumpkin, 2014). Research has further determined that bullying also occurs outside and beyond traditional elementary or high school walls (Monks et al., 2009; Strabstein & Merrick, 2012) and can affect older adolescents and young adults in college (Rospenda, Richman, Wolff, & Burke, 2013; Chappell et al., 2004). During this unique developmental period, organizational violence may also occur through the mechanism of university hazing.

One of the most accepted definitions of hazing comes from Campo, Poulous, and Sipple (2005) and asserts that hazing consists of “any activity, required implicitly or explicitly as a condition of initiation or continued membership in an organization, that may negatively impact physical or psychological well-being of the individual or may cause damage to others or public or private property” (p. 137). Hoover (1999) further stresses that hazing still exists even if participants are willing to engage in the behaviors and involves “humiliation degradation, abuse, or endangerment, regardless of the person’s willingness to participate” (p. 8). The extant research on identifying and defining hazing indicates that students’ identification of hazing varies by gender (e.g.,

females more likely to identify behaviors as hazing than males) and by student organization (e.g., sororities more likely to identify behaviors as hazing than athletic or ROTC organizations; Ellsworth, 2006).

In both the bullying and hazing spheres, high-profile incidents of severe physical violence and death (Burgess, Gabarino, & Carlson, 2006; Finley & Finley, 2007; Kimmel & Mahler, 2003; Srabstein, 2008) have resulted in increased media speculation regarding motivations for these behaviors. However, the bullying domain has been more successful in focusing international public health (Anthony, Wessler, & Sabian, 2010; Feder, 2007) and research efforts (McCreary, 2013) on the topic. Understanding bullying perpetration and victimization through both a theoretical and methodological lens will be essential in determining how these experiences may evolve to support hazing beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors.

Despite the heterogeneity in presentation and setting, the most ubiquitous definition of bullying has been framed as an a) intentional, b) aggressive act involving a power imbalance between the bully and the victim, and c) occurring across time in a repetitive fashion (Olweus, 1994). Examples of bullying behaviors include physical (e.g., hitting, pushing), verbal (e.g., name calling), and relational (e.g., spreading rumors, exclusion). Bullying can also occur through electronic means via the internet, phones, and other forms of social media (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009). Although numerous attempts have been made to delineate bullying roles (i.e., bully, victim, bully-victim, bystander), the fluid and inter-correlated nature of these roles has been emphasized (Crapanzano, Frick, Childs, & Terranova, 2011; Levy et al., 2012). Bullying

and victimization are not necessarily opposing behaviors (Haynie et al., 2001) and likely occur on a bully/victim continuum (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Espelage & Holt, 2007).

Recently, two large-scale studies that examined the prevalence of bullying victimization among youth over the last 12 months reported similar prevalence rates of 26% (Schneider, O'Donnell, Stueve, & Coulter., 2012) and 28% (Robers, Kemp, & Truman, 2013), respectively. There is a paucity of research examining bullying at the collegiate level, although the extant literature has reported similar prevalence rates (e.g., roughly 24% of students reporting bullying behaviors and 20% reporting victimization; Pontzer, 2010) compared to studies of bullying among school-age and high school youth.

Empirical research in these domains also support the continuity of bullying involvement over time (Chappell, 2004, 2006; Pontzer, 2010) and the trajectory from school-aged bullying to involvement in bullying at the collegiate level (Chappell, 2006). Far less empirical attention has been devoted to hazing although studies suggest that the prevalence of hazing participation is approximately 35% (Campo et al., 2005; Owen, Burke, & Vichesky, 2008), with significant variability occurring by gender and student organization. Although hazing occurs in a variety of student organizations, research has reported that certain students are more likely to be involved in hazing, including student athletes, fraternity members, males, and upperclassmen (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005; Hoover, 1999; Owen et al., 2008)

In addition to future involvement in bullying, social-emotional and behavioral consequences associated with participation in the bully/victim continuum are vast and pervasive. A wealth of research conducted by psychological, medical, political, and legal

researchers has consistently shown that elevated rates of bullying involvement are associated with experiencing elevated physical and psychological symptomatology and adverse behaviors (Due et al., 2005). Outcomes for bullies include deteriorations in academic performance and school attachment (Schneider et al., 2012), sexual harassment perpetration (Basile, Espelage, Rivers, McMahon, & Simon, 2009; Espelage, Basile, & Hamburger, 2012), poorer school adjustment and negative perceptions of school climate (Nansel, Haynie, & Simons-Morton, 2003), substance use (Haynie et al., 2001).

In turn, endorsing victim or bully-victim status has been correlated with negative outcomes, as well. Specifically, studies have found that depression (Espelage, Low, & DeLaRue, 2012; Schwartz, 2000), suicidal ideation (Bannink, Broeren, van de Looij-Jansen, de Waart, & Raat, 2014), suicide attempts (Klomek et al., 2010), anxiety (Espelage & Holt, 2007; Swearer, Song, Cary, Eagle, & Mickleson, 2001), and school avoidance (Berkowitz & Benbenishty, 2012) are all associated with identifying as a victim or a bully-victim. Multiple studies also contend that bully-victims show the most severe psychological impairment (Espelage & Holt, 2007; Haynie et al., 2001; Swearer et al., 2001). Still, bullying and hazing perpetration and/or victimization represent more complex and multifaceted concepts than just correlates of violence and suicide. Focusing on these outcomes in isolation inhibits quantitative and qualitative analysis of the social-ecology that enables aggression.

Just as the literature has posited that bullying occurs as a component within the broader frame of aggression, bullying is also related to and converges with other bias-based forms of harassment, including sexism, racism, heterosexism, among others

(Espleage & Swearer, 2008; Levy et al., 2012). Scholarship in the bullying area has reported that youth belonging to marginalized groups (e.g., youth identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer/questioning orientation) endorse higher rates of victimization (Levy et al., 2012), and often more severe psychological consequences associated with victimization (e.g., depression, anxiety, stress, trauma; Rivers, 2004; Swearer, Turner, Givens, & Pollack, 2008).

The Relationship between Bullying and Hazing

Even though the elements of repetition and power imbalance have been central to the definition and examination of bullying for decades, The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in partnership with the U.S. Department of Education recently presented a modified definition of bullying. In this revised definition, the power imbalance between the aggressor and victim may be observed or perceived. In addition, the aggressive behavior may have been repeated or is “highly likely to be repeated” (Gladden et al., 2014, p. 7). Broadening the definition begins signals that diverse forms of victimization (e.g., familial victimization, sexual assault/dating victimization, hazing victimization) that do not conform to Olweus’ more conservative definition still warrant data collection, analysis, and intervention (Espleage, Low et al., 2012; Gladden et al., 2014).

Similarly, Finkelhor, Turner, and Hamby (2012) have suggested that the research and clinical attention should be expanded from solely bullying prevention in favor of more comprehensive peer victimization prevention. These researchers advocate that strictly measuring bullying according to a more stringent definition excludes serious acts of peer aggression and victimization that are not repetitive (e.g., many serious, but

isolated hazing events) or involve a power imbalance. Therefore, approaching behaviors from the broader scope of peer victimization allows researchers to examine hazing incidents in conjunction with bullying behaviors. The exploration of hazing as another form of bullying is especially useful as prevalence rates of hazing are equal to or higher than that of bullying (Owen et al., 2008; Pershing, 2006).

There are several core differences between bullying and hazing. In their study of bullying and hazing in the military, Ostvik and Rudmin (2001) offered several ways to differentiate between bullying and hazing perpetration, including a) hazing is often harassment by an older cohort in a group against a newcomer cohort, while bullying can occur between any combination of isolated individuals or groups, b) hazing often ends after initiation practices are complete, while bullying occurs indefinitely, and c) hazing aims to increase solidarity and victims often become members of the group that perpetrated hazing, while victims of bullying usually remain outliers. Still, bullying and hazing possess similar features in that most acts are harmful and there is a presence of a power imbalance. Hazing can be considered a form of group bullying (Allan & Madden, 2013), but unlike bullying hazing does not presuppose malicious intent and can occur in attempts to promote group unity and cohesion. This suggests that some theories that apply to bullying behaviors may also be relevant to hazing, particularly those that emphasize the role of the peer ecology, social learning, and personality (i.e., the need to belong) approaches. There are several points of intersection as all of these theories are relevant to both bullying and hazing and also highlight the juxtaposition of an individual within the group.

Theoretical Influences

Theories of bullying behaviors have been shaped by risk and protective models (Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, & Sadek, 2010; Hemphill et al., 2009) originating in public health research. Over time, explanations for bullying involvement have evolved with the social ecological framework as one of the most frequently cited (Espelage & DeLaRue, 2011; Gladden et al., 2014; Swearer & Doll, 2001; Swearer & Espelage, 2003) and validated theoretical models. Adapted from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) seminal work on the ecological systems of human development, bullying and aggression result from the reciprocal and compound effects of nested individual factors (e.g., personality and biological), relationship factors (e.g., in particular the peer group and peer networks), community factors (e.g., neighborhood or local setting influences), and societal factors (e.g., broader cultural values; Basile et al., 2009). Just as bullying has been described as a group phenomenon with multiple individuals comprising roles that preserve or prevent bullying (Salmivalli, 2010; Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010), it is also believed that hazing operates within a group context.

At the peer or microsystemic level, research posits that hazing functions to preserve groupthink and in-group attitudes (Keating et al., 2005), while some researchers have dubbed the phenomenon "greekthink" (Perkins, Zimmerman, & Janosik, 2011), despite hazing occurring across campus groups (Allan & Madden, 2012; Owen et al., 2008). The implications of broader societal norms at the macrosystem-level regarding gender and sexual orientation have also been examined in conjunction with bullying

(Espelage & Swearer, 2008; Steinfeldt, Vaughn, LaFollette, & Steinfeldt, 2012) and hazing (Allan, 2003; Finley & Finley, 2007).

Social learning paradigms (Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000; Powell & Ladd, 2010; Shafer & Silverman, 2013) and personality/motivation orientations (DeBolle & Tackett, 2013; Olthof & Goosens, 2008) have additionally been used to explain bullying.

Social learning theory proposes that as children and adolescents observe aggressive stimuli (i.e. models), they incorporate aggressive behaviors into their skill sets for future use (Bandura, 1978; McElreath, Wallin, & Fasolo, 2012). When children view aggressive models, modeling may also serve as a catalyst for the formulation of new or extended aggressive acts (Akers & Jennings, 2009; American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 2010; Bandura, 1978).

Likewise, social learning theory posits that early experiences of violence contribute to the rationalization and internalization of norms that impact not only violence perpetration, but also victimization. Bandura (1978) additionally maintained that most people behave aggressively by using methods that reduce culpability or diffuse responsibility in some way (i.e., moral disengagement). Numerous studies have advocated for the role of moral disengagement, especially high levels of moral disengagement, in the development and maintenance of bullying behaviors (Gini, 2006; Gini, Pozzoli, & Hymel, 2013; Hymel, Schonert-Reichel, Bonanno, Vaillancourt, & Rocke Henderson, 2010; Pozzoli, Gini, & Vieno, 2012).

Regarding hazing, there is evidence that specialized training, or modeling, on how to haze younger recruits or pledges also facilitates acts of hazing as well as bullying

(Ostvik & Rudmin, 2001) through a cyclical process, especially in Greek organizations and athletics. Coupling social learning and ecological systems theory, students involved in clubs or groups are highly influenced by those most closely surrounding them, namely other peers in the group. Campo and associates (2005) reported that students were more likely to hold pro-hazing attitudes and demonstrate hazing behaviors if their friends approved of hazing (i.e., hazing supportive attitudes are modeled by peers and/or friends). These findings provide support for not only social-ecological and social learning principles in the iterative process of hazing, but also underscore the salient impact of social norms (Berkowitz, 2003; Waldron, 2012). In groups with social norms supporting hazing, students who are victims of hazing one year, likely view retaliation on new recruits as justified, demonstrating implications for errors in cognition and moral reasoning (e.g., moral disengagement).

The concepts of social learning and moral disengagement are applicable to hazing research, since students often endorse behaviors characteristic of hazing perpetration, but do not label these behaviors as constituting hazing (Allan & Madden, 2012; Campo et al., 2005; Hoover & Pollard, 2000) or especially dangerous (Gershel, Katz-Sidlow, Small, & Zandieh, 2003). In contrast to conceptualizing aggression as resulting from emotion dysregulation (Robertson, Daffern, & Bucks, 2012; Roll, Koglin, & Petermann, 2012), Bandura (1978) maintained that violent activities do not result from reduced self-control or impulse, but rather by deliberately justifying destructive behaviors. Through these links, extensive exposure or involvement in bullying, as well as high levels of moral disengagement, may be connected to students' attitudes towards hazing.

In the areas of personality and social psychology, anti-social behaviors (e.g., aggression, poor emotional control) have resulted from an unfulfilled psychological need, the need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Olthof & Goosens, 2008; Ronen, Abuelaish, Rosenbaum, Agbaria, & Hamama, 2013; Litt, Stock, & Lewis, 2012). The “belonging hypothesis” suggests that “human beings have a pervasive drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 497). Leading theorists have argued that the need to belong is a fundamental motivation for human behavior (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Baumeister, Brewer, Tice, & Twenge, 2007), as well as one of the primary motivations for the need for power (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Research investigating the instrumental functions of aggression and bullying (Hawley, Little, & Rodkin, 2007) has found that these behaviors may function to achieve social status, access to goods, and social attention in peer groups (Sijtesma, Ojanen, Veenstra, Lindenberg, Hawley, & Little, 2010; Hawley, Little, & Card, 2007), particularly when the groups are not only hostile and coercive, but also prosocial (Hawley et al., 2007). Moreover, involvement in bullying has been found to be correlated with adolescents’ desire for acceptance and belonging with other aggressive peers (Olthof & Goosens, 2008).

Experiencing social exclusion, rejection, or victimization may increase an individual’s need for affiliation (Baumeister et al., 2007; DeWall, Baumeister, & Vohs, 2008). As the need to belong is frustrated, increased aggression or hazing may emerge, with the need to belong overriding dissonant cognitions associated with hazing (Baumeister et al., 2007; Keating et al., 2005). Thus, aggression and hazing are likely

justified and used as a means to obtain and secure belonging by newcomers, particularly in a group of peers who practice bullying and hazing. Once the needs have been met and individuals are deeply enmeshed within peer groups, this drive should diminish (Mellor, Stokes, Firth, Hayashi, & Cummins, 2008). As individuals become integrated, they perpetrate hazing on more vulnerable individuals who have a stronger desire to belong with the group. Older group members continue to rationalize their behaviors as they become more systemically entrenched. Although students with higher desires for belonging are more perceptive of social cues (Pickett, Gardner, & Knowles, 2004), reasoning and interpretation of aggressive behaviors may still be problematic (Carvallo & Pelham, 2006; Ronen et al., 2013). Despite increased awareness of environmental cues, individuals who are high in needing to belong are more likely to conform to others' attitudes and behaviors around them (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Therefore, students possessing a higher need to belong may still be less likely to identify aggressive acts as bullying/hazing and intervene accordingly.

The Current Study

The purpose of the present study is to identify predictors and processes that influence hazing perceptions among college students through the use of a mixed methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011) that incorporates both quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews. Mixed methods research is becoming more prevalent within the bullying literature, as well as within school psychology more broadly (Powell, Mihalas, Onwuegbuzie, Suldo, & Daley, 2008). While hazing research has sometimes included both quantitative and qualitative approaches (e.g., Allan & Madden, 2008; Pershing,

2006), these studies are rarely approached from a mixed methods standpoint and often include both phases of data without a contextual history and theoretical rationale.

Specifically, previous involvement in bullying as both a perpetrator and victim, moral disengagement, and a need to belong will be used as predictor variables in the quantitative phase (Phase I). Participants in Phase I included undergraduate students enrolled in psychology courses at the university. Participants completed quantitative survey data through the Psychology Research Participation System in conjunction with Qualtrics Survey Software. The aim of Phase I as to identify predictors that impact students' acceptability of hypothetical hazing behaviors, ability to define hypothetical behaviors as hazing, and willingness to intervene in hypothetical hazing behaviors (dependent variables).

Subsequently, in-depth qualitative interviews served to explain and validate the quantitative results, as well as note participants' constructed perceptual, linguistic, and symbolic meanings of hazing. In this exploratory follow-up, four participants were interviewed regarding the circumstances of a hazing event they experienced or witnessed. Students were also encouraged to provide their own perspectives on motivations and justifications for hazing. Thus, a mixed methods explanatory sequential design was employed to determine how college students' perspectives of their hazing experiences (qualitative) support survey responses regarding previous bullying involvement, moral disengagement, a need to belong, and hazing perceptions (quantitative).

The following chapter will present a definition and description of social ecological and social learning theory, as well as the belongingness hypothesis. The

chapter will also include a brief background on the prevalence and roles of bullying and hazing. These theoretical and research foundations provide the rationale to also discuss the variables of prior bullying experiences, moral disengagement, a need to belong, and hazing perceptions. Each theory and variable will be reviewed first as it relates to bullying, and then hazing. Sections on the independent and dependent variables in this study will also include findings related to gender differences for each variable. The chapter will continue with a brief review of mixed methods research paradigms and previous mixed methods studies of bullying and hazing. This chapter will close with research questions and hypotheses.

This study will enhance the systematic mixed methods research on hazing by detailing mixed methods components, such as priority, timing, mixing, and level of interaction (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Further, the study hopes to generate beneficial intervention and policy implications for the field of psychology, education, sociology, mixed methods, law, and adolescent health. The present study will also bolster the understanding of bullying and hazing through the application of mixed methods, as well as social-ecological and social learning paradigms. Theoretical implications from personality and social norms research will also be integrated.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Theoretical models used to explain bullying and hazing behaviors must recognize that various types of bullying and hazing exist (e.g., verbal, physical, relational, electronic) but also that bullying is a group phenomenon (Gini, 2006; Pepler & Craig, 2009; Salmivalli, 2010; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004) anchored in social relationships and operating under social mechanisms. Just as bullying occurs in groups in which bullies are often supported by other group members, (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996) the group context of hazing also aids in perpetuating aggression. The following sections detail theoretical advances in explaining dynamic group processes that catalyze and perpetuate bullying and hazing.

Social Ecological Model

According to the social-ecological paradigm, aggression is viewed as resulting from multiple processes and layers of influence and encouragement across Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological system. Moreover, the social-ecological model allows for the consideration of aggression as a group process with active and passive participation of individuals within and across social groups (Orpinas & Horne, 2006). This includes family members, teachers, and peers, as well as the broader school climate that promotes bullying (Espelage & DeLaRue, 2011).

Social ecological context of bullying. Bronfenbrenner (1979) hypothesized that individuals' social ecology is composed of a "set of nested structures," which include the child and/or adolescent, the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. Children are the center of the model, simultaneously influencing and being influenced by

each ecological system. The microsystem is composed of the child's interpersonal and direct interactions and activities with parents, peers, and teachers. Microsystems that may foster bullying behaviors include authoritarian parenting, aggression at the hands of caregivers, peer acceptance, and peer power dynamics. The mesosystem includes connections between two or more microsystems (e.g., communication between parents and teachers), while the exosystem is comprised of social settings that influence the child, yet he or she is not actively involved in these settings.

The mesosystem and exosystem have been less frequently used to explain bullying behaviors and will not be described extensively here. The child's macrosystem includes more global concepts of cultural beliefs and societal norms (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989). Examples of macrosystem elements that might be correlated with bullying include neighborhood aggression and violence and individualistic cultural attitudes (Lee, 2012).

Empirical investigations have shown bullying may exert a negative impact on the broader social ecology rather than the just on the bully-victim dyad (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). As bullying roles are dynamic and complex, broadening research and intervention to include other student roles and experiences is critical (Orpinas & Horne, 2006). A seminal observation study conducted by Pepler and Craig (1995) found that peers were involved or engaged in approximately 85% of bullying episodes. In another study, Rivers, Poteat, Noret, and Ashurst (2009) found that students who witnessed bullying experienced negative mental health outcomes (e.g., anxiety, substance use) over and above those students who were bullies or victims and regardless if the bystanders had

also been victimized. In addition to fearing their own victimization, elevated levels of anxiety in bystanders may also be the result of cognitive dissonance between wanting to intervene; however, not ultimately acting on those intentions (Craig & Pepler, 1997; Rivers et al., 2009).

Further demonstrating the saliency of the peer group influence on bullying, Salmivalli and Voeten (2004) found that group normative attitudes explained significant variance in bullying situations. In a meta-analysis of 12 school-based bullying programs, Polanin, Espelage, and Pigott (2012) found that bullying intervention programs that focus specifically on bystanders increased the rates of peer intervention, particularly for high school youth. These programs may also address group norms that play a role in interventions for bullying (e.g., *Second Step*; Committee for Children, 2011). Thus, not only does bullying exert social-emotional effects on the more distal social ecology, the social-ecological model also underscores the need for intervention programming across the bully/victim continuum.

Considering the broader qualities an individual's macrosystem, aggression can also be observed or acquired through a subculture or community in which aggression is a primary means to address conflict. Exposure to violence in one's community has been linked to aggressive behaviors, peer victimization, social withdrawal, and information processing deficits (e.g., hostile attribution biases) (Schwartz & Proctor, 2000). Thus, violence in the environment influences individual's cognitive mechanisms, as well as behavioral responses; although the exact direction of this relationship remains undetermined. In addition, the media provides countless opportunities for aggression to

be modeled through music and television (Bandura, 1978; Jennings, Park, Tomisch, Gover, & Akers 2011). Since the advent of Bronfenbrenner's original theories, the internet grown rapidly, increasing communication and connectivity, but also allowing unfiltered access to potential cyberbullying and negative internet experiences (Ybarra, Boyd, Korchmaros, & Oppenheim, 2012; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004).

Social ecological context of hazing. The social-ecological model also lends itself to discussing hazing behaviors, although social-ecological models have seldom been applied explicitly to hazing in academic studies. The social-ecological model can also be used to advocate for communication across campus systems (e.g., Greek Life, Alcohol Abuse and Prevention, Judicial Affairs) to develop a social-ecological anti-hazing policy that embeds relevant social-ecological variables (Nicoletti, Spencer-Thomas, & Bollinger, 2001) rather than only individualized punishments which are not likely to curb aggression (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). The social-ecological model has also been used in hazing prevention workshops to counter social norms (i.e., microsystemic elements) associated with hazing (e.g., hazing builds unity) by generating alternative attitudes that still preserve group unity ("Hazing Prevention Workshop," 2013).

In an academic sense, the social-ecological model is most relevant when considering social norms and groupthink influences on hazing behaviors. Owen and colleagues (2008) claim that individuals understand their hazing experiences through "organizational sensemaking" (p. 52). This concept was detailed earlier by Weick (1995) and involves individuals to craft meanings of their experiences through group norms and their social interactions. Although these inferences may be tentative and inaccurate, they

reflect reality for individuals highly immersed in social groups and group norms. It also seems intuitive that organizational sensemaking of hazing and aggression highly coincides with moral disengagement methods of justifying these acts, supporting hazing, and reducing dissonance (Owen et al., 2008). In a linear sense, groupthink theory maintains that group dynamics serve as a barrier in effective and healthy decision making (Janis, 1982). According to Owen and colleagues (2008), organizations that support hazing may experience the “illusion of vulnerability” (Janis, 1982, p. 35) as they more likely than non-hazing supporters to believe that hazing is tradition, hazing interventions are ineffective, and hazing cannot be eradicated. Janis (1982) also proposed that faults of the group, including impartial leadership, isolation from outside experts, homogenous backgrounds, and low self-esteem may multiply the effects of groupthink. Many of these microsystemic factors are potentially present in exclusive university clubs, groups, and campuses (Campo et al., 2005; Perkins et al., 2011; Shaw & Morgan, 1990).

Ultimately, factors from both the social-ecological micro-and macro-systems are relevant when explaining and contextualizing bullying and hazing. Communication within and between the micro (i.e., interactions between club members) and macro (i.e., university and legislative policies and procedures) systems is crucial in ensuring that students are aware of bullying and hazing policies, as well as creating interventions and plans that are informed by student perspective and experience. Research on the social ecological model provides a framework for this study in that social interactions, particularly students’ previous bullying experiences, may influence students’ current hazing perceptions and hazing behaviors

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory is one of the most supported theories involving adolescent risk behaviors (Foshee et al., 2011; Jennings, Park, Tomisch, Gover, & Akers, 2011) and has been deemed one of the “core” theories of criminal justice (Akers & Jennings, 2009), delinquency, and bullying (Powell & Ladd, 2010). Pioneered by social and personality psychologist, Albert Bandura, he asserted “People are not born with performed repertoires of aggressive behavior, they must learn them” (Bandura, 1978, p. 14). In essence, the environment (e.g., family, school, and peer group) plays a critical role in the origin, development and sustainability of behavior (Powell, & Ladd, 2010).

Social learning and bullying It is possible that considering social learning within the peer context (e.g., witnessing violence among friends or peers at school) often produces a stronger relationship between social learning and subsequent violence perpetration. This is an especially important consideration given the link between associating with delinquent peers (e.g., adopting the behavior or attitudes of delinquent peers in one’s group) and one’s own delinquent behavior (Akers & Jennings, 2009; Haynie, 2002), as well as peers’ support in bullying processes (O’Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999). In a study investigating if bullying and victimization were the result of learned conflict resolution tactics via family, peers, or the media, findings confirmed that peers played a significant role in sustaining aggression over and above the family or media influences (Wilson, Parry, Nettlebeck, & Bell, 2003).

Although family members are crucial models for children in early stages of development, the peer group (i.e. peers whom the adolescent perceives are similar to him

or her) begins to play a more critical role in the development of deviance and aggressive behaviors as students age (Reyes-Jaquez & Echols, 2013). Another study conducted by Foshee and colleagues (2011) reported that high school students with risk factors consistent with social learning theory (i.e. family aggression, friends using peer violence, friends using dating violence, and deviant behavior modeled in the home and the community) were more likely to perpetrate both peer and dating violence themselves. Family and peer influences are not mutually exclusive (Akers & Jennings, 2009); however, since family members may have a voice in choosing the peer group, or more distally, the child's school or activities that he or she participates in, which influences peer group structure. Thus, bullying and hazing primarily operate within a peer context and are maintained by peer influences.

Social learning and hazing. Social learning has been applied more frequently to explain bullying rather than hazing behaviors. Students who have been exposed to modeling of aggression at home or in their community have difficulties limiting aggression in school or other environments where aggressive behaviors are not tolerated. Even if aggression is punished and more prosocial responses are being taught at school, continued reinforcement in an extracurricular club, helps to maintain the behavior (Bandura, 1978). Social network research has argued that associating with at least one delinquent peer increases an adolescent's risk for delinquency, even after controlling for prior acts of delinquency (Haynie, 2002). However, the causal mechanisms which lead to delinquent acts are unclear in that transmission of deviant attitudes across peers, as well as engaging in deviant behavior in a group may dually be responsible for individual

delinquency. Despite the remaining questions, these findings suggest target areas for collegiate and community-based prevention programming that may be more malleable than family and context factors.

In line with social learning theory, those who have previously experienced hazing often become perpetrators of hazing in later instances (Owen et al., 2008). In a study of hazing within the Nebraska State College System, Geisert (2011) found that 70% of students involved in athletics had experienced hazing and then subsequently hazed others. Drawing from social learning and social cognitive theories, Hamilton (2011) reported that the most robust predictor of perpetrating hazing was experiencing hazing previously as a recruit or rookie. This facet of hazing highlights the salient effects of previous hazing involvement and the cyclic process of hazing behaviors.

In a multi-site study of hazing behaviors, approximately 25% of students indicated that they had experienced hazing in public or in a public place. Secondly, many students conveyed that posts and pictures on the internet were often shared or displayed publicly that depicted hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008). Public hazing displays, both in-person and online, expand the audience that is exposed to hazing behaviors and the resulting number of individuals that may develop hazing related attitudes through social learning and desensitization.

Social learning theory is a critical theoretical model that can be used to emphasize the role of modeling on aggression, as well as bullying and hazing specifically. Hazing particularly is designed so that individuals being hazed eventually become social models that expose newcomers to hazing behaviors. This study hopes to understand the specific

social learning mechanisms and variables (e.g., moral disengagement) whereby which hazing is perpetuated.

Belonging Hypothesis

Since the belonging hypothesis (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) was developed decades after the social-ecological and social learning frameworks, there is less theoretical and empirical work in this area, as well as less scholarship connecting a need to belong to bullying or hazing behaviors. In their seminal article published in the American Psychological Association's *Psychological Bulletin*, Baumeister and Leary (1995) maintained that individuals with a high need to belong are constantly observing and weighing their own relational value in comparison with their respective group. If the individual's value is perceived as declining, excessive means may be used to bolster their perceived value. For example, in a recent moderation analysis of students' need to belong and alcohol use, Litt and colleagues (2012) reported that greater perceived alcohol use by friends predicted more supportive attitudes of alcohol users and an elevated willingness to use alcohol. The association between friends' perceived alcohol use and distorted cognitions was stronger for students with elevated need to belong scores. These findings emphasize risky behaviors may result as students detect that their value has lowered and, correspondingly, their need to belong rises. Although hazing has been cited in the media and public domain as occurring to facilitate belonging and solidarity (Allan & Madden, 2008; Nuwer, 1999), this study specifically aimed to investigate the relationship between one's need for belonging and hazing perceptions in an empirical examination.

This dissertation study incorporated social-ecological, social learning, and belongingness concepts, by highlighting that the connections described in the other two theoretical models (i.e., social-ecological and social-learning) are more robust for students with a higher desire to belong. Even though research in the belongingness area is in its infancy compared to the other two theoretical frameworks, belonging greatly influences and facilitates the strength of the other two models in understanding bullying and hazing.

Prevalence of Bullying and Hazing.

A comprehensive compendium of bullying, victimization, and bystander assessment tools was published by the Centers for Disease Control in 2011. This compendium, as well as complementary research (Swearer et al., 2010) has noted numerous issues to consider when measuring the prevalence of these behavioral constellations. Prevalence rates of bullying and victimization vary depending on the time frame (e.g., over the last week, last month, last year), sample surveyed, the definition of bullying used (Schneider et al., 2012), or the reporting format (e.g., self, peer, or teacher; Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, & Schreindorfer, 2013). Some research studies rely on surveys with an included definition of bullying (similar to that provided by Olweus), while others only present respondents with questions related to the frequency of specific behaviors, such as pushing, spreading rumors (Furlong, Sharkey, Felix, Tanigawa, & Green, 2010; Hamburger, Basile, & Vivolo, 2011).

In particular, when using the behavioral frequency approach, researchers have struggled assess the power imbalance element of bullying and victimization (Finkelhor et

al., 2012; Furlong et al., 2010) This variation contributes to difficulties comparing rates across studies (Hamburger et al., 2011) and across other forms of aggressive behaviors (e.g., hazing). However, the variance in methodology found in the literature allows for those researching emotionally loaded forms of victimization, such as hazing, to customize research methodology that might lead to more improved and accurate responding.

Although bullying may be less visible and less identifiable than other adolescent health concerns (American Educational Research Association, 2013), determining prevalence rates and definitional components ultimately serves to better inform interventions for youth and young adults. For example, an international survey of youth in 28 countries found that the percentage of students experiencing victimization was heterogeneous, ranging from 6% (Sweden) to 41% (Lithuania; Due et al., 2005). In the most frequently cited study examining the prevalence of bullying among over 15,000 middle and high school students, students were categorized into bullying roles derived from self-report data. A total 13% of individuals were categorized as bullies, 11% were considered as victims, and 6% were categorized as bully-victims (Nansel et al., 2001). A later investigation by the same research group reported similar rates with 17% (677 students) reporting bullying someone at least two or three times during the past school year. Approximately 14% (558 students) endorsed victimization once or twice during the past year. Half of the students who endorsed bullying perpetration also reported victimization (i.e., bully-victims; Haynie et al., 2003).

A more recent study found similar prevalence rates for cyberbullying (i.e., 18%) among U.S. high school youth, yet reported that 40% of youth reported verbal bullying. In particular, youth indicated that name-calling and being teased were frequent forms of victimization (Gan, 2014). Similarly, one of the largest prevalence studies conducted of over 43,000 high school students by the Josephson Institute also found that nearly 47% of students reported victimization over the last year, and 50% of youth indicated bullying others in the past year (Josephson Institute of Ethics, 2010). Therefore, more recent studies highlight the elevated prevalence of bullying and victimization, particularly when examining prevalence of these behaviors annually.

In general, survey instruments that measure hazing are also scarce, as well as measures assessing overall educational climate for college students, contributing to significant variation among studies documenting the frequency of hazing. Prevalence rates of hazing range from approximately 70% of students endorsing experiencing hazing in verbal and psychological forms (e.g., yelling, forced to memorize trivial information; Geisert, 2011; Pershing, 2006) to less than 3% of students experiencing physical forms (e.g., being tied up or restrained; Pershing, 2006). The U.S. Naval Academy was the setting for Pershing's (2006) analysis, while Geisert (2011) examined hazing exclusively in college athletics. Hazing may be more prevalent in these settings to prepare students for the physical pain or injury that they are likely to endure in these roles (Ruffins, 1998). Although Gershel and colleagues only sampled athletes, they reported a much lower prevalence of hazing (i.e., 17%) as the study only included junior high and high school students. Therefore, hazing may be a developmental phenomenon that is more likely to

occur as students seek entry into collegiate organizations. Synthesized together, these findings highlight the ubiquitous nature of hazing, yet also affirm that the prevalence of hazing may be higher among certain demographic groups and older students.

Although the current study did not assess school climate directly, school climate is considered an important variable in determining the environmental conditions that contribute to and permit bullying and aggression (Swearer et al., 2010). In the last year, both the U.S. federal government (The Office of the Vice President and the White House Council on Women and Girls, 2014) and institutes of higher education have campaigned against the dangers of sexual assault on university campuses. Specifically, the Justice Department has urged universities to increase the use of campus climate surveys and is in the process of creating a toolkit to pilot and support the use of campus climate surveys across the nation. Given that as many as 95% of students who are hazed do not report these behaviors (Allan & Madden, 2008), climate surveys may also be a more effective method of obtaining data regarding hazing practices.

Despite national concerns with sexual violence and hazing, organizations (e.g., CDC, National Center for Education Statistics, National Institute of Mental Health) rarely, if ever, collect or include data related specifically to student hazing on college campuses, despite the high percentage of students reporting hazing involvement (Allan & Madden, 2008; Hoover, 1999; Hoover & Pollard, 2000) and the known negative consequences associated with hazing (Campo et al., 2005; Hoover & Pollard, 2000; Keating et al., 2005). The research consensus is that hazing is widely underreported. For instance, one large-scale study found that 55% of college students endorsed experiencing

hazing, but 91% of those students did not feel that the behaviors met the criteria for hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008). This discrepancy may be the result of several factors, such as previous involvement in bullying and hazing, moral disengagement (e.g., blaming students, choosing to participate in hazing, hazing builds team unity or cohesion, etc.), and a high need to belong that may impair cognitive processing (Carvallo & Pickett, 2006).

The current study did not directly assess the prevalence of hazing on campus due to the extremely low prevalence rates obtained in the pilot study (1% identified as perpetrators, 1.3% identified as victims; Strawhun, Swearer, Hoetger, & Brank, 2014). However, the difficulty in assessing and measuring hazing prevalence did assist in generating variables that contribute to hazing maintenance, including previous bullying experiences, elevations in moral disengagement, and increased belonging needs.

Bullying and Hazing Roles

The literature has made an effort to differentiate between bully and bully-victim roles due to the differing motivational and psychological processes unique to each role. Although the topography of the behaviors may appear similar, youth who bully tend to display controlled, goal-oriented, and planned aggression, while bully-victims demonstrate impulsive aggression characterized by poor emotional and behavioral regulation (Schwartz, 2000). Given the increased risk for negative psychological outcomes for bully-victims (Cook et al., 2010; Nansel et al., 2003; Nansel et al., 2001; Swearer et al., 2001), it is possible that bully-victims may also experience multiple forms of victimization outside of the educational context (i.e., in family, dating, or extra-

curricular settings; Espelage & Holt, 2007). Youth who exhibit bullying behaviors and who have been victimized are also likely to be rejected by peers (Schwartz, 2000), suggesting that this group may be especially driven to achieve social acceptance and/or experience belonging within a peer group.

Media sources have also helped perpetuate the myth that hazing is only a problem for athletic, military, and Greek life groups (Campo et al., 2005), despite the fact that hazing has been found to occur ubiquitously across campus groups (Allan & Madden, 2008, 2012) and across roles (i.e., a hazing perpetrator may also have been a hazing victim; Hamilton, 2011; Ostvik & Rudmin, 2001). Meanwhile, hazing laws and policies serve to protect students against hazing behaviors, although their enforcement is plagued by many of the same factors that thwart research (e.g., secrecy, traditions, various definitions). Thirty-nine state legislatures have addressed the dangers of hazing through the enactment of specific anti-hazing legislation; however, these policies and their enforcement are characterized by heterogeneity between states (Chamberlain, 2014) and universities (Geisert, 2011). In some states, only physical hazing is prohibited, while other states' legislation encompasses both physical and psychological hazing. Despite the surge in legal ramifications, the effectiveness of these statutes remains unknown. Ultimately, legal policy without consideration and engagement of students' attitudes about hazing remains ineffective (Chamberlain, 2014).

Hazing roles may be difficult to assess, and the fluid nature of hazing roles across years may help to maintain these behaviors (i.e., hazing victim eventually becomes hazing perpetrator over time). Since hazing functions to preserve team roles, individuals

may haze others based on their previous bullying experiences, social learning models, and need for belonging in order to obtain the role of the hazing perpetrator. In other words, hazing behaviors can be explained by these theoretical models, as well as students' desire to obtain a role of status and power within the group.

Theoretical models rooted in psychology and sociology have been extensively examined and applied to bullying behaviors, yet far less frequently used to dissect and examine hazing. This study extended the research on social-ecological, social learning, and belongingness theory as they relate to bullying and investigated their appropriateness in understanding hazing. In order to employ these theories, key constructs from the literature on each of the three theoretical models were chosen for inclusion as independent variables in this study. These variables (i.e., previous bullying experiences, moral disengagement, and need to belong) were also selected to make sense of hazing in light of the difficulty to identify precise hazing prevalence rates and hazing roles.

Independent Variables

In this section, independent variables of bullying perpetration and victimization, moral disengagement, and a need to belong will be defined and elaborated. Each section also includes consideration of gender differences in constructs.

Bullying perpetration and victimization. Importantly, bullying among youth has also been connected with later expressions of delinquency, law violations, psychiatric disorders, and court contact in adulthood (Copeland, Wolke, Angold, & Costello, 2013; Farrington & Ttofi, 2011; Kim, Catalano, Haggerty, & Abbott, 2011; Olweus, 1997; Renda, Vassalo, & Edwards, 2011). Bullying perpetration has been hypothesized to

predict later delinquent behavior (e.g., hazing) because they are both manifestations of the same underlying construct, such as Antisocial Personality Disorder (Farrington, Ttofi, & Losel, 2011). This is juxtaposed with Bandura's corpus of work which maintains that that children are exposed to violent behavior through modeling in the home or school contexts and they perceive these behaviors as an effective means to an end (Bandura, 1978; Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996). In addition, bullying behaviors may change and adapt over time to encompass different forms of aggression. For instance, Espelage, Basile et al. (2012) describe a sexual violence pathway in which bullying perpetration in early adolescence may transform into sexual harassment or biased-based violence in older adolescents. Therefore, it is hypothesized that both physical and verbal bullying may also exist as a unique developmental precursor to later expressions of violence (Farrington et al., 2011; Ttofi, Farrington, Losel, & Lober, 2011).

Similarly, Chappell and associates (2006) reported that 70% of students who had been bullied in elementary or high school were also bullied in college, suggesting a strong link between prior bullying experiences and involvement in violent interactions in college. Owen and colleagues (2008) also found that as college youth perpetrated more acts of hazing, they were more inclined to endorse accepting attitudes towards hazing. While these findings are not novel, coupled with notions of the stability of aggressive behavior (Hemphill et al., 2009) and childhood bullying perpetration (Farrington & Ttofi, 2011; Farrington et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Ttofi et al., 2011) over time, bullying perpetration is likely a salient predictor of subsequent attitudes that support university hazing.

More surprisingly, both perpetrators and victims of hazing may acquire supportive attitudes towards hazing due to the cyclical nature of the behaviors over time. For instance, Owen and colleagues (2008) reported that the number of hazing acts the respondent had experienced as a victim also predicted more accepting attitudes towards hazing. Given the increasing number of individuals involved in hazing as both a perpetrator and a victim, these results highlight the act of hazing as a dynamic group process deserving examination from a social-ecological, social learning, and need to belong approaches. It also emphasizes the importance of group norms and groupthink as potentially salient individual traits.

Regarding victimization trajectories, research in the bullying, maltreatment, and sexual violence literature consistently finds that youth experience multiple types of victimization (i.e. polyvictimization) throughout their lives and across contexts (Espelage & Holt, 2007; Espelage, Low, et al., 2012). The notion of polyvictimization corroborates the idea that youth who are victimized by bullying may be predisposed to hazing victimization and specific attitudes about hazing. As a complement to social learning theory, experiencing victimization leads to vulnerability or a learned helplessness that may support future forms of victimization of a cyclical nature (Finkelhor et al., 2012). This finding suggest that various victimization types may have similar risk factors (e.g., self-blaming attributions) which may be aggravated by stress and depression and/or anxiety that often accompanies victimization (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007).

Thus, the vulnerability, psychological stress, and maladaptive thinking patterns that result from victimization often fuel future victimization. Limiting research studies to

only one type of victimization underestimates more covert victimization (Finkelhor et al., 2005), such as hazing, and masks the comorbidity of victimization types. Overall, including both prior instances of bullying perpetration and victimization as predictors of hazing perceptions supports the notion that youth engaged in one deviant behavior are likely to become involved with other similar risky behaviors over time (Radliff, Wheaton, Robinson, & Morris, 2012).

Although bullying perpetration in childhood and adolescence is predictive risk factor for later physical violence, the presence of protective factors (e.g., a supportive educational environment) may buffer against these negative impacts. A recent longitudinal investigation of three waves of data on Australian youth found those who identified as bullies in childhood and adolescence endorsed higher rates of physical aggression in young adulthood than those who had never bullied others. Interestingly, of those who bullied in adolescence, and who also engaged in frequent alcohol use reported the highest rates of physical aggression as young adults, while those who attended university reported lower rates (Homel, 2013).

Gender differences in bullying and victimization. Although numerous studies have documented increased aggression in males, gender differences in aggression depend on contextual and environmental variables (e.g., age, subtype of aggression, assessment methods, rater/reporter; Espelage, Mebane, & Swearer, 2004). Indeed, males have been implicated extensively in media reports of school violence and shootings (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003). More relevant to the current investigation, males have reported greater involvement in physical forms of bullying perpetration and victimization (Espelage &

Holt, 2007; Haynie et al., 2001; Ladd, Kochenderfer-Ladd, Eggum, Kochel, & McConnell, 2011; Tran, Cole, & Weiss, 2012), as well as witnessing bullying (Craig & Pepler, 1995) and intervening in bullying (Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001) compared to females. The association between bullying perpetration and anti-social behavior has also been found to be more robust and long-lasting for males (Renda et al., 2011).

Meanwhile, females tend to endorse higher levels of relational aggression (e.g., spreading rumors, excluding others) than males (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Ostrov & Crick, 2007) and increased reports of cyber victimization compared to males (Schneider et al., 2012; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009). A recent investigation also reported that traditional and cyber victimization led to increased mental health problems in females, but not males, after controlling for baseline mental health issues (Bannink et al., 2014). The researchers contend that these findings may partially be accounted for by the type of bullying experienced (i.e., relational versus physical bullying), but gender differences across the various bullying types, modalities, and roles deserve further investigation.

This dissertation study abided by the notion that aggressive boys do not simply behave in one way and aggressive girls in another (i.e. male bullying versus female bullying); both physical and relational aggression are highly correlated (Lansford et al., 2012). Rather, it appears that both males and females engage in and are the recipients of aggression and contextual variables (e.g., peer, school, and family context), which may explain sex differences in bullying (Card, Stucky, Sawalani, & Little, 2008; Espelage et al., 2004).

Moral disengagement. Moral disengagement is a cognitive mechanism whereby individuals justify their aggressive behaviors (Bandura, 1995). Bandura additionally hypothesized eight mechanisms (Bandura et al., 1996) through which disengagement can occur. When Bandura was developing his measure of moral disengagement, he tested his item pool on a large sample of elementary, middle, and high school students. In this early study, he found that moral disengagement was related to aggressive behavior and negatively associated with prosocial behavior across the three age groups (Bandura et al., 1996).

Moral disengagement and bullying. Correlations between bullying and moral disengagement have been consistently recognized in literature. Explorations into the connections between bullying and moral disengagement have found that aggressive children have higher levels of moral disengagement when engaging in traditional bullying (Gini, 2006), as well as when perpetrating cyberbullying online (Pornari & Wood, 2010). A recent meta-analysis of 27 studies including over 17,000 participants found that moral disengagement was significantly related to aggressive behavior, and that effect sizes were larger for adolescents compared to children (Gini et al., 2013). Several investigations have also begun to explore group influences on moral disengagement and bullying. Recent research has examined the saliency of moral disengagement as a socially learned behavior within a social context. One study found that in early adolescence (i.e. ages 9 to 10), participants' levels of moral disengagement were influenced by friends' levels of moral disengagement (Caravita, Sijtesma, Rambaran, & Gini, 2013). Another recent investigation found that variance in bullying behavior at the

classroom level was accounted by several specific moral disengagement characteristics, including minimizing one's role, dehumanizing the victim, and distorting negative consequences (Pozzoli et al., 2012). These findings may shed light on the relationship between social learning, moral disengagement, and group aggression.

Based on social learning theory and the recent findings of Caravita and colleagues (2013), individuals entering into a group that they perceive as desirable are often exposed to in-group attitudes and most likely will adopt these attitudes as well (Ledgerwood & Chaiken, 2007). There is also evidence to suggest that individuals favor their in-group by attributing more blame for bullying situations to a further removed, out-group, or the victim, and intervene less in bullying situations as a result (Ostvik & Rudmin, 2001). In addition, preference for the in-group is heightened if that group perceives that they have been victimized in some manner (Gini, 2007).

Moral disengagement and hazing. Following the surge in moral disengagement research during the past several years, Hamilton (2014) outlined the association between each of Bandura's eight mechanisms of moral disengagement and hazing. For example, *moral justification* involves individuals cognitively reconstruct hazing behavior into something socially acceptable (e.g., hazing promotes social bonds and brings the group together), while *euphemistic labeling* relates to students who refer to hazing events as "welcome parties" or "rookie parties" instead of using language consistent with abuse or humiliation. In addition, students may engage in *advantageous comparison* in which individuals who haze may compare the behaviors they perpetrate to more severe hazing perpetrated on them during initiation (See Hamilton, 2014 for a full description).

Additional studies have found support for aspects of moral disengagement intertwined in hazing acceptance. An earlier study conducted by Owen and colleagues (2008) with undergraduate and graduate students also reported that although students viewed hazing as problematic on campus, a high percentage of respondents indicated that hazing was more serious in organizations other than their own (i.e., engaging in advantageous comparison).

Furthermore, individuals will endure short-term pain if they expect that their aggressive efforts will eventually remove unpleasant conditions (Bandura, 1978). Desire to affiliate with a particular group often leads victims to endure and minimize hazing behaviors (Campo et al., 2005; Owen et al., 2008), legitimize hazing rites as necessary (Perkins et al., 2011), or associate positive outcomes with hazing (e.g., building unity, continuing tradition; Allan & Madden, 2008). It has additionally been reported that individuals justify hazing perpetration by increasing positive attributes for their group and, in turn, this creates cognitive, affective, and physical dependency on the group (Cimino, 2011; Gershel et al., 2003; Keating et al., 2005).

Gender differences in moral disengagement. Males also tend to have higher moral disengagement scores (Hamilton, 2011), and moral disengagement has been found to account for variance in the relationship between gender and bullying (Turner, 2008). When compared to males not involved in fraternities, non-fraternity males also have endorsed higher levels of moral disengagement (McCreary, 2012). Another study found that moral disengagement explained rape supportive attitudes among fraternity males (Carroll, 2009). Many of these studies that focus on the complex relationship between

gender, violence, and moral disengagement. Most studies have sampled college males' moral disengagement in relation to rape or sexual assault, and minimal research has surveyed both males and females to examine moral disengagement in the context of hazing.

Need to belong. Transient loneliness in adolescence is a normative experience for most youth (Qualter, Brown, Munn, & Rotenberg, 2010) who do not have their belongingness needs satisfied (Mellor et al., 2008) or who are actively rejected (Crick & Ladd, 1993). However, chronic loneliness and isolation may lead to elevated levels of externalizing (Christopherson & Conner, 2012) and internalizing (Hymel, Franke, & Freigang, 1985; Qualter et al., 2010) problems. However, children who are generally rejected by peers, yet who possess at least one friendship, do not experience elevated levels of loneliness (Parker & Asher, 1993). Thus, successful integration and belonging in a group (see Baumeister & Leary, 1995), regardless of group size, buffers effects of loneliness.

Several researchers contend that even though almost all humans desire to be accepted by others, individuals differ on the strength of this need and desire to join and be accepted by others (Kelly, 2001; Leary et al., 2013). Those who tend to be low on the need to belong construct are content with a few relationships, while those higher on this attribute possess a strong need for acceptance and spend a considerable amount of time seeking, preserving, and monitoring interpersonal relationships, as well as worrying about others' evaluations.

Need to belong and bullying. Young adults interact in a multi-faceted social setting comprised of friendship groups, cliques, and crowds (Newman, Lohman, & Newman, 2007), while simultaneously trying to develop autonomy and personal values. A recent pair of studies investigated adolescents' and young adults' moral rebelliousness (i.e., taking a stand against the status quo when one's values are compromised; Monin, Sawyer, & Marquez, 2008), as well as the need to belong. To rebel against the group when the group norms do not coincide with one's values has been associated with lower needs to belong (Sonnentag & Barnett, 2013) and a higher propensity for rejection (Monin et al., 2008). Therefore, as youth desire to be accepted into a group that engages in bullying, their need to belong increases, while the propensity to challenge the group may decrease (Baumeister & Finkel, 2010).

Individuals involved in bullying may also believe that engaging in bullying behaviors will make them more likely to be accepted as part of a group that exhibits similar aggressive tendencies (Olthof & Goosens, 2008). This notion supports the homophily (Berndt, 1982) hypothesis of bullying which proposes that children in the same peer group display and endorse similar levels of aggression. Using social network analysis and Hierarchical Linear Modeling, Espelage, Holt, and Henkel (2003) found support for the homophily hypothesis in that children in the same peer group reported similar frequencies of bullying and fighting. Further, peer context variables (i.e., friendship and bullying peer networks) explained more variance in bullying than in fighting. The need to belong as it relates to bullying is somewhat more complex and reciprocal as it is difficult to differentiate if individuals with a higher desire to belong

(i.e., similar in personality and need for belongingness) first come together in group settings or if individuals in groups continue to interact and develop higher a higher need to belong if that solidarity and belongingness is threatened (Cairns, Leung, & Cairns, 1995; Espelage et al., 2003).

Need to belong and hazing. A need to belong may become even a more salient factor in hazing, as social psychological research has found that groupthink and group violence are common maladaptive consequences associated with deindividuation and group membership (Baumeister & Finkel, 2010). In young adults, feelings of loneliness and a resulting need to belong may play a role in acceptance, identifying, and intervening in hazing behaviors. Individuals living in groups or with others have been found to score higher on the need to belong than individuals living alone (Mellor et al., 2008; e.g., individuals living in Greek housing, with teammates, or fellow organizational members score higher on a need to belong). The sociological concept of impression management (Goffman, 1959) is applicable, as individuals with a high need for belonging to groups are likely to behave according to others' preferences and requests rather than following their own inner convictions or values. Thus, the need to present a favorable impression of one's self may hinder individuals' likelihood of identifying and intervening in aggressive situations in an environment (e.g., peer group) that supports aggression. In particular, the desire to bolster group or organizational unity is an often cited attitudinal predictor of hazing (Baier & Williams, 1983; Campo et al., 2005). In their analysis of middle and high school athletes, 86% of students indicated that being the victim of hazing had been worth it to become a member of the team (Gershel et al., 2003). Furthermore, a strong

predictor of fraternity and sorority membership is a need to belong and derive meaning from a social group (Ruffins, 1998; Shaw & Morgan, 1990). Aspirations to affiliate and belong to an athletic or Greek life overwhelm and outweigh students' cognitive and moral reasoning that facilitates critical thinking and honest evaluation of hazing behaviors.

Individuals with an increased need to belong are likely more perceptive to and accurate in decoding social cues. Pickett and colleagues (2004) indicated that individuals scoring higher on the need to belong were more accurate in identifying details in voice and facial expressions, as well as empathy. In particular, individuals with higher scores on the need to belong more accurately identified simulated facial expressions as angry, fearful, happy, and sad, and identified vocal tone as reflecting a positive or negative valence. This research suggests that individuals with a high need for belonging and acceptance are more perceptive to the emotional cues of others. However, awareness of emotions is not equated with intervening in bullying since other factors may impede these individuals' abilities to intervene in aggressive scenarios.

Researchers have hypothesized that recognizing and labeling discrimination interferes with individuals' need to belong (Caravello & Pelham, 2006). Individuals high in belonging needs may not only attempt to acquire acceptance, but they may also modify their cognitive beliefs to support the idea that they are accepted and needed by others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Minimizing or ignoring discrimination and aggressive behaviors may even be more likely if the perpetrator of these behaviors is someone with whom the individual has a close relationship (e.g., spouse, employer, university club

leader; Caravello & Pelham, 2006). Therefore, a high need to belong may lead others to minimize and distort aggressive behaviors, particularly for the individual who is the recipient of the aggression (e.g., “we are friends, so I do not consider her mean behavior bullying”). This research may also help to contextualize the results of previous studies (e.g., Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005), which have found that most individuals who endorse experiencing characteristics of hazing do not consider themselves to have been hazed.

Gender differences in a need to belong. Baumeister and Leary (1995) documented that the need to belong includes at least two components: a) desire for frequent interactions or contacts that are not marked by conflict, and b) these contacts are typified by interpersonal and affective bonds, long-term stability, and mutual concern. Regarding belongingness, affective bonds, and concern, females are more inclined to be interested in developing and enriching social bonds and nurturing relationships (Galambos, 2004; Newman et al., 2007) and group belonging has been found to be more salient among girls (Keisner, Cadinu, Poulin, & Bucci, 2002; Newman et al., 2007). Females are also more likely to disapprove of exclusion based on gender or race (Killen & Stangor, 2001). Specifically, female athletes have been found to participate in sports due to social reasons and for the social experiences more often than male athletes (Bosselut, McLaren, Eys, & Heuze, 2012; Mathes & Batista, 1985). These studies underscore females’ motivations for participating in groups and how the need to belong intersects and is embedded within females’ decisions to affiliate and participate in group activities.

Still, despite the female gender being more traditionally associated with the need to belong and affiliate with a social group, in a study of over 700 adolescents ages 11-18, Newman and colleagues (2007) reported that both boys and girls who did not endorse belonging to a group experienced elevations in both internalizing and externalizing problems. Even though boys and girls may approach friendships in different ways, an unfulfilled need to belong may result in similar negative outcomes for both groups. Although females are socialized from a young age to openly communicate their emotions and to nurture relationships (Chaplin, Cole, & Zahn-Waxler, 2005), males may also possess a need to belong (albeit to a less or more subtle degree) that plays a role in identifying and intervening in bullying and hazing.

Membership in university groups. Historically, descriptive and experimental studies of university groups, particularly fraternities and sororities, have found that these environments often support and catalyze negative group activities (Owen et al., 2008; Perkins et al., 2011). According to the multi-site study conducted by Allan and Madden (2008), students in fraternities/sororities (73% of the total sample) and athletes (74% of the total sample) were the most likely to be involved in hazing. Further, 70% of students involved in athletics and/or Greek organizations specifically noted that the hazing behavior was experienced in order to gain or maintain acceptance in the organization itself (i.e., instrumental aggression with an adaptive purpose).

Additional research from the aggression and sexual violence literature echoes the finding that fraternity and sorority membership is a risk factor for violence involvement. One study that analyzed the data of roughly 23,000 women participating in Harvard's

School of Public Health surveys reported that women who belong to sororities were 74% more likely than non-members to be raped (Mohler-Kuo, Dowdall, Koss, & Weschler, 2004). In another investigation, the strong relationship between sorority membership and increased sexual assault remained even after controlling for alcohol consumption and attending Greek-hosted parties (Minow & Einhoff, 2009). Thus, it appears that sorority membership specifically is related to higher instances of sexual assault and violence.

Similarly, fraternity membership has predicted use of physical force and verbal coercion (Tyler, Hoyt, & Whitbeck, 1998), as well as the use of sexually degrading language (Murnen, 2000) and using drugs and alcohol, which to facilitate violence (Boeringer, Shehan, & Akers, 1991). Rape supportive attitudes and traditional gender biases (e.g., male dominance, female submissiveness) have also been reported more frequently by fraternity than non-fraternity men (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005). Interestingly, these traditional gender biases are also found more frequently in sorority women than non-sorority women (Kalof & Cargill, 1991). One study examining sexually degrading language use in fraternity and non-fraternity men found that the women were the topics of the conversations were judged as less intelligent and less likable by observers (Murnen, 2000). These results highlight the depersonalization and degradation that can accompany collegiate violence and support the rationale for investigating moral disengagement and Greek membership.

Both fraternity and sorority members have been more frequently documented as perpetrators and victims of sexual assaults than non-Greek members (Bannon, Brousi, & Foubert, 2013), breaking down the dynamics that contribute to this trend is critical.

Higher rates of violence may occur in these organizations not only due to traditional gender norms, but also due to the family-like (e.g., “fraternity brothers” and “sorority sisters”) and party atmosphere of these organizations. These cheerful environmental features may lead members to not notice or recognize social cues that usually signal danger. Additional reasons cited for increased experiences with violence include alcohol consumption and believing that the risk for violence “only applies to other people,” (Norris, Nurius, & Dimeff, 1996), potentially limiting awareness and prevention efforts. In other, words, the mental framework that should be activated to identify these harmful behaviors is impeded by an array of social-cognitive factors (Minow & Einhoff, 2009), which could also include and overlap with moral disengagement and attitudes supporting aggression.

Sexual orientation and race. Actual sexual orientation, as well as perceived sexual orientation may put students at risk for participation in bullying and hazing as both perpetrators and victims. As some college youth try to distance themselves from non-heterosexual orientations, hazing and violent behavior may be more likely to transpire. Kimmel and Mahler (2003) eloquently describe the ubiquity of biased-based language and corresponding gender norms as it applies to adolescent boys:

Walk down any hallway in any middle school or high school in America and the single most common put-down that is heard is “That’s so gay.” It is deployed constantly, casually, unconsciously. Boys hear it if they try out for the school band or orchestra, if they are shy or small, physically weak and unathletic, if they are smart, wear glasses, or work hard in school. They hear it if they are seen to like girls too much or if they are too much “like” girls. They hear it if their body language, their clothing, or their musical preferences do not conform to the norms of their peers. (p. 1453).

Correspondingly, although LGBTQ students may have particularly negative experiences in environments that traditionally perpetuate hazing (e.g., fraternities and sororities), biased-based language and/or homophobic attitudes adopted by students also serve to maintain traditional gender norms in these educational environments (Espelage & Swearer, 2008). Thus, bullying and hazing may be a particularly salient and detrimental issue for LGBTQ students, yet it is also critical to acknowledge that biased-based bullying and hazing also applies non-LGBTQ youth and impacts the broader social climate and ecology (Swearer et al., 2008).

Research underscores important obstacles in eradicating bullying and cyberbullying for LGBTQ youth. First, by reporting victimization, many youth feel as though they risk “coming out” to teachers or parents who may not be supportive of their sexual orientation (Cooper & Blumenfeld, 2012). Secondly, many adults working with youth who do report cyberbullying may limit or prevent these youth from using technology (Cooper & Blumenfeld, 2012). This is a particular travesty given the recent findings on the benefits of technological communication (e.g., internet, texting) and mental health help-seeking for this at-risk population (Rossen, Myers, Wu, & Schwartz, 2014). It is critical to note these obstacles as they may influence LGBTQ students to identify and intervene in and report incidents of hazing.

Meanwhile, hazing research has generally been confined to case studies or ethnographies of particular institutions that are heavily Caucasian or African American rather than diverse or representative institutions that integrate multiple races. In particular, Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs), though heavily shrouded in

secrecy (Hughey & Hernandez, 2013) have garnered an abundance of media attention over the last decade. Literature regarding hazing in the African American community likens hazing behaviors to the abuse that African Americans endured during the times of slavery in colonial America (Ruffins, 1998).

Much of the literature on race and hazing has been approached from a content analysis methodological perspective. In an analysis of media accounts of BGLOs from 1980-2009, Hughey and Hernandez (2013) found that articles reporting on hazing in BGLOs tended to focus on the severity of physical attacks and how they coincided with pledging or recruitment, as well as legal consequences for those involved. The researchers also noted that these accounts differed from those depicting primarily White student organizations as Black culture has often been associated with violence and abuse. These media representations may “prime” readers to associate and generalize the African American race with increased violence, while accounts of hazing in Caucasian organizations may remain confidential to those individuals and settings. In general, more media accounts describing hazing were found for fraternities rather than sororities. Findings from Finley and Finley (2007) support themes of gender bias in their content analysis of media representations of male and female hazing events. These researchers found that news coverage of female hazing was often contextualized as involving “white, wealthy, affluent, or suburban girls,” while incidents of male hazing was lacking in information related to race or social class. Although media reports of BGLOs often disproportionately underscore violent behavior, these reports may be reflecting gender as much as racial biases, such as Black men are violent, while Black women are

“community caregivers,” (p. 314). Still, an individual’s identified race and ethnic background may contribute to variance in hazing perceptions, while also being mediated by the effects of gender.

The independent variables that were assessed in this study, including previous bullying perpetration and victimization, moral disengagement, need to belong, as well as demographic factors were derived from previous research on bullying and hazing, as well as existing theoretical models. The purpose of the current study involved determining the significance of the relationship between these predictor variables and students’ perceptions of hazing. Hazing perceptions were operationalized through students’ perceived acceptability of hypothetical hazing vignettes, as well as their ability to define and label hazing behaviors in the vignettes, and their willingness to intervene in these hypothetical hazing situations.

Dependent Variables

Social science literature has published several benefits associated with the use of hypothetical vignettes in research. Slead, Durrheim, Kriel, Solomon, and Baxter (2002) contend that hypothetical vignettes are often used in victimization research in order to avoid triggering emotional distress and trauma in participants. Further, hypothetical vignettes allow investigators to gather specific data regarding attitudes, beliefs, and moral reasoning without exposing participants to harmful and unethical victimization experiences. Researchers may also manipulate environmental variables in the vignettes (e.g., type of hazing) to collect information on how participants respond to varying contextual factors (Finch, 1987).

Bullying/hazing acceptability, definitions, and intervention. The variables of bullying identification/hazing acceptability, defining the behaviors as bullying and/or hazing, and intervention were chosen as dependent variables in this investigation based on the literature related to using hypothetical vignettes and behavioral scenarios (Finch, 1987; Kolivas & Gross, 2007; Sleded et al., 2002) to gauge participants' definitions of hazing. In particular, two previous studies that surveyed fraternities presented a list of behavioral items and asked participants to identify whether or not the behaviors constituted hazing. In both studies, forced alcohol consumption was the most frequent behavior identified as hazing (Baier & Williams, 1983; Jenson, Poremba, Nelson, & Schwartz, 1980), and Geisert (2011) found that over 50% of athletes in the Nebraska State College System reported involvement in alcohol-related hazing. It is clear through these findings, as well as research in the sexual assault and substance abuse literature, that excessive alcohol is a component in many aggressive acts on campus (Boeringer et al., 1991; Homel, 2013; Norris et al., 1996). Further, it is likely that a pervasive factor in hazing incidents is due to subsequent reductions in social inhibitions following substance use (Owen et al., 2008).

In a more recent single-institution investigation, Ellsworth (2006) polled individuals from different university groups (e.g., ROTC, fraternities and sororities, athletes, band members) to determine how they defined and perceived hazing. While several significant differences emerged, there were also behaviors that were rated as consistently meeting the continuum of the definition of hazing by individuals across campus groups. These behaviors included: being forced to consume alcohol, drinking or

eating materials not traditionally designed for digestion, performing acts that were sexual in nature, being deprived of basic necessities (e.g., sleep, food, drink), and stealing.

Owen and colleagues (2008) also tested a continuum of hazing behaviors with an undergraduate and graduate student sample. Similar to Ellsworth's (2006) findings, most students identified behaviors such as destruction of property, forced sexual behavior, and forced alcohol consumption as consistent with hazing. Participants also identified additional initiation behaviors as hazing even if they did not cause severe harm, including running errands or wearing unusual clothes. The inclusion of dangerous as well as merely uncomfortable behaviors as corresponding to hazing suggests a continuum of hazing behaviors that encompasses acts that cause minimal to severe discomfort and harm. Owen and associates (2008) further reported that most of their study respondents agreed that group expectations and obligations, including paying dues, taking an oath, or maintaining required study hours, did not constitute hazing. Thus, rather than a precursor to detrimental initiation behaviors, students considered routine club expectations as distinct and different from hazing.

A social norms framework that includes group and/or individual processes and standards for behavior may be helpful in understanding bullying/hazing identification and intervention. Indeed, Waldron (2012) created a sequence based on social norms research to address hazing intervention programming and workshop planning. Specifically, students are encouraged to a) notice the hazing event, b) interpret these behaviors as a problem, c) feel responsible for the solution, c) acquire skills to act, and d) intervene. It is likely that students with high levels of moral disengagement and a need to belong clearly

would struggle to engage in each step of this process. In addition, demographic factors (i.e., gender, club membership, sexual orientation) may impede students' abilities to take these steps within coercive environments (Carroll, 2009) due to fear of being ostracized or targeted by other group members.

Gender differences in hazing perceptions. Scholarship related to gender and hazing has generally paralleled the bullying literature in that males are more likely to be involved with and support hazing activities in fraternities, athletics, and the military, among other organizations (Allan, 2003; Pershing, 2006). These experiences are also more likely to be physical (e.g., receiving beatings, Gershel et al., 2003). Finley and Finley (2007) examined portrayals of hazing in the media and asserted that hazing that occurs between females and in female organizations often needs to be contextualized, whereas hazing between males is “par for the course” and often does include as much surprise or questioning (Finley & Finley, 2007). Thus, the researchers assert that society expects this behavior from males compared to females, potentially perpetuating hazing supportive attitudes among men.

The intersections between violent behavior, homophobia, and gender norms also may provide insight into the overrepresentation of hazing-supportive attitudes among males (Finley & Finley, 2007; Kimmel & Mahler, 2003; McGinley, 2008; Phoenix, Frosh, & Pattman, 2003). In an investigation of media accounts of school violence, Kimmel and Mahler (2003) highlighted that males choose to engage in scenarios and strategies so as not to appear homosexual and be the recipient of homophobic teasing and bullying. These strategies range from males perpetrating homophobic violence and

bullying, engaging in sexual violence and harassment, risk taking (e.g., drinking, dangerous driving), or potentially hazing newcomers to validate their own power and masculinity.

When investigating the relationship between gender and violence, researchers must consider the nature of homophobia. A qualitative study of adolescent males ages 11-14 in London reported that boys interviewed highlighted the importance of presenting themselves as adequately masculine and/or heterosexual in order to evade bullying and being perceived as homosexual (Phoenix et al., 2003). Homophobic name calling and reducing public displays of emotion served as examples of methods that males used to increase their masculinity status. The researchers concluded that adolescent males highly monitor or “police” their own behavior and the behavior of others to so as to conform to a heterosexual notion of masculinity and to prevent themselves from being labeled as feminine or homosexual. Thus, homophobia, as well as the pervasiveness of traditional gender norms embedded with the superiority of masculinity, may be partially responsible for males’ increased involvement and support in hazing activities.

Hazing perceptions were examined in relation to each independent variable of previous bullying perpetration and victimization, moral disengagement, and need to belong, as well as demographic considerations of students’ reported club membership, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, and gender. These perceptions were also explored through qualitative analyses of hazing in the context of the aforementioned independent variables and other emerging themes. A mixed methods explanatory sequential design was pursued to include and synthesize the findings from both of these analytic traditions.

Overview of Mixed Methods

The motivation behind employing both quantitative and qualitative research methods in this study involved complementing and expanding quantitative survey results with qualitative findings that provide in-depth participant perspectives. Although the definition of mixed methods research may vary, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) emphasize that mixed methods research is characterized by collecting and analyzing quantitative and qualitative data based on research questions, integrating the two forms of data, giving priority to one or the other, and framing the design within a philosophical worldview. Mixed methods research can also identify and drive new areas for research investigation and how the behaviors may vary across age groups or setting (i.e. investigating how hazing varies across campus groups) (Guerra et al., 2011). In essence, mixed methods research serves to make quantitative data more contextual and qualitative data more justifiable and allows for phenomena to be examined from diverse, eclectic perspectives and paradigms (Guerra et al., 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2012).

For this study, a mixed methods approach was advantageous given the potential of social desirability when answering questions about bullying and hazing involvement on the quantitative survey. Qualitative interviews were necessary to validate quantitative findings (Fetters, Curry, & Creswell, 2013) and to gain a deeper understanding of the secrecy surrounding hazing and the understudied nature of this phenomenon. The present study used an explanatory sequential design which occurred in two distinct phases. The first phase included collection and analysis of quantitative data. Results were used to inform the design of the qualitative phase and qualitative interview protocol. In a cyclical

and iterative process, the qualitative results were then used to build on the initial quantitative findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Fetters et al., 2013). Please see Figure 1 in Appendix A for a diagram outline of the study's explanatory sequential design.

Mixed methods researchers have urged audiences to be explicit in their rationale for using mixed methods given the complex and time-consuming nature of the undertaking (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Fetters et al., 2013). Of the primary reasons for mixing quantitative and qualitative methods proposed by Collins, Onwuegbuzie, and Jiao (2006), is the *significance enhancement* rationale (i.e., mixing quantitative and qualitative methods to improve and enrich the interpretation of data and findings). Seminal work by Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989) further details that mixed methods studies have several purposes that are relevant to the present study: a) triangulation (i.e., corroboration of findings meant to examine the same phenomenon), b) complementarity (i.e., clarification of results from one phase through the elaboration and illustration of other phases, and c) initiation (i.e., discovering paradoxes and contradictions that may lead to the reframing of research questions. The current study combined these purposes by using quantitative and qualitative modalities to study hazing, while also employing qualitative methods to clarify and discover contradictions in the quantitative results.

This dissertation study views the role of the researcher as both an analyst (quantitatively) and a data collection instrument (qualitatively). In the first phase, data was product of the survey methodology imposed, while in the second phase data flowed

through and was influenced by the qualitative interviewer/researcher. Furthermore, the current study has a quantitative emphasis and priority, although the qualitative phase will also be considered highly valuable. Data will be mixed independently, that is the two strands of data will not be connected throughout the study and will not interact with one another until both strands have been analyzed and interpreted separately (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

Data mixing at the end of the research process will then provide a ripe opportunity for conclusions and inferences informed by both strands. General advantages of the explanatory sequential design include appeal to quantitative researchers (since the quantitative phase is implemented first), the benefits of implementing only one phase of the study at a time, and the ability to provide separate, yet connected reports, manuscripts, and research projects (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2006).

Mixed methods studies of bullying and hazing. Although there are still a minority of studies on bullying and victimization that employ mixed methods, the number has increased in recent years (see Fung, 2012; Guerra et al., 2011; Hong & Espelage, 2012; Powell et al., 2008; Thornberg et al., 2012), likely due to the additional corroboration and detail that mixed methods offers, while maintaining reductions in research biases. As of 2014, 20 mixed methods studies had been published in scholarly journals regarding bullying and peer victimization (Hong & Espelage, 2012), although this review did not identify the type of mixed methods design (e.g., exploratory, explanatory, convergent). In the field of school psychology, 13% of all studies published in the four major school psychology journals (i.e., *Journal of School Psychology*,

Psychology in the Schools, School Psychology Quarterly, and School Psychology Review) from 2001-2005 involved mixed methods research (Powell et al., 2008). During the same temporal period, only six studies, which constitutes less than 2% of total empirical studies during that time, were purely categorized as qualitative by the researchers. This relates to the mono-method preference of school psychologists' towards quantified, objective data, although psychologists frequently consider and synthesize multiple forms of quantitative and qualitative data in their assessment practices.

Still, these self-report quantitative assessments are likely insufficient to address the underlying processes involved in bullying and hazing, the scope of the problem, and any other factors that cannot be adequately covered in a short survey. These results need to be elaborated and detailed further through qualitative approaches in which students are encouraged to explain motivations for hazing and relevant hazing experiences. Despite the ability of mixed methods research to integrate multiple forms of data, diverse perspectives related to the research problem, and explain and elaborate isolated results (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), most studies of hazing have only utilized surveys (e.g., Ellsworth, 2006; Hoover & Pollard, 2000) in isolation or not discussed mixed methods designs explicitly (e.g., Allan & Madden, 2008; Pershing, 2006).

Ultimately, there is still a lack of mixed methods research in the bullying and hazing domain. In particular, hazing studies are more likely to be published as brief reports rather than in academic journals. Allan and Madden's (2008) hazing study of over 11,000 students at 53 colleges and universities may be classified as an explanatory sequential design (i.e. surveys collected and analyzed followed by interviews), although

the researchers never refer to their study as a mixed methods design. Based on previous literature, quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research questions and hypotheses to address each dependent variable (i.e., hazing acceptance, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention) were generated.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Through the utilization of an explanatory sequential mixed methods study, both of these quantitative and qualitative research approaches were integrated to produce a cohesive framework for the development and maintenance of hazing related attitudes among college students. The study research questions are:

1. Is there a predictive relationship between the independent variables of previous bullying and victimization frequency, moral disengagement, a need to belong, and the dependent variable of hazing perceptions as reflected on the HP measure?

Hypothesis 1: Bullying and victimization frequency, moral disengagement, and need to belong (IVs) will positively predict acceptance of bullying and hazing (DV).

Hypothesis 2: Bullying and victimization frequency, moral disengagement, and need to belong (IVs) will negatively predict identification of bullying (DV).

Hypothesis 3: Bullying and victimization frequency, moral disengagement, and need to belong (IVs) will negatively predict identification of hazing (DV).

Hypothesis 4: Bullying and victimization frequency, moral disengagement, and need to belong (IVs) will negatively predict intervention in bullying and hazing (DV).

Hypothesis 5: Mean differences on IVs and DVs across race and sexual orientation are not expected to be significant.

Hypothesis 6: Significant gender differences will be present on all DVs with males being less likely than females to identify bullying, identify hazing, and intervene. Males will be more accepting of hazing.

Hypothesis 7: Mean differences on IVs and DVs across group membership and age are not expected to be significant.

2. Does participants' constructed and symbolic sense of meaning derived from their own bullying and hazing experiences corroborate the predictive findings from the quantitative phase? Are any additional predictors and motivators for hazing identified?

Hypothesis 1: Participants will describe their hazing experiences consistent with research on bullying and victimization, moral disengagement, and their need to belong.

Hypothesis 2: Participants will identify new predictors and motivators of hazing based on their own experiences and constructed realities. This will be facilitated by the interviewer through the process of domain analysis (i.e., symbol term, included term, and the relationship between the symbol and included term).

3. How do the responses from the individual interviews support and explain the predictors identified during the first phase of investigation?

Hypothesis 1: Data triangulation will result in an increased understanding of discrete predictors of hazing (identified in Phase I), as well as underlying processes and symbolic relationships among hazing predictors and processes.

Chapter Three: Methods

In their recent update on bullying surveillance, the Centers for Disease Control contended that it is not enough to know the extent of “who,” “what,” “when,” and “where” of bullying (Gladden et al., 2014, p. 4). Instead, researchers must also take the next step to become cognizant of why bullying occurs in order to validate risk and protective factors identified during data collection and analyses. In this study, the utilization of both quantitative and qualitative methodology allowed for the validation and expansion of attitudinal outcomes related to bullying and hazing. This dissertation sought to answer the “why” behind these mean, negative, and coercive behaviors.

Quantitative methodology allowed for the identification of specific variables that lead to increased identification and intervention in hazing, yet quantitative inquiry alone was not able to elaborate on the process of why and how these factors persist. In particular, due to the secrecy surrounding hazing behaviors, qualitative interviews were essential to combat social desirability that may have been obtained through the quantitative surveys. For example, this study used quantitative approaches to examine gender differences in hazing acceptance, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention. Correspondingly, the qualitative phase of the study was used to determine how and why these gender differences exist (e.g., traditional notions of masculinity, higher levels of moral disengagement).

The quantitative method for the current study built on pilot research of 411 students from a mid-sized Midwestern university who completed surveys related to moral disengagement, bullying, and hazing perceptions in Fall 2012 and Spring 2013. All

students were enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses at the university. The sample consisted of 289 females and 122 males ranging from ages 18-40. Findings from the pilot study suggested a significant relationship between moral disengagement and bullying identification ($\beta = -.311, p < .001$), hazing identification ($\beta = -.257, p < .001$), and intervention ($\beta = -.201, p < .001$; i.e., students with higher levels of moral disengagement were less likely to identify bullying and hazing and intervene; Strawhun, Hoetger, Swearer, & Brank, 2013).

Males also displayed significantly higher levels of moral disengagement ($t(404) = 8.26, p < .001$), were less likely to identify bullying ($t(408) = -5.09, p < .001$) and hazing ($t(408) = -3.50, p < .01$), as well as intervene ($t(408) = -2.71, p < .01$; Strawhun et al., 2013). In the pilot study, there were no meaningful, significant differences by Greek membership, class year, or race (Strawhun et al., 2014). Thus, the results of the pilot served to inform the current mixed-methods study, particularly the findings regarding bullying, gender, moral disengagement, and hazing perceptions.

The primary differences between the current study and the pilot study related to the addition of a measure of participants' need for belonging, as well as including qualitative interviews to enrich the understanding of the relationship between bullying and hazing. The current study also used more advanced quantitative (i.e., factor analysis) methods to examine the validity of students' perceptions of hazing and bullying as they related to the continuum of hazing behaviors (e.g., participants perceiving the hazing vignettes on a continuum of mild to severe hazing). Quantitative and qualitative procedures also sought to understand non-significant findings from the pilot study (e.g.,

the non-significant effects of Greek membership on hazing perceptions given the extant literature). All documents relevant to the quantitative strand of the study are included in Appendix B, while all qualitative related documents are included in Appendix C.

Quantitative Method

Participants. A power analysis was conducted in M-Plus Version 7.2 with a statistical consultant at the Nebraska Evaluation and Research (NEAR) Center to determine an appropriate sample size for study recruitment. Power was set at 0.8, which is an acceptable value for sufficient power (Hedges & Rhoades, 2009; Muthen & Muthen, 2002), and set the regression coefficient at 0.2. By using this value for the regression coefficient, the program determined the sample size in order to achieve a medium effect. The value of 0.20 generated an effect size of 0.63 (using Cohen's d) and .31 (using r), both of which translate to a medium effect size (Cohen, 1988). Thus, this study hoped to achieve effect sizes at least as large as those identified by Cook et al. (2010) in a meta-analysis of predictors for bullying perpetration and victimization. In that study conducted by Cook and colleagues (2010), each predictor demonstrated a medium effect size, with externalizing behavior ($r=.34$), peer influence ($r=-.34$) being most applicable to the current study. Using this procedure, a sample size of approximately 450 students was generated to achieve a medium effect. Increasing sample size and adding covariates are also generally considered to increase power and a desirable power hovers around 0.8 (Hedges & Rhoads, 2009). A total of 455 participants completed the questionnaires in this study and were retained for analysis, which is in accordance with the 450 students recommended by the power analysis.

Participants were recruited through the undergraduate psychology research pool at the university in Fall 2014 and Spring 2015. In the present study, The SONA Research Participation system was used to recruit participants through a study posting. The SONA recruitment script is located in Appendix B. All participants spoke English as their primary language.

A total of 503 students initiated the surveys on Qualtrics survey software. One participant did not consent to the research and that case was subsequently deleted. Only 471 students completed the demographic questionnaires after consenting to the research activities, thus the 31 individuals who did not complete the initial demographic questions on the survey were also removed. Of the remaining 471 students who did complete the demographic information, several students did not complete the questionnaires in their entirety (i.e., only completed demographic information and did not complete any of the psychological measures) and were removed from analysis. After students with incomplete surveys were deleted, 455 participants were retained in the sample for analysis. Those participants who were deleted due to not completing the psychological measures in their entirety composed 3.5% of the sample. Deleting these cases was consistent with removing cases from the sample that do not constitute more than 5% of the overall sample (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012).

According to the university's Office of Institutional Research, approximately 20,182 (10,701 males, 9,481 females) undergraduate students attend the university (Forbes, 2015; University of Nebraska, 2016). In the current study, females were overrepresented (68.6% of the total sample) when compared with university

demographics (46.98% of students). The demographics for participants' gender is displayed across year in college in Table 1.

As of Fall 2015, the total undergraduate enrollment at the university was broken down as 28.14% freshmen, 19.13% sophomores, 24.80% juniors, and 27.08% percent seniors (0.005% of students were labeled as “unclassified” in the university’s Fall 2015 and “unclassified” students were not measured in this study). In the present study, participants were 18.7% freshmen, 31.2% sophomores, 26.6% juniors, and 23.5% seniors. The overrepresentation of sophomores in this sample and the slight underrepresentation of seniors is likely explained by the study sample being recruited from introductory rather than advanced psychology undergraduate courses. Ages for the current sample ranged from 19 to 45 ($M=20.58$, $SD=2.67$). The mean age of the current sample is compatible with the mean age reported by the Office of Institutional Research (i.e., 20.5 years). Participants were also grouped into “traditional college student” (i.e., ages 19-22) and “non-traditional college student” (i.e., ages 23 and over) categories in SPSS to examine age patterns more closely. There majority of students (i.e., 419 students) fell into the “traditional college student” category, while 36 students fell into the “non-traditional college student category.

Roughly 15,559 undergraduate students at the university identify as White/Non-Hispanic (University of Nebraska, 2016). A total 535 undergraduates identify as Black/African American, comprising 2.7% of the university student body. Hispanic/Latino (1,088 students, approximately 5.40% of total students), individuals identifying as two or more races (567 students, approximately 2.8% of total students),

Asian/Pacific Islander students (492 students, approximately 2.4% of total students), and Native American/American Indian/Alaska Native (39 students, 0.20% of total students) are other prevalent racial/ethnic groups represented at the university.

In the present study, participants identifying as White/Non-Hispanic comprised 84.2% of the total study sample, which is slightly higher than university estimates of 80.0% of students on campus whom identify as White/Non-Hispanic. Participants endorsing their race/ethnicity as African American made up 2.00% of the study sample, roughly matching university estimates. Sample participants identifying as Hispanic/Latino (4.20% of the sample) and American Indian/Native American/Alaska Native (.20%) also mirrored university estimates. Asian/Pacific Islander students were also slightly overrepresented in this study (5.90%) when compared to university estimates (2.40%; Forbes, 2015; University of Nebraska, 2014). Table 2 displays the sample ethnicity breakdown compared to the overall racial/ethnic population of the university.

On the demographic questionnaire, participants were also queried regarding their sexual orientation. Table 3 presents participants' sexual orientation displayed by gender. Approximately 94.10% of the sample identified as heterosexual, while 3.10% identified as bisexual and 1.30% identified as homosexual. It is worth noting that of the 14 people that identified as bisexual, 13 of them (i.e., 92.9%) were female. Overall, more females than males endorsed non-heterosexual orientations. It does not appear that the university routinely publishes information regarding students' sexual orientation or gender preference/orientation and thus it was not possible to determine if the number of students

not identifying as a minority sexual orientation or gender were representative of overall university trends.

Participant majors in the current sample were also compared to the Office of Institutional Research findings. Since the surveys were offered in undergraduate Psychology courses, the majority of students in this sample identified themselves as Social Science majors (42.2% of the total sample). Participants endorsing Education and Human sciences majors were also prevalent in this sample (16.3%). Psychology majors housed within the College of Arts and Sciences at the university only comprises 19.4% of the total university undergraduate student body. Thus, Social Science majors in this sample are extremely overrepresented when compared to university estimates of the undergraduate class. Due to the overrepresentation of Social Science majors, other frequently endorsed majors at the university were somewhat underrepresented in the current study sample, such as Business Administration (11.4%) and Engineering (2.4%), when compared to university undergraduate estimates (18% and .15%, respectively). In addition, given that the study was offered to undergraduate Psychology courses and females were also overrepresented in the Social Sciences Major (i.e., females represented 80% of all Social Science majors in this sample), this may explain some of the overall overrepresentation of females in this sample. See Table 4 for a breakdown of participants' identified majors displayed by gender.

Finally, efforts were made to compare students' reported involvement in campus organizations in this study to university estimates of student involvement. In the present study, participants could endorse being a member of more than one club or group.

Approximately 34.10% of the sample indicated membership in a social sorority or fraternity, 21.54% endorsed belonging to an academic sorority or fraternity, 3.30% of participants reported belonging to a social sorority or fraternity, and 2.42% indicated belonging to a multicultural sorority or fraternity. Based on estimates by the Office of Greek Affairs, 3,703 students are active in some type of fraternity or sorority, comprising 18.34% of the total university undergraduate population. Of those 3,703, approximately 1.14% are active in a multicultural fraternity or sorority (Office of Greek Affairs, 2014).

Thus, this study sample included an ample overrepresentation of several types of sororities and fraternities. Other popular activities endorsed by the study sample, included athletics (24.40%) and fine arts clubs/groups (14.73%). At this time, it does not appear that university publishes a report of student involvement in extra-curricular clubs, groups, and activities. Therefore, activities endorsed by the sample (i.e., other than fraternities or sororities) could not be compared to the larger university population. Table 5 lists the breakdown of participants' involvement in campus activities and organizations by gender.

Procedure. The current study was approved by the university Institutional Review Board in October 2014. This study was part of a larger study of bullying and hazing behaviors conducted in partnership with co-investigators in the Law/Psychology and Educational Psychology departments. The study was advertised on the SONA Research Participation System on the Psychology department website. Once students elected to participate, they received a link to the consent form on Qualtrics. All quantitative measures were completed electronically in English on Qualtrics Survey

Software. Participants were allowed to complete the measures in the psychology department in Burnett Hall or on their personal computers. Once students completed the quantitative surveys they were asked to email the principal investigator a code to receive course credit. Students received two credits since the study was expected to take students approximately one hour to complete (i.e., one credit for each half-hour of research). There was not any other compensation provided to students for participating in this phase of the research. Students were also asked to email the principal investigator if they were interested in completing a 30-minute individual interview about their bullying and hazing experiences.

In addition to receiving credit in their courses, potential benefits for students participating in this study included facilitating inter-agency communication between campus administrative bodies (e.g., University Counseling Center, Greek Affairs, Student Affairs, Women's Center), which may increase the mental health support available to students experiencing bullying and hazing. If responding to questions generated uncomfortable emotions, participants could refer to the consent form (Appendix B) regarding how to access mental health supports at the university and in the local community.

Instrumentation. Demographic information was collected at the beginning of this survey, including the participant's gender, race, sexual orientation, participation in university activities, and primary major (all described in the aforementioned tables and participants section). The demographic questionnaire was developed using the findings from the pilot study, as well as integrating demographic questions from *The Bully Survey-*

Student Version (Swearer, 2001). The demographic questionnaire was completed first, and all other surveys were randomized in Qualtrics to avoid order effects.

Verbal and Physical Bullying. Previous bullying perpetration and victimization were measured retrospectively with the *Verbal and Physical Bullying Scale Retrospective Version* (VPBS; Swearer, 2001). Participants were asked to report on their bullying and victimization experiences from their school-age years (i.e., elementary, middle, and high school). Participants were asked to indicate the year in school in which “the bullying was the most problematic.” They were then instructed to “think of the time in which the bullying was most problematic to answer the remainder of the survey questions.” The VPBS consisted of two separate sections each with 12-items. Distinct sections were used to measure verbal and physical bullying victimization (Part A) and perpetration (Part C). These survey sections are part of the more comprehensive instrument, *The Bully Survey* (Swearer, 2001). Item responses were scored on a 5-point Likert scale (i.e. anchors include 1 (*never happened*) to 5 (*always happened*) and this was considered a continuous variable. Total scores on the perpetration and victimization subscales, respectively, ranged from 5 (*each item never happened*) to 60 (*each item always happened*).

Examples of verbal and physical bullying items included, “Said mean things behind my back” (verbal) and “pushed or shoved me” (physical; Swearer, 2012). Four items in each part measured physical bullying, seven items in each part measured verbal bullying, and one item in each part measured cyber bullying. In addition, the technical properties of the VPBS have been reported in several publications. For example, a factor analysis of the 11 items of the VPBS yielded a two-factor solution with items loading

onto the Physical Bullying ($\alpha = .79$) and Verbal Bullying ($\alpha = .85$) factors with no cross-loadings (Swearer, 2012). In another large-scale study of adolescent males' involvement with bullying, Swearer and colleagues (2008) reported an internal consistency of .87 for Part A (i.e., the victimization component).

For the present study, the 12-item perpetration subscale of the VPBS yielded a good internal consistency using coefficient alpha ($\alpha=.83$). Similarly, participants' responses on the 12-item victimization component also resulted in a strong internal consistency ($\alpha=.86$) reliability. Total scores for the perpetration subscale ranged from 12 to 38 ($M=24.87$, $SD=6.04$). Total scores for the victimization subscale ranged from 15 to 60 ($M=33.05$, $SD=10.53$).

Following the procedures employed by Swearer and colleagues (2012), a principal-components analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation was conducted on the perpetration component to determine if items would load onto three factors according to physical bullying, verbal bullying, and cyberbullying (see Table 6). A three-factor structure emerged accounting for 65.33% of the variance. Using factor loadings cutoffs, all items loaded at .55 or above, suggesting good loadings (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012). Examining the corresponding scree plot in SPSS (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005) also recommended a three-factor structure for the perpetration subscale. Four-items assessing physical bullying loaded onto one distinct factor. Additionally, six-items assessing verbal and relational bullying loaded onto one distinct factor. Two items (one assessing cyber bullying and one assessing bullying others through written means) loaded on a third distinct factor.

A second principal-components analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation was completed to determine the factor structure for the victimization items on the VPBS (see Table 7). As with the perpetration items, a three-factor structure emerged that was also represented in SPSS by a scree plot. The three-factor structure accounted for 63.80% of the variance. Again, four-items assessing physical bullying loaded onto one distinct factor. Three-items assessing verbal bullying loaded onto another distinct factor. Finally, five items loaded onto a third distinct factor that assessed relational bullying and cyberbullying. As with the perpetration items, all victimization items produced good loadings (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012) at .55 or above. Therefore, analyses of both the perpetration and victimization items resulted in distinct factors representing physical bullying, while items assessing verbal, relational, and cyberbullying loaded onto other factors. These three-factor structure solutions obtained in the current study appear to correspond with the original design of the measure, as well as previous existing factor analyses (Swearer et al., 2012).

Moral Disengagement Scale. The *Moral Disengagement Scale* (MDS; Bandura, 1995) consisted of 32-items that assessed a respondent's tendency to morally disengage across a variety of contexts and social situations. Social-ecological contexts assessed in the scale included family, community, and peer relationships. The scale was organized as a five-point Likert-type scale, with possible responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Total scores on the MDs ranged from 32 to 160. The items measured an individual's tendency to engage in eight mechanisms of moral

disengagement. Higher scores indicated higher levels of moral disengagement (Hyde, Shaw, & Moilanen, 2009).

An early investigation of the measure conducted by Bandura and colleagues (1996) reported internal consistency of $\alpha=.82$ in a sample of 799 elementary and junior high public school students. More recent studies have continued to find acceptable internal consistencies, such as Hyde and associates (2009) who reported $\alpha=.85$ in an ethnically diverse sample of adolescents, Ribeaud and Eisner (2010) who reported $\alpha=.82$ in a sample of Swiss adolescents, and $\alpha=.92$ in a large sample (i.e., $N=930$) of Midwestern middle school students (Turner, 2008). In addition, internal consistency in the hazing pilot study was desirable, $\alpha=.90$ (Strawhun et al., 2014). Most studies (Bandura et al., 1996; Hyde et al., 2010; Gini, 2006; Ribeaud & Eisner, 2010) suggested a one-dimensional factor structure to the MDS (i.e. each of the eight mechanisms tend to converge with one another to represent a single construct) and Bandura's eight separate mechanisms have rarely, if ever, been replicated (Turner, 2008).

Based on this knowledge, a principal components analysis using varimax orthogonal rotation was pursued to determine the factor loading of the MDS and how the items should be grouped in this study's analyses (see Table 8). Only the components with eigenvalues greater than one were retained (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). The 32-items loaded onto one overall disengagement factor accounting for 16.60% of the variance. This amount of variance accounted for is extremely similar (i.e., within one percentage point) to that reported by Bandura and colleagues (1996) and is considered to be consistent with previous factor analyses performed on the MDS. Examination of the

corresponding scree plot (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005) in SPSS was also indicative of all 32 items loading onto one overall factor. All items loaded at .40 or higher onto the one factor which is consistent with the acceptable cut-off suggested by statisticians (Stevens, 2009; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012). Thus, total moral disengagement total scores were used as predictors rather than subscale scores. In the present study, the internal consistency of the MDS represented by coefficient alpha was excellent ($\alpha = .91$). Participants' scores on the MDS ranged from 34 to 102 ($M=64.79$, $SD=13.98$).

Need to Belong Scale (NBS; Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, & Schreindorfer, 2006).

Students' need to belong was assessed through the 10-item NBS. In particular, the scale gauged respondents' desire to be accepted by other people, tendency to seek opportunities to belong in social groups, and negative reactions when they may feel rejected or ostracized from a group (Leary et al., 2013). Each item was measured on a five-point scale 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Total scores for the 10-item NBS range from 5 to 50. Example items included "I need to feel that there are people I can turn to in times of need" and "My feelings are easily hurt when I feel that others do not accept me." Items worded to reflect a low need to belong (e.g., If other people don't seem to accept me, I don't let it bother me) were recoded so that higher scores represent a greater need to belong. This pattern was also consistent with the measurement of the other continuous variables (e.g., previous bullying perpetration and victimization and moral disengagement).

Leary and associates (2013) reported strong construct validity of the scale with moderate correlations between the NBS and measures of need for affiliation, affiliation

motivation, sociability, and extraversion. In their investigation of the need to belong and perceptions of social cues, Pickett and associates (2004) reported adequate reliability ($\alpha=.83$) for the NBS measure among undergraduates. Litt and colleagues (2012) reported an internal consistency of .90 when using the scale to assess the associations between belonging and problem behavior (i.e., heavy alcohol use). Likewise, in a multi-stage study of the need to belong, stigma consciousness, and perceived discrimination in undergraduates, Caravello and Pelham (2006) found an internal consistency of .84 for the 10-item scale. Several studies conducted by the scale developers yielded coefficient alphas ranging from .78 to .87 across 15 different samples. Test-retest reliability after 10 weeks was also strong, $\alpha=.87$ (Leary et al., 2013). As many studies employing this measure have used undergraduate samples, the measure is likely developmentally appropriate for the current study sample of university college students.

In the present study, three items were recoded so that higher scores on the overall NBS scale reflected higher needs to belong. Internal consistency in the current study was acceptable ($\alpha=.78$) and congruent with that reported of the scale developers (Leary et al., 2013). A factor analysis was not conducted on the 10-item NBS due to previous literature and theory suggesting the presence of only one factor (Leary et al., 2006; Leary et al., 2013). Participant scores on the NBS in the current study sample ranged from 17 to 49 ($M=33.83$, $SD=5.58$).

Hazing Perceptions. (HP; adapted from Cornell University, 2013). This scale consists of 14 vignettes; 4 items per vignette assessing participants' likelihood to identifying the incident as bullying, identifying the incident as hazing, the acceptability of

the incident, and intervening in the incident. In this phase, hypothetical behavioral vignettes were used to assess hazing rather than asking participants directly about their own hazing experiences. Vignettes were employed since asking direct questions about hazing involvement may result in social desirability or reduced responding (Kolivas & Gross, 2007; Sleet et al., 2002). Each vignette was gender neutral and included examples of psychological (e.g., spreading embarrassing and humiliating stories) and physical (e.g., forcing individuals to engage in excessive physical activity) forms of hazing. Use of the vignettes was also meant to channel participants' realistic campus experiences and reduce ambiguity.

As recommended by Shadish, Cook, and Campbell (2002), consultation with stakeholders (e.g., fraternity and sorority undergraduates, graduate students in Educational Psychology), as well as the results from the pilot study were utilized to determine the validity of this instrument. Validity for the HP scale was also established through an exploratory factor analysis (Green & Salkind, 2008) to determine if the subscales of bullying identification, hazing identification, hazing acceptance, and hazing intervention corresponded to true constructs (i.e., unobservable latent variables; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Wardrop, 2001) and by asking fellow graduate students with knowledge of university hazing if the measure appeared accurate and realistic.

Mean scores on each subscale (across the 14 vignettes) ranged from 0 to 10, with higher scores indicating greater levels of acceptability, intervention, and identification. In order to examine the reliability of the hazing questionnaire, alphas for each of the four subscales (acceptability, intervention, identifying the situation as bullying, and

identifying the situation as hazing) were calculated in the pilot study. The acceptability ($\alpha=.95$) and intervention ($\alpha=.96$) subscales, as well as identifying hazing ($\alpha=.92$) and identifying bullying ($\alpha=.93$) demonstrated excellent internal consistency in the hazing pilot study.

Internal consistency reliability for each of the four subscales, acceptability of hazing ($\alpha=.93$), defining the situation as bullying ($\alpha=.95$), defining the situation as hazing ($\alpha=.95$), and hazing intervention ($\alpha=.94$) in the current dissertation study was also excellent. A principal components analysis using varimax orthogonal rotation was also undertaken on each 14-item hazing subscale to examine the validity of the HP instrument. Given the literature on the continuum of hazing behaviors (Allan & Madden, 2013; Waldron, 2015), the analyses aimed to determine if distinct factors would emerge corresponding to the severity level of hazing behaviors. As with the previous analyses, only components with eigenvalues greater than one were retained (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). Regarding the acceptability subscale, two distinct factors emerged accounting for 60.52% of the variance. All items loaded at .60 or above, which implies “good” to “very good” factor loadings (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012). The full list of factor loadings are displayed in Table 9. Examination of the scree plot further supported a two-factor structure solution. Nine items related to more mundane acts of hazing loaded on one distinct factor. These items included performing calisthenics, eating leftover food, memorizing information, and carrying goldfish to class, among others. Meanwhile, five items loaded on the second distinct factor. These items appeared to represent more severe hazing, such as drinking excessive amounts of alcohol, restricting sleep, circling new

members' body fat with a marker, among others. The item with the highest loading on this scale was sending a negative and embarrassing email about a new group member to an entire listserv of students (factor loading=0.82).

When examining the defining bullying subscale, a second principal-components analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation was conducted. Two factors emerged out of the defining bullying subscale accounting for 66.04% of the variance and the full list of factor loadings are displayed in Table 10. The scree plot also appeared to support the presence of two distinct components. Eleven items describing mild hazing activities loaded on the first factor, such as making prank phone calls, memorizing information, carrying a goldfish to class, and wearing flip flops in the cold. Three items loaded on the second factor. Again, these items appeared to constitute more severe hazing, such as forcing members to drink excessive amounts of alcohol, circling new members' body fat with a marker, and sending a negative and embarrassing email about a member to an entire email listserv. As with the acceptability subscale, the item describing sending an embarrassing email to a listserv had the highest loading on the second factor (factor loading=0.86).

In order to determine if the two-factor structure solution was viable for the defining hazing subscale, a principal-components analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation was executed. Using the initial eigenvalue guide of only retaining factors greater than one, only one factor emerged accounting for 59.72% of the variance. Based on the two-factor solutions of the two previous HP subscales, research on the continuum of hazing behaviors, and examination of the scree plot, a fixed number of factors (i.e., two

factors) was extracted through SPSS. Through the use of the forced two-factor solution, the two factors accounted for 65.83% of the variance. Twelve items loaded onto the first distinct factor. Only two-items loaded onto the second factor, sending negative and embarrassing emails to an entire listserv (factor loading= 0.82) and circling new members' body fat (factor loading=0.80); however, the two factor item loadings are classified as excellent (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012). All other items loaded at 0.63 or higher. The full list of factor loadings for the two-factor structure can be found in Table 11. Consistent with the literature (Allan & Madden, 2013; Kowalski & Waldron, 2010), it is possible that only the items that participants perceived as representing the most severe forms of hazing loaded onto the second factor.

Lastly, a principal-components analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation was also completed for the intervention subscale. Similarly to the analysis of the defining hazing subscale, when abiding by the eigenvalue guide of only retaining factors greater than one, a one-factor solution emerged accounting for 62.35% of the variance. Examination of the scree plot suggested that two factors could be present and a fixed number of factors (i.e., two factors) was extracted through SPSS (Mertler & Vannatta, 2008). Using the fixed number of factors, the two-factor solution accounted for 68.86% of the variance. Analysis of the forced two-factor solution proposed that ten items loaded onto one distinct factor (accounting for 39.67% of the variance), while four items loaded onto a second factor (accounting for 29.19% of the variance). All items loaded at .58 or above and a full list of factor loadings is depicted in Table 12. Contrary to the principal components analyses for the acceptability and defining bullying subscale, the factor accounting for more of the

variance (39.67%) included severe items (e.g., forced alcohol consumption, sending negative and embarrassing emails, circling body fat), as well as more mild and moderate hazing items (e.g., wearing flip flops in the cold, extensive calisthenics). For this analysis, the four-items that loaded on the second factor all appeared more benign, including making prank phone calls, sending repetitive instant messages, carrying a goldfish to class, and memorizing information. There is also a list of means and standard deviations for each of the 14 vignettes across the four hazing subscales displayed in Table 13.

Qualitative Method

Several components are involved in qualitative methods, including transcribing text, developing a qualitative codebook, identifying themes, interrelating themes, using software, representing the themes in categories, and presenting visual models of the data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The qualitative portion of this study was modeled after Allan and Madden's (2008) multi-site hazing interviews as part of their larger campus experiences study. MAXQDA software for qualitative and mixed methods data analysis (VERBI Software-Consult, 2014) was used to analyze student transcripts.

Participants. During the Spring of 2015, following the administration of the quantitative surveys on Qualtrics, participants were recruited for qualitative follow-up individual interviews. Two interviews occurred in March 2015 and two qualitative interviews occurred in April 2015. As in Phase I, participants were undergraduate students age 19 older. Participants' responses on the quantitative surveys were not used to select the sample for the qualitative phase due to not enough individuals volunteering for

the follow-up interview that had actually experienced bullying and/or hazing. A total of 17 students emailed their interest in participating in a follow-up interview, although eleven were excluded for not having directly experienced bullying or hazing as participants were told beforehand that they would be speaking about perpetrating, witnessing, or being victimized by bullying or hazing.

Four participants (i.e., two male, two female) were chosen from the pool of individuals who, after completing the Phase I surveys, emailed the investigator that they were interested in a follow-up interview. These participants then received a copy of the qualitative consent form via email. As mentioned previously, all participants were required to have some experience as either a perpetrator and/or victim of bullying and/or hazing. The four participants chosen all voiced having experiences with bullying and/or hazing prior to being selected for the interview. All qualitative interview participants identified as White/Caucasian, heterosexual, and conforming to the male or female gender. The participants ranged in age from 19-22. Two participants identified their grade level as juniors, one participant identified as a senior, and one participant identified as a sophomore but noted she was “a junior credit-wise.” The majors represented by the four participants included Marketing, Family and Consumer science, and Education. One participant was currently a member of a fraternity on the university’s campus and asked not to disclose the name of the particular fraternity. No other participants reported being a member of a fraternity or sorority. Compensation for participants included a \$25.00 gift card to Starbucks.

Risks were minimal and students were not expected have to answer every question if they become emotionally overwhelmed or uncomfortable. Participants were all provided with referral cards to the Counseling and Psychological Services Center (Appendix C) located at the University Health Center at the university. Direct benefits and risks to the participants were also thoroughly described in the consent form. (Appendix C). Additionally, participants asked for further elaboration on the study goals, aims, and purpose during in the in-person interviews and were provided with a brief verbal description of the dissertation study. It is believed that some participants experienced some relief by sharing and explaining their story given that all participants volunteered to be contacted again for additional studies on this topic. Two participants asked not to be identified by their first names. Due to this request, all participants were provided with a pseudonym to preserve confidentiality.

Procedures. Interview protocols were developed following the analysis of quantitative data and consultation with stakeholders (e.g., undergraduate research assistants, research assistants with previous college hazing or bullying experiences). The protocol was also modified following the first interview when one participant noted that the tone of one question ‘presupposed wanting to end hazing.’ Recruitment emails were sent to chosen participants requesting their participation in the follow-up (see Appendix C). The principal investigator role played interview questions with other graduate students in the Empowerment Initiative research lab and reviewed a training on qualitative interview techniques prior to interviewing study participants.

The final qualitative interview protocol is located in Appendix C. This protocol was designed merely as a guide for the interview, since the domain analysis was employed as a data analytic strategy and additional questions were added to the protocol during the live interview. According to Spradley (1979), domain analysis is used to create further questions for the participant. Thus, preliminary domain analysis was undertaken by the principal investigator during the interview (i.e., making a list of cover terms, included terms, and semantic relationships) to produce additional questions. A brief domain analysis was also conducted following the collection of all qualitative data and is described in the subsequent data analysis section.

Individual interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes each and were conducted by the principal investigator. The principal investigator consulted with Dr. Michelle Howell Smith, a qualitative and mixed methods expert, throughout the interview process. All interviews were audio recorded and the interviewer recorded important notes by hand. The principal investigator first explained the qualitative consent form (Appendix C) to verify that students' consent to being audio recorded. While explaining the consent form, the principal investigator also obtained the student's preferred pseudonym to be used in research reports and write-ups. The principal investigator also conveyed that participants might be contacted in the future to validate preliminary codes for their qualitative interview. Essentially, this process of data validation occurred after the first round of constant comparison analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), or data coding. Validation or member checking (Merriam, 1998) was executed to determine if a particular code or code(s) accurately reflect the participant's ideas (Creswell & Plano

Clark, 2011). This validation strategy was conducted for responses that are deemed particularly ambiguous or crucial to the interpretation of the interview. Audio recordings were transcribed immediately following each interview by the principal investigator and interview notes were stored in the Empowerment Initiative Lab office.

Instrumentation. Questions listed on qualitative interview protocol are listed in Appendix C. Example questions included, “How would you explain or describe the bullying and/or hazing incident that you were involved in?” “What was the nature of your relationship with the individual(s) who perpetrated or were victimized by the bullying and/or hazing?” and “Why do you believe individuals continue to bully and haze others?” These questions were created based off the broader quantitative and qualitative research questions, as well as consultation with Dr. Howell Smith. The primary aim of this instrument was to gauge participants’ perceived motivations for hazing behaviors and hazing related attitudes and how these responses correspond or deviate to quantitative responses obtained through the surveys. Participants were also queried regarding prevention efforts they have been exposed to and those they would like to see implemented on campus.

Data Analysis Plan. The principal investigator and graduate research assistants in the Empowerment Initiative lab were responsible for the maintenance of the qualitative data, including the storing of qualitative interview protocols and recording equipment. Qualitative interview protocols and audio recorders are stored in a locked filing cabinet in the Empowerment Initiative lab office. Verbatim transcripts of the half-hour interviews were analyzed using MAXQDA. MAXQDA allows for the importation of interview data,

as well as online survey data, thereby allowing the quantitative data from the first phase of this study to be sequentially connected with the qualitative data. MAXQDA functions were also used to generate tables and quote matrices relating the qualitative data to the quantitative data (VERBI Software, 2014).

Consistent with Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007), the current study used more than one qualitative data analytic technique (i.e., data triangulation) in order increase understanding and interpretation of the data. Specifically, MAXQDA was utilized to quantify the qualitative responses in this study (i.e., data transformation; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011) and qualitative responses were initially coded according to the quantitative research questions. The initial round of data analysis was facilitated through constant comparison analysis (Glaser & Straus, 1967).

Constant comparison analysis, commonly referred to as “coding” is one of the most common data analytic techniques in qualitative research (Bazeley, 2013; Leech & Onwuegbuzie; Onwuegbuzie, Leech, & Collins, 2012) and is useful for identifying underlying themes in an entire set of data. Using constant comparison analysis, codes may be developed prior to analysis based on empirical literature, emerge from analysis, or in an iterative manner (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). First, the principal investigator segmented the text (imported into MAXQDA) into smaller, meaningful parts. These pieces were labeled as “codes” and the principal investigator interpreted the text according to how the responses fit and diverged with the code list. Themes were extracted from the data by combining multiple codes that were similar in topic or origin (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2012).

Although qualitative data recognizes the diversity of participant experiences and realities, the codebook aimed to encourage comparison and contrast across and within participant transcripts. In addition, participants provided responses that did not always correlate with the quantitative research questions or the codebook and this text was coded with new codes as needed. Member checking was pursued with participants to decide if the codes and themes accurately reflected their original interview statements (Merriam, 1998). Dr. Michelle Howell Smith was consulted as needed throughout the constant comparison analysis to ensure data validation. Domain analysis facilitated the discovery of relationship among concepts that may not have been present through quantitative data analysis alone.

Spradley (1979) maintained that domain analysis involves exploration for larger elements of culture embedded as symbols within the data. Within the domain analysis, all symbols included the symbol itself (i.e., the cover term or concept), the included term that the symbol refers to, and the connection between the symbol and cover term (i.e., the semantic relationship). In his original work, Spradley (1979) proposed nine types of semantic relationships (i.e., strict inclusion, spatial, cause-effect, rationale, location for action, function, means-end, sequence, and attribution). Contemporary research has cited that domain analysis should be utilized to understand relationships among concepts and to create future, follow-up questions for research participants (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2012). In this case, the domain analysis was used to explore the symbolic meanings that participants ascribe to their bullying and hazing experiences.

Bullying and hazing were specific terms of interest that were particularly important to investigate through semantic relationships identified in participants' responses.

Integration/Data Mixing

The initial pilot study conducted in Fall 2012 and Spring 2013 was limited by its use of a mono-method approach and subsequent biases rooted in quantitative methods (e.g., linearity, non-contextual; Bazely, 2013). Thus, the current study served to explain and elaborate on quantitative data that may not tell a complete story. All mixed methods data analyses were conducted in MAXQDA to specifically answer the research question, "How do the responses from the individual interviews support and explain the predictors identified during the first phase of investigation?" Quantitative and qualitative data were connected after the completion of qualitative interviews. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), mixed methods interpretation requires examining the quantitative and qualitative results to evaluate how the findings address the mixed methods research questions and hypotheses. Qualitative data were initially transformed into quantitative codes and themes for ease of interpretation, and domain analysis was used to validate and explore additional qualitative groupings. The qualitative interviews served to explain any non-significant predictors from the quantitative phase.

Following both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis, the data were connected in order to validate the variables chosen for inclusion and pinpoint any newly identified predictors of hazing that were identified in the qualitative interviews. Although the study has a quantitative priority (i.e., quantitative strand was implemented

first and drove the primary research questions), the qualitative portion of the study was necessary to form a complete picture of hazing related attitudes on college campuses.

Chapter Four: Quantitative and Qualitative Results

The goals of the analytic methods in this study were two-fold: a) to identify relationships between predictors of hazing perceptions as identified by the hazing pilot study and the extant literature and b) to examine these predictors and examine processes through qualitative interviews in which new themes and predictors of hazing could emerge.

Preliminary Quantitative Analyses

A series of Pearson product-moment correlations were run to determine the strength of the relationship between the independent variables of previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement, as well as the dependent variables of acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention. The correlation values are displayed in Table 14. Regarding the independent variables, there was a significant positive correlation between having previously perpetrated bullying and moral disengagement ($r=.369$) such that as participants' scores on the perpetration sub-scale of the VPBS increased, their levels of moral disengagement also increased. A significant negative correlation was also generated between participants' need to belong scores and their moral disengagement scores ($r=-.132$) in that participants scoring higher on a need to belong scored lower on the MDS measure of moral disengagement.

There were additionally significant correlations between all of the subscales on the HP measure. Specifically, there was a significant negative correlation between acceptability and each of the other HP subscales, including defining bullying ($r=-.378$),

defining hazing ($r=-.319$), and intervention ($r=-.144$). These significant negative relationships signify that as participants found the situations described in the hazing vignettes as more acceptable, their scores on the likelihood of defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention subscales decreased. There were also significant positive correlations found between scores on the intervention subscale and participants' scores on the defining bullying ($r=.594$) and defining hazing ($r=.471$) subscales. These correlations demonstrate that the higher participants' scores were on the defining bullying and defining hazing subscales (i.e., participants' scores reflected they believed the vignettes were consistent with the definitions of bullying and hazing), the more likely they were to endorse that they would intervene in the scenarios.

Lastly, there were several significant correlations found when examining the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, lending support to employ regression analyses to answer the study's quantitative research questions. There were significant positive correlations between participants' scores on the previous bullying perpetration subscale of the VPBS and participants' scores on the acceptability subscale ($r=.240$), as well as participants' moral disengagement scores on the acceptability subscale ($r=.371$). There was also a significant positive correlation between participants' need to belong scores and their scores on defining the situations in the vignettes as bullying ($r=.177$), as well as a significant negative correlation between participants' moral disengagement scores and defining the situations in the vignettes as bullying ($r=-.407$). The same significant correlation pattern was present for defining hazing in that there was a significant positive correlation between participants' need to belong scores

and their scores on the defining hazing subscale ($r=.189$), and a significant negative correlation between their moral disengagement scores and their scores on the defining hazing subscale ($r=-.400$). There was also a significant negative correlation between participants' moral disengagement scores and their scores on the intervention (i.e., likelihood of intervening in the situation described in the vignettes) subscale ($r=-.269$).

Inferential Analyses

Hypothesis 1: Bullying and victimization frequency, moral disengagement, and need to belong (IVs) will positively predict acceptability of bullying and hazing (DV). In order to test Hypothesis 1, examining the relationship between the independent variables and participants' perceptions of the acceptability of the situations depicted in the vignettes, a multiple regression was performed in SPSS Statistics Software Package Version 22. The multiple regression model included previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement as the predictor variables (IVs) and participants' scores on the acceptability subscale of the HP as the criterion variable (DV). Before conducting the multiple regression analysis, diagnostics were run in SPSS to detect autocorrelation of errors over all cases. The Durbin-Watson statistic is a reliable measure of autocorrelation of errors in the sample and was generated to ensure independence of errors. The Durbin-Watson statistic for the regression model was computed and found to be 1.87 (values close to 2 are ideal and less than 1 should promote further transformations; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012), suggesting that the independence of errors assumption for this multiple regression model was met. The standardized normality p-plots and histograms of the data in SPSS (Green & Salkind,

2008; Mertler & Vannatta, 2005) indicated that participants' acceptability standardized residual scores were normally distributed by each independent variable of previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement.

The overall multiple regression model for acceptability was significant with the predictor variables accounting for 19.9% of the total variance in participants' perceptions of the situations as acceptable ($R^2=.199$, $F(4,55)=3.42$, $p<.001$), $f^2=.248$. Using Cohen's f^2 as a measure of effect size, this model produced a medium effect (Cohen, 1988). Specifically, participants with higher levels of moral disengagement ($\beta= .370$, $p<.05$) were significantly more likely to find the behaviors described in the vignettes as acceptable, demonstrating a significant positive relationship between participants' moral disengagement scores and their scores on the acceptability subscale of the HP scale. In addition, the correlation between moral disengagement and participants' perceptions of acceptability of the vignettes was moderate, $r=.371$.

Further examination of the scatterplot depicting participants' moral disengagement scores and acceptability scores indicated a linear relationship in that as moral disengagement increased, acceptability of the hazing vignettes also increased. No other independent variables in the model, including previous bullying perpetration ($\beta= .184$, $p=.188$), previous bullying victimization ($\beta= -.070$, $p=.588$), and need to belong ($\beta= .097$, $p=.482$), were predictive of acceptability scores on the HP scale. Thus, hypothesis 1 was partially supported, particularly since moral disengagement

demonstrated a significant positive relationship with participants' perceptions of the acceptability of the situations described in the vignettes.

Hypothesis 2: Bullying and victimization frequency, moral disengagement, and need to belong (IVs) will negatively predict defining bullying (DV). A second multiple regression model was executed to determine the relationship between the predictor variables of previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement (IVs) and the criterion variable of defining bullying. The Durbin-Watson statistic to examine the presence of autocorrelation in the sample was extremely close to 2 and computed to be 1.94 implying the independence of errors are assumption for this model is tenable. A visual inspection of the normality p-plot of standardized regression residuals displayed evidence that participants' standardized residuals were normally distributed on the defining bullying subscale of the HP scale.

The overall multiple regression model for defining bullying was marginally significant. The predictor variables accounted for 15.1% of the total variance in participants' perceptions of the situations as meeting the definition of bullying ($R^2=.151$, $F(4,55)=2.44$, $p<.010$). $f^2=.177$. Employing Cohen's f^2 as a measure of effect size, this model produced a small effect (Cohen, 1988). In particular, participants with higher scores on the victimization subscale of the VPBS (i.e, had experienced more victimization) were marginally more likely to perceive the behaviors in the vignettes as meeting the definition of bullying ($\beta= .236$, $p<.010$).

Moreover, inspection of the scatterplot depicting participants' previous victimization scores and defining bullying scores implied a positive linear relationship in that as bullying victimization increased, acceptability of the hazing vignettes also increased. No other independent variables in the defining bullying model, including previous bullying perpetration ($\beta = -.083, p = .563$), need to belong ($\beta = .075, p = .594$), and moral disengagement ($\beta = -.226, p = .419$), were predictive of defining bullying on the HP scale. Still, results did indicate findings in the expected direction (i.e., participants experiencing higher levels of bullying perpetration and moral disengagement were less likely to define the situations as bullying, albeit non-significant). Thus, hypothesis 2 was not supported, although research on bullying victimization may explain the finding that participants' who were victimized in the past were more likely to perceive behaviors in the vignettes as consistent with the definition of bullying.

It is important to note that the original power analysis recommended a sample size of at least approximately 450 cases to generate medium effect sizes. The number of participants included in the regression models was greatly reduced ($n = 61$) since the multiple regression models only included individuals with scores on all of the independent variables (i.e., participants who reported previous perpetration, previous victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement). Participants who did not report previous bullying perpetration and/or previous bullying victimization (i.e., individuals identifying as "bullies," "victims," or "bully-victims") were excluded from these analyses automatically by SPSS.

Therefore, a second multiple regression model was run for the DV of defining bullying only using need to belong scores and moral disengagement scores as predictors since nearly all participants had complete data on these measures. This regression model for defining bullying was significant ($R^2=.181$, $F(2,446)=49.13$, $p<.001$) and need to belong scores and moral disengagement scores accounted for 18.1% of the variance in participants' scores on the defining bullying subscale. According to Cohen's (1988) effect size cutoff guide, this produces a small to medium effect size ($f^2 =.22$). Furthermore, the individual predictors of need to belong ($\beta= .124$, $p<.01$) and moral disengagement ($\beta= -.390$, $p<.001$) were also significant in the model, although the significant relationship between need to belong and defining bullying was positive rather than negative. Thus, hypothesis 2 was partially supported in that moral disengagement was a significant predictor of identifying bullying; however, the significance of need to belong scores in predicting identification of bullying was in the opposite direction that was proposed in hypothesis 2. This revised regression model is shown in Table 15.

Hypothesis 3: Bullying and victimization frequency, moral disengagement, and need to belong (IVs) will negatively predict defining hazing (DV). As with the other HP subscales, a multiple regression model was conducted to examine the relationship between the predictor variables of previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement (IVs) and the criterion variable of defining hazing. When diagnostics were performed to evaluate autocorrelation of errors across cases in this sample, the Durbin-Watson statistic was acceptable (1.528) indicating that the assumption of independence of errors can be maintained. Inspection of

the normality p-plots of standardized residuals and the corresponding histogram in SPSS determined that participants' residuals on the defining hazing subscale were normally distributed.

The overall multiple regression model for defining hazing was not significant. The predictor variables accounted for 5.9% of the total variance in the defining hazing variable ($R^2=.059$, $F(4,55)=.861$, $p=.493$). Correspondingly, none of the individual predictors of previous bullying perpetration ($\beta= -.106$, $p=.481$), previous bullying victimization ($\beta= .104$, $p=.462$), need to belong ($\beta= -.017$, $p=.907$), and moral disengagement ($\beta= -.168$, $p=.305$) were significant. The direction of the relationships depicted in the model between previous bullying perpetration, need to belong, and moral disengagement (IVs) and defining bullying (DV) were all consistent with hypothesis 3, although the differences were non-significant. Furthermore, inspection of the scatter plots pointed towards the absence of a clear and significant linear relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable of defining hazing. The relationship between previous bullying victimization and defining hazing differed from hypothesis 3, yet may be able to be explained by previous research on bullying victimization.

As with the model for defining bullying, a second multiple regression model was computed for defining hazing using a larger sample size that was recommended by the power analysis (i.e., including participants with complete data on need to belong and moral disengagement variables and not requiring that participants had previously experienced bullying perpetration and/or bullying victimization since this severely limited the sample size). The new regression model only included the predictors of need

to belong and moral disengagement (IVs) to examine their effects on participants' scores on the defining hazing subscale of the HP (DV). This new regression model demonstrated overall significance ($R^2=.179$, $F(2,446)=48.50$, $p<.001$). According to Cohen (1988), the effect for this model ($f^2 =.22$) also falls within the small to medium effect size range.

Both the individual predictors of moral disengagement ($\beta= -.382$, $p<.001$) and need to belong were significant ($\beta= .138$, $p<.01$). The significant negative relationship for moral disengagement and defining hazing was that as participants' moral disengagement increased, their likelihood of defining the behaviors in the vignettes as meeting the definition of hazing decreased. The significant positive relationship between need to belong and defining hazing can be outlined that as participants' need for belonging increased, their likelihood of perceiving the situations as consistent with the definition of hazing increased. This latter finding is contrary to hypothesis 3 and will be explained further in the discussion chapter. The revised regression model for defining hazing is shown in Table 16.

Hypothesis 4: Bullying and victimization frequency, moral disengagement, and need to belong (IVs) will negatively predict intervention in bullying and hazing (DV). A final multiple regression model was computed to test hypothesis 4 and determine the relationship between previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement (IVs) predictor variables and the criterion variable of participants' scores on the intervention subscale (DV) on the HP measure. Generation of the Durbin-Watson statistic to evaluate the presence of autocorrelation in the sample was 2.00, suggesting that the assumption of independence of errors across

cases was tenable. In addition, residuals on the intervention subscale appeared to be normally distributed as depicted through a histogram and normality p-plot.

The overall multiple regression model for the intervention subscale was not significant ($F(4,55)=1.19, p=.324$). The predictor variables accounted for 8% of the variance in participants' scores on the intervention subscale of the HP. Individual level predictor variables of previous bullying perpetration ($\beta = -.465, p=.644$), need to belong ($\beta = .014, p=.925$), and moral disengagement ($\beta = .006, p=.973$) were also not significant. There was a marginally significant positive relationship between previous bullying victimization and participants' perceiving that they were likely to intervene in the vignettes ($\beta = .293, p<.05$).

Hypothesis 4 was not supported due to the non-significant relationship between the IVs of previous bullying perpetration, need to belong, and moral disengagement and participants' scores on the intervention subscale of the HP. Furthermore, only the negative relationship between previous bullying perpetration and likelihood intervening in the vignettes was in the direction predicted by hypothesis 4 (i.e., as participants scores on previous bullying perpetration increased, their likelihood of intervening in the vignettes decreased). The marginally significant relationship between previous victimization scores and scores on the intervention subscale are incongruent with hypothesis 4, but consistent with the findings of the other regression models for the HP subscales and will be discussed further in the next chapter.

In order to analyze findings using a larger sample size, a second multiple regression model was run on participants' intervention scores that only included need to

belong and moral disengagement as predictor variables. Similar to the defining bullying and defining hazing subscales, this second regression model was generated in order to detect effects using the majority of the sample rather than requiring that participants have experienced both bullying perpetration and bullying victimization to be included in the model. The overall regression model was significant for the intervention subscale ($R^2=.081$, $F(2,446)=19.77$, $p<.001$) with need to belong and moral disengagement accounting for 8% of the total variance in participants' intervention scores. Cohen's effect size ($f^2=.088$) is very small for this model (Cohen, 1988). This is very similar to the amount of variance accounted for in the first regression model using intervention scores as the DV, suggesting that the variables of previous bullying perpetration and previous bullying victimization may not have added greatly to accounting for variance in the model.

The individual predictors of need to belong ($\beta= -.095$ $p<.05$) and moral disengagement ($\beta= -.282$ $p<.001$) were also significant in the model. Thus, as participants' need for belonging elevated, their likelihood of intervening in the vignettes significantly decreased (i.e., a significant negative relationship). In addition, as participants' moral disengagement increased, their intervention likelihood also decreased. Both of these significant negative relationships are consistent with the original hypothesis 4. The revised regression model for intervention is displayed in Table 17.

Hypothesis 5: Mean differences on IVs and DVs across sexual orientation and race/ethnicity are not expected to be significant. Analyses were performed to determine if there were any relationships among demographic characteristics of

participants (e.g., race and sexual orientation) and the independent variables of bullying perpetration, victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement. Means and standard deviations on the independent variables are reported by sexual orientation (Table 18) and race/ethnicity (Table 20). Analyses were also conducted to determine relationships between race and sexual orientation and the dependent variables of hazing perceptions, specifically the acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention subscale of the HP. Means and standard deviations on the dependent variables are reported by sexual orientation (Table 19) and race/ethnicity (Table 21).

Differences by sexual orientation. A one-way ANOVA was performed to detect mean differences in the independent variables of previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement. The Levene's test for the equality of variances was not significant (i.e., p -values less than .05; Mertler & Vannatta, 2005) for each of the independent variables of bullying perpetration ($F(4,95)=.280, p=.490$), victimization ($F(4,181)=1.11, p=.087$), need for belonging ($F(4,450)=1.19, p=.445$), and moral disengagement ($F(4,450)=1.54, p=.768$). This suggests that assumption of equal variances is tenable and the results of the ANOVA can be interpreted (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005; Tibachnick & Fidell, 2012).

Regarding mean differences, individuals endorsing bisexuality did report higher mean levels of previous bullying victimization ($M=40.38, SD=16.99$) on the VPBS than other individual sexual orientation groups and the total sample mean. In addition, individuals identifying as bisexual were the second most endorsed sexual orientation category ($n=14$) after having a heterosexual orientation ($n=428$). Individuals identifying

as homosexual reported the highest level of need for belonging ($M=37.66$, $SD=3.77$) on the NBS. Although these findings are noteworthy and are consistent with previous literature (Poteat, Mereish, DiGiovanni, & Koenig, 2011; Robinson & Espelage, 2011; Ybarra, Mitchell, Kosciw, & Korchmaros, 2015), there were no statistically significant differences in bullying perpetration ($F(4,95)=.280$, $p=.891$) victimization ($F(4,181)=1.11$, $p=.355$), need for belonging ($F(4,450)=1.19$, $p=.316$), and moral disengagement ($F(4,450)=1.54$, $p=.188$) across sexual orientation statuses.

A one-way ANOVA was also conducted to examine differences across sexual orientation statuses on the HP subscales of acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention. The Levene's test for homogeneity of variances was non-significant for the defining bullying ($F(1,444)=.719$, $p=.541$), defining hazing ($F(1,444)=2.09$, $p=.492$), and intervention ($F(1,444)=1.46$, $p=.224$) subscales. The Levene's test produced a significant result for the acceptability subscale ($F(1,444)=.583$, $p=.010$), and Brown-Forsythe test was employed as per Green and Salkind (2008) to address violations in homogeneity and allow the ANOVA to be interpreted. The results of the one-way ANOVA indicated that there were no significant differences across sexual orientation statuses on the acceptability ($F(4,444)=.538$, $p=.675$), defining bullying ($F(4,44)=.900$, $p=.464$), defining hazing ($F(4,444)=2.09$, $p=.081$), and intervention ($F(4,444)=1.46$, $p=.213$) subscales. When using the Brown-Forsythe method to address the violations in homogeneity on the acceptability subscale, there were still no significant differences across sexual orientation statuses on participants' perception of the acceptability of the vignettes ($F(4,444)=.070$, $p=.975$).

Examination of Q-plots and the Shapiro-Wilk's test in SPSS for normality demonstrated that the scores on the acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention subscales were not normally distributed. The scores on the acceptability subscale were positively skewed indicating the many participants found the situations depicted in the vignettes as unacceptable. Additionally, and not unexpectedly, many participants viewed the vignettes as meeting the definition of bullying and hazing, and thus the scores on the defining bullying and defining hazing subscales were negatively skewed. There was no clear skew pattern on the intervention subscale, potentially due to the lack of clarity or elaboration on what "intervene" entailed in the vignettes.

Given that the normality assumption was violated, a non-parametric test was pursued since a violation of normality may lead to type II error (i.e., failing to detect an effect when there is one). Green and Salkind (2008) recommend the Kruskal-Wallis test as a non-parametric test (i.e., does not require normality assumptions be met) that uses group medians to determine differences on a factor rather than group means. The findings from the Kruskal-Wallis test support the results of the one-way ANOVA in that there were still no significant differences in acceptability ($\chi^2(3,449)=2.29, p=.514$), defining bullying ($\chi^2(3,449)=2.38, p=.497$), defining hazing ($\chi^2(3,449)=5.26, p=.154$), and intervention ($\chi^2(3,449)=4.66, p=.198$) by sexual orientation status.

Differences by race/ethnicity. A series of one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted to examine differences in the continuous independent variables across ethnic background. The Levene's test for the assumption of homogeneity of variances was not significant for bullying perpetration $F(4,95)=.473, p=.354$,

victimization ($F(7,178)=.663, p=.208$), need to belong ($F(7,447)=2.13, p=.648$), and moral disengagement ($F(7,447)=1.89, p=.147$), and thus the ANOVAs for each continuous variable were considered interpretable.

Additionally, examination of Q-plots (Green & Salkind, 2008; Mertler & Vannatta, 2005) suggest that moral disengagement scores were normally distributed by ethnicity except for ethnicities only comprised of one participant (i.e., Native American, Middle Eastern, Other). According to the results of the one-way ANOVAs, there were no significant differences in previous bullying perpetration, ($F(4,95)=.473, p=.703$), previous bullying victimization ($F(7,178)=.663, p=.756$), and moral disengagement ($F(7,447)=1.89, p=.069$). There were significant differences in participants' levels of need to belong by race/ethnicity ($F(7,447)=2.13, p=.039$); however the significant difference in NBS scores were between middle eastern ($M=27.00, SD=n/a$) and a participant identifying as "not listed" ($M=38.00, SD=n/a$). Both of these racial/ethnic categories were only comprised of two or fewer participants and these significant differences are not considered meaningful at this time.

Additional one-way ANOVAs were performed to determine the existence of differences in the dependent variable of hazing perceptions across racial/ethnic group. The Levene's test for the assumption of homogeneity of variances was not significant for each of the subscales of the HP, acceptability ($F(7,441)=1.62, p=.153$), defining bullying ($F(7,441)=1.10, p=.358$), defining hazing ($F(7,441)=1.55, p=.174$), and intervention ($F(7,441)=.946, p=.451$) signifying that the assumption of homogeneity of variances could be retained. The one-way ANOVA did not produce any significant differences by

racial/ethnic group on the acceptability ($F(7,441)=.989, p=.438$), defining bullying ($F(7,441)=.687, p=.683$), and defining hazing ($F(7,441)=1.14, p=.339$). There was a marginally significant difference across ethnicities on the intervention subscale ($F(7,441)=2.16, p=.037$). As with previous analyses of sexual orientation using the HP subscale, the scores on the acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention subscales were not normally distributed by ethnicity. The Kruskal-Wallis test was then generated to determine if significant differences emerged on the HP subscales according to ethnicity. Using the Kruskal-Wallis test, there were no significant differences in acceptability ($\chi^2(7,441)=8.15, p=.319$), defining bullying ($\chi^2(7,441)=5.03, p=.657$), defining hazing ($\chi^2(7,441)=7.48, p=.381$), and intervention ($\chi^2(7,441)=11.73, p=.110$) subscales. Thus, the marginally significant differences in participants' willingness to intervene across ethnicities disappeared when the Kruskal-Wallis test correcting for normality violations was employed.

Hypothesis 6: Significant gender differences will be present on all IVs with males being more likely than females to previously perpetrate bullying and demonstrate higher levels of moral disengagement. Females will be more likely than males to experience previous bullying victimization and higher levels of need for belonging. Significant gender differences will be present on all DVs with males being less likely than females to identify bullying, identify hazing, and intervene. Males will be more accepting of hazing. To address hypothesis six, a series of independent samples t-tests were performed to determine the existence of significant gender differences on the independent variables of previous bullying perpetration, previous

bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement. Additionally, independent samples t-tests were performed to examine significant gender differences on the dependent variables of hazing perceptions as measured by the HP subscales of hazing acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention. Individuals identifying as a gender other than male or female ($n=3$) displayed higher mean scores compared to the overall sample on the independent variables of victimization ($M=38.00$, $SD=11.31$), need to belong ($M=37.50$, $SD=9.90$), and moral disengagement ($M=69.50$, $SD=12.21$) measures. However, the cell size of this category was deemed too small to conduct inferential analyses, and this group was not included as a level (for the predictor variable of gender) in the independent t-tests. Please see Table 22 for a presentation of participants' mean scores on each independent variable by gender.

Independent variables. In order to examine homogeneity of variances, the Levene's test for equality of variances was employed. Non-significant results were generated for previous bullying perpetration ($F(1,98)=.006$, $p=.937$), previous bullying victimization ($F(1,182)=.338$, $p=.562$), need to belong ($F(1,450)=3.13$, $p=.077$), and moral disengagement ($F(1,450)=.000$, $p=.987$), indicating that the assumption of homogeneity of variances is tenable. According to the q-plots and the Shapiro-Wilk's test in SPSS, all scores were normally distributed by gender.

The results of the independent samples t-tests suggest that there are significant differences between males and females on previous levels of bullying perpetration ($t(98)=2.90$, $p<.01$) with males reporting significantly higher levels of previous bullying perpetration than females. Males also reported significantly elevated levels of moral

disengagement than females ($t(450)=7.83, p<.001$). Consistent with hypothesis 6, females additionally endorsed significantly higher levels of need for belonging than males ($t(450)=-4.31, p<.001$). Contrary to previous research, females were no more likely than males to report previous bullying victimization ($t(182)=.419, p=.676$ on the VPBS. The effects of gender on bullying perpetration produced a medium effect ($g=.641$) when using Hedges' g as a measure of effect size. The effect size for the independent t-test of gender effects on moral disengagement scores was large ($g=.800$), while the gender effects on need to belong scores was small to medium ($g=.433$) when utilizing Hedges' g (Cohen, 1988; Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). Hedges' g has been found to be an appropriate effect size measure when comparing two sample sizes that are unequal (i.e., $n_{\text{males}}=140, n_{\text{females}}=312$).

Dependent variables. Additional independent samples t-tests were completed to examine gender differences on each subscale of the HP measure. First, Levene's tests of the homogeneity of variance were used to determine the interpretability of the independent samples t-tests. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was tenable for the acceptability ($F(1,444)=3.15, p=.077$) defining bullying, ($F(1,444)=.081, p=.847$), and defining hazing subscales; however, the assumption was violated with scores on the intervention ($F(1,444)=6.46, p=.011$) subscale. Thus, the Brown-Forsythe test was produced to correct for violations in homogeneity. The results of the independent samples t-tests suggest that males were significantly more likely than females to perceive the vignettes as acceptable ($t(444)=6.47, p<.001$), and significantly less likely than females to define the vignettes as bullying ($t(444)=-6.39, p<.001$) and hazing ($t(444)=-6.37, p<.001$).

The effect size for the independent t-test on acceptability scores was medium to large ($g=.651$) when utilizing Hedges' g (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). Again, Hedges' g is an acceptable effect size measure when dealing with two sample sizes that are unequal (i.e., $n_{\text{males}}=139$, $n_{\text{females}}=307$). The effect sizes using Hedges' g for defining bullying ($g=.654$) and defining hazing ($g=.651$) were both medium to large (Cohen, 1988), as well. Please see Table 23 for a display of gender effects on the dependent variables.

Although the independent samples t-tests displayed significant differences between males and females on the intervention subscale ($t(444)=-2.95$, $p<.01$), the Brown-Forsythe correction for the violation in homogeneous variances suggests that there is only a marginally significant difference between males and females on hazing intervention ($t(444)=-2.95$, $p=.088$). Furthermore, according to the q-plots and Shapiro-Wilk's tests for normal distributions, violations in normality were found for scores on the acceptability subscale and the defining hazing subscale. Acceptability scores were positively skewed as most participants tended to view the vignettes as unacceptable behavior, while the defining hazing subscale was negatively skewed with many participants viewing the vignettes as likely meeting the definition of hazing.

The Kruskal-Wallis test was utilized as a non-parametric test (Green & Salkind, 2008) to address the non-normal distribution of scores. The Kruskal-Wallis test indicated that even when correcting for violations in normality, males still viewed the vignettes as significantly more acceptable than females ($\chi^2(1, 446)=44.86$ $p<.001$). In addition, in keeping with the results of the independent samples t-tests, the Kruskal-Wallis test suggested that males were significantly less likely than females to define the vignettes as

hazing ($\chi^2(1, 446)=36.24, p<.001$). Thus, when considering hypothesis 6, the results of this study partially support the original gender hypothesis that there would be gender differences in hazing acceptability, defining bullying, and defining hazing. These results were consistent with previous literature and the hazing pilot study.

Thus, significant differences were found in expected directions between males and females on the independent variables of bullying perpetration, need to belong, and moral disengagement. Significant gender differences also emerged on the HP subscales of hazing acceptability, defining bullying, and defining hazing. Participants' non-significant scores by gender on the previous victimization component of the VPBS and the intervention subscale of the HP were the only aspects of hypothesis 6 not to be supported.

Hypothesis 7: Mean differences on IVs and DVs across group membership and age are not expected to be significant. Even though hazing has been found to occur ubiquitously across campus groups, research has found that student athletes and social fraternity/sorority members are more likely to be involved in hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005; Hoover, 1999). Thus, a series of independent sample t-tests were conducted to determine if student athletes and/or fraternity and sorority members differed in their levels of past bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, needing to belong, and moral disengagement (i.e., the independent variables in this study).

Fraternity/Sorority Members. When detecting differences in these independent variables between fraternity/sorority members and non-fraternity/sorority members, the Levene's test for homogeneity of variances was non-significant for bullying perpetration

($F(1,98)=2.89$, $p=.092$), bullying victimization ($F(1,184)=.177$, $p=.675$), need for belonging ($F(1,453)=1.46$, $p=.228$), and moral disengagement ($F(1,453)=1.78$, $p=.183$). The distribution of the scores on the independent variables did not significantly differ from normality based on examination of the q-plot, as well as the Shapiro-Wilk test of normality in the SPSS output. Thus, all t-tests were able to be interpreted as the assumptions of homogeneity of variances and normality were met. Independent sample t-tests found that there were no significant differences in the levels of previous bullying perpetration ($t(98)=-1.02$, $p=.310$), previous bullying victimization ($t(184)=1.725$, $p=.086$), need to belong ($t(453)=-.985$, $p=.325$), and moral disengagement ($t(453)=-.761$, $p=.447$) between fraternity/sorority members and non-fraternity/sorority members.

Another group of independent sample t-tests were run to detect if significant differences emerged between fraternity/sorority members and non-fraternity/sorority members on the dependent variables of hazing perceptions (i.e., acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention). As with the independent variables, the Levene's test for the assumption of homogeneity of variances was non-significant for each dependent variable of the *HP* subscale of acceptability ($F(1,447)=.008$, $p=.928$), defining bullying ($F(1,447)=3.54$, $p=.766$), defining hazing ($F(1,447)=.339$, $p=.561$), and intervention ($F(1,447)=.015$, $p=.903$).

However, examination of the normality q-plots and Shapiro-Wilk's test suggest that the scores were not normally distributed for the *HP* subscales of acceptability, defining bullying, and defining hazing. Not surprisingly, the acceptability scores were positively skewed (i.e., most participants found the situations not acceptable), while the

distributions for the defining bullying and defining hazing were negatively skewed (i.e., many participants considered the situations meeting the criteria for bullying and hazing). The distribution of the intervention scores did not have a clear pattern of skewness, likely due to the ambiguity of the word “intervention.”

Utilizing the independent samples t-test, results also suggest that there were no significant differences in hazing perceptions between fraternity/sorority and non-fraternity sorority members on the subscales of acceptability ($t(447)=-.112, p=.911$), defining bullying ($t(447)=.766, p=.444$), defining hazing ($t(447)=-.108, p=.281$), and intervention ($t(447)=-.181, p=.857$). Given that the normality assumption was violated, a non-parametric test was pursued. The results of the Kruskal-Wallis test confirm that there were no significant differences in acceptability ($\chi^2(1, 449)=.003, p=.958$), defining bullying ($\chi^2(1, 449)=.631, p=.427$), defining hazing ($\chi^2(1, 449)=.748, p=.387$), and intervention ($\chi^2(1, 449)=.035, p=.852$) between fraternity/sorority members and non-fraternity sorority members.

Athletes. A series of independent t-tests were also performed to determine significant differences between athletes and non-athletes on previous bullying perpetration, previous victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement. The Levene’s test for homogeneity of variance for bullying perpetration ($F(1,98)=4.14, p=.055$), bullying victimization ($F(1,184)=3.92, p=.059$), need to belong ($F(1,453)=2.25, p=.134$), and moral disengagement ($F(1,453)=.011, p=.917$) was not significant. The q-plots and the results presented in the Shapiro Wilk’s test additionally found the scores to be normally distributed for previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying

victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement, and thus the independent samples t-test could be interpreted. There were no significant differences between athletes and non-athletes on previous bullying perpetration ($t(98)=.523, p=.602$) or previous bullying victimization ($t(184)=3.92, p=.930$). However, significant differences between athletes and non-athletes were present on moral disengagement ($t(453)=-2.15, p<.05$) with athletes demonstrating higher scores on the MDS than non-athletes. Athletes also differed than non-athletes on need to belong ($t(453)=2.25, p<.01$) with athletes scoring significantly lower than non-athletes on the NBS.

Independent sample t-tests were also conducted to determine the existence of significant differences between athletes and non-athletes on the HP subscales of acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention. The Levene's test for the equality of means produced non-significant results for the subscales of acceptability ($F(1,447)=1.85, p=.174$), defining bullying ($F(1,447)=3.64, p=.057$), defining hazing ($F(1,447)=.096, p=.757$) and intervention ($F(1,447)=4.20, p=.061$), implying that the t-tests can be interpreted. Yet, as with the analyses of fraternity/sorority members, examination of the q-plots and the Shapiro Wilk's test in SPSS displayed significant deviations from normality in the athletes' scores on the HP subscales of acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention. Results of the independent samples t-test indicated no significant differences between athletes and non-athletes on perceptions of hazing acceptability ($t(447)=-1.77, p=.077$), defining hazing ($t(447)=1.95, p=.051$), and intervention ($t(447)=-.001, p=.999$). Marginally significant differences were found between athletes and non-athletes on defining bullying ($t(447)=2.03, p=.043$) with

non-athletes being marginally significantly more likely than athletes to define the vignettes as bullying.

Due to the p -values for the defining bullying and defining hazing subscales both hovering around .05 and the violations of normality, the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test was undertaken to correct for the violations of normality. The results of the Kruskal-Wallis test recommended similar results as there were no significant differences found between athletes and non-athletes on acceptability ($\chi^2(1,449)=3.12, p=.077$) or intervention ($\chi^2(1,449)=0.37, p=.848$) in the vignettes. As with the independent samples t -tests, the Kruskal-Wallis test found significant differences between athletes and non-athletes on defining bullying ($\chi^2(1,449)=4.70, p<.05$) and defining hazing ($\chi^2(1,449)=4.15, p<.05$) with athletes being significantly less likely than non-athletes to define the vignettes as consistent with definitions of bullying and hazing.

Age. As mentioned in the methods section, participants were grouped into traditional college students (i.e., ages 19-22) and non-traditional college students (i.e., ages 23 and over) to examine age differences in this study. Independent samples t -tests were used to examine significant differences in previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement. The Levene's test for homogeneity of variances was non-significant for each respective independent variable of previous bullying perpetration ($F(1,98)=2.19, p=.142$), previous bullying victimization ($F(1,184)=.113, p=.737$), need to belong ($F(1,447)=3.47, p=.063$) and moral disengagement ($F(1,447)=.065, p=.799$). The scores for participants' previous bullying perpetration, previous bullying victimization, need to belong, and moral disengagement

were normally distributed by age. Conducting the independent sample t-tests demonstrated significant differences in previous bullying perpetration ($t(1,98)=-2.01$, $p<.05$) between traditional college students and non-traditional college students with non-traditional college students reporting significantly higher levels of past bullying perpetration. Only three participants in the non-traditional college students group reported past bullying perpetration, thus this result has limited generalizability. There were no significant age differences in participants' levels of previous bullying victimization ($t(1,184)=-.757$, $p=.737$), need to belong ($t(1,453)=1.84$, $p=.063$) and moral disengagement ($t(1,453)=1.84$, $p=.098$).

Another series of independent samples t-tests were conducted to examine differences between traditional college students and non-traditional college students on the HP subscales of acceptability, defining bullying, defining hazing, and intervention. The assumption of equal variances was upheld by the Levene's test which demonstrated non-significant results for participants' scores on acceptability ($F(1,447)=4.96$, $p=.426$), defining bullying ($F(1,447)=.008$, $p=.928$), defining hazing ($F(1,447)=.062$, $p=.803$), and intervention ($F(1,447)=2.00$, $p=.158$). The assumption of normality was once again violated as participants' scores were positively skewed on acceptability, negatively skewed on defining hazing and defining bullying, and showed no clear pattern on the "intervention" subscale according to the q-plots and Shapiro-Wilk's tests. The results of the independent samples t-tests suggest that there was a significant difference between traditional college students and non-traditional college students on hazing acceptability ($t(1,447)=-2.95$, $p<.01$). There were no significant differences between traditional college

students and non-traditional college students on the other HP subscales of defining bullying ($t(1,447)=-.691, p=.490$), defining hazing ($t(1,447)=-1.23, p=.218$) and intervention ($t(1,447)=-1.92, p=.056$).

Execution of the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test to address violations in normality distributions on the HP subscales indicated similar results to the independent samples t-tests. There continued to be significant differences between traditional college students and non-traditional college students on hazing acceptability ($\chi^2(1,449)=5.82, p<.05$) with non-traditional college students finding the vignettes significantly more acceptable than traditional college students. As with the independent samples t-tests, there were no significant differences found between traditional college students and non-traditional college students on their likelihood of defining bullying ($\chi^2(1,449)=.618, p=.432$), defining hazing ($\chi^2(1,449)=2.74, p=.098$), and intervention ($\chi^2(1,449)=2.50, p<.114$).

Qualitative Analyses

Qualitative analyses were conducted in MAXQDA in order to code the four participant interviews consistent with constant comparison analysis. The constant comparison or “coding” technique was performed first before the brief domain analysis on the qualitative transcripts. Initial codes were generated according the independent variables used in the quantitative phase of the study, including “bullying perpetration,” “bullying victimization,” “need to belong,” and “moral disengagement.”

Hypothesis 1: Participants will describe their hazing experiences consistent with research on bullying and victimization, moral disengagement, and their need to

belong. Several participant statements were consistent with identifying moral disengagement as a means for participating in and maintaining hazing behaviors. When asked why individuals may continue to bully or haze others, Ethan discussed moral disengagement in a broad sense, “Again, that comes back to how you view people. People are the most important things on this earth. So my purpose is to invest in people and I see everyone as valuable regardless of what they look like or where they come from, but the reality is not everyone thinks that way. If people saw each other as valuable, they wouldn’t bully others” Therefore, this participant noted that moral disengagement and de-valuing victims may be catalysts to bullying. Furthermore, he described how he believed his worldview can counter bullying and hazing behaviors.

Independent variables. The participants also shared experiences and viewpoints that were consistent with Bandura and colleagues (1996) eight specific mechanisms of moral disengagement. For example, when discussing being involved in a hazing activity in which he and other recruits were squirted with condiments while laying on a mat in the gym, Ethan stated “So yeah when I say that in this context it sounds like textbook hazing, when I was in that situation I wouldn’t consider it hazing because I didn’t feel belittled, I didn’t feel disrespected. I knew it was all fun and that this was a history and a tradition and I was willing to put up with it.” Ethan’s quote not only may relate to the moral justifications of hazing as being part of a tradition, but it also highlighted the idiosyncratic contexts and meanings that participants used when reflecting on hazing that cannot be obtained by just examining the act itself.

During his interview, many of Andrew's phrases and statements were potentially reflective of euphemistic labeling (i.e., using positive or vague descriptions of hazing events and behaviors; Hamilton, 2014). For instance, when asked about the bullying and/or hazing incidents he had been involved in, Andrew replied "I would not describe them as 'incidents.'" When discussing his previous perpetration of bullying behaviors in high school, Andrew further reported "It was just joking around, but I didn't know them well and that's why I stopped it. It was just messing around in the hallway." This participant appeared to minimize some bullying and hazing events by using language (e.g., "joking," "messing") that masked the potential seriousness of the behaviors. Ethan also discussed initiation activities for a choir that involved being taken out into the woods. In this quote he hits on language being distorted or used to diminish the seriousness of behaviors, "My freshman and sophomore years we heard about 'kidnapping', but we were not allowed to use the term 'kidnapping.' It was just taking people into the woods, blindfolding them, and then shooting off firecrackers." These participants sometimes knowingly, as well as unknowingly, referenced instances of language softening the nature of potential hazing activities. During the course of the interview, Ethan noticed his patterns in language and uttered "We all know it's a tradition. I keep saying that it's a tradition, but if it's a tradition that is bad, then that doesn't really justify it. That's just something to keep note of." Thus, at least one participant was able to recognize his linguistic patterns as possibly contributing to the maintenance of dangerous initiation activities.

Bandura's concept of advantageous comparison (i.e., comparing hazing activities to more extreme acts in order to justify the behaviors) was coded as occurring less often in the participant transcripts. Andrew described his own fraternity initiation activities as possibly in line with the advantageous comparison concept as he stated "Three freshmen per night give rides. You only have to give rides like three times per semester and then you get to use that for the next three years. Sometimes freshman have to clean, like take out the trash, but it takes like 15 minutes. That's really all (name of fraternity) does. Cleaning and driving. It's never stuff that is forced on you. It's always stuff that will benefit everyone, it's never punishment." Although Andrew did not compare his fraternity activities directly to that of another group, it appeared that he did view these activities as potentially more mild than that occurring in other groups, which may contribute to the perpetuation of these activities.

Displacement of responsibility traditionally involves individuals minimizing their own participation or activeness in an event by displacing responsibility onto a higher governing or legal body. Andrew specifically remarked about intervening in hazing "Getting caught makes a lot of people stop. Alumni boards and executive committees have a lot of control over that stuff if they are aware of it." After being asked what might help stop bullying and hazing incidents, Ethan's initial response also situated responsibility on a governing body, "I think what would stop it first and foremost would be the administration saying that it's not allowed. I think, in general, that an administration halt would probably change it." Both of these participants planted heavy responsibility for ending hazing behaviors with the administration rather than with

individuals themselves or with more proximal club and team leaders. Diffusion of responsibility is another similar mechanism of moral disengagement that relates to spreading out the responsibility for hazing behaviors in order for individuals to never have to demonstrate culpability for their own acts (Hamilton, 2011). When he defined bullying, Andrew initially commented “It comes down to how you raise your kids. It happens when the school might not be supervising.” Although there is merit to these observations, this statement coincided with diffusion of responsibility given that the participant failed to mention anything in his description about how individuals can take action or improve their own behaviors to eradicate bullying.

Many quotes were also present in the transcript that could be linked to the mechanism of distorting and disregarding the consequences of bullying and hazing behaviors. In reference to being victimized in elementary school, Andrew described his experience as “It was just a clique of guys that kind of ignored me. It was not actively verbal. It was just a little bit of ‘kids being kids.’” This perspective is important as the participant recollected his own experiences as a victim and still minimized and disregarded the consequences in his own victimization experience. Holding this perspective currently could have helped to remove cognitive dissonance that the participant experienced if he had taken the bullying that occurred in his younger years more seriously

Ethan’s perspective also described the mechanism of disregarding and distorting the consequences and how this can occur without a guiding worldview that values human beings and human relationships. He states, “Some people want to think about a billion

years down the line when we are all gone. So me going to hurt people now isn't going to mean anything because we are just a product of chance and we are just matter." This participant's viewpoint appeared to suggest that when individuals do not abide by principles or morals, it is extremely easy to minimize and disregard human interactions and the consequences of these social relationships.

Participants also frequently mentioned attitudes supportive of hazing that could be associated with the facet of dehumanizing the victims. Ethan contributed the idea that "It could depend on your worldview. I believe everyone is valuable. If someone was bullied because of their race, and someone wasn't seeing them as valuable because of something as heinous as that. Someone is bullying when they see themselves as superior and the other person as inferior. How you view people affects bullying. If you respected someone or had a high view of someone you wouldn't want to be bullying them." Therefore, multiple times during the interview, Ethan discussed how bullying or hazing can occur when individuals do not view others as valuable or as superior as oneself. In a more simple sense, Katie defined bullying as consistent with the same sentiment in that "Bullying comes down to putting someone down to make yourself feel better." Dehumanizing victims may result in bullying and hazing behaviors, as well as an inflation of one's sense of self that may prevent critical thinking and reflection that should be used to reduce hazing behaviors.

Finally, Bandura's last mechanism of moral disengagement, attribution of blame, was not frequently implied during the interviews. Instead, participants attributed blame for their involvement in bullying onto themselves. Specifically, for this mechanism, two

participants blamed themselves for the bullying incidents they were involved in. For instance, Katie reported that the bullying she was involved in could have been reduced if “I had been more talkative with others. I wish that teachers would have noticed, but I did not tell anyone either.” Sarah also suggested that in her own situation, “I could have moved out sooner. I could have used ‘I statements’ when communicating with her so she would have been less defensive. I think I could have looked at my own faults a bit more.” Instead of displacing the blame onto authority (i.e., displacement of responsibility) or peers (i.e., diffusion of responsibility), both of these females reflected the blame onto the individual (i.e., themselves) and in a way opposing this mechanism of moral disengagement. Both of these quotes were derived from interviews with the female participants that did not reference or comment on moral disengagement in-depth. Please see Table 24 for additional quotes that correspond to Bandura’s eight facets of moral disengagement.

It is also of note that the majority of quotes related to moral disengagement were extracted from the two male interviews (i.e., only five of the 40 moral disengagement codes in MAXQDA were attributed to the female participants). The interviews of the two female participants did reference moral disengagement as Sarah defined bullying as “making someone feel worthless, useless, degrading them, and attacking them” and hinting at Bandura’s (1999) mechanism of dehumanizing the victims. However, moral disengagement was only referenced in the female participants’ interviews, while self-esteem, power, and belonging needs appeared to be these participants’ perceptions of factors contributing to hazing.

These qualitative findings were also congruent with the quantitative results that females demonstrated higher scores on the NBS. After being asked why individuals continue to bully or haze others, Katie indicated “I think it’s mainly for power or they might be ignorant.” Sarah responded to the same question with “I think it’s about power/control. Other people like being in the victim role and that can be powerful for them. They believe they can’t do any wrong and others are out to get them. Kind of a “poor me” mentality. I think if this girl had felt better and more secure about herself she would not have needed to lash out against us.” Katie also discussed her own victimization experiences related to belonging needs, “This girl would use stuff against me to get in with the popular kids. It was really hurtful.” Therefore, the female participants appeared to view bullying and hazing as stemming for a need for control and belonging when one has low self-esteem or has been previously victimized themselves. In general, the female participants appeared to also have less experience with directly being involved in hazing than the male participants, and correspondingly described themselves as experiencing bullying victimization in college rather than hazing. In addition, Hypothesis 1 appeared to be primarily supported through participants’ discussion of hazing in terms of moral disengagement and need to belong, as well as previous bullying and victimization experiences.

Dependent variables. The participants also discussed hazing with respect to how acceptable they viewed certain activities, as well as how to define and intervene in hazing. Ethan viewed the acceptability of hazing as not dependent on the act itself, but the sentiment and context surrounding the act. He particularly remarked that hazing acts

have not changed across time, but the way we interpret them has been modified. He stated, “Something like stink bombs in the school or something like that. Something like that wouldn’t carry as much weight back then as it does now because bomb threats are much more prevalent now than they were back then. Pre columbine era, we just have to be more cautious about those things. I think the way we have viewed it has changed a lot. I would hesitate to say that the activities have really changed, it’s just the way we view them and what’s tolerable and what’s not.” Again, context and subjectivity appeared to be critical to this participant’s perspective.

He often apologized for not having clear-cut answers, but his reality is also the reality of the ambiguity of hazing on a cloudy continuum of behaviors. When working to define hazing, Ethan described, “If I were hanging out with my buds somewhere...I enjoy playing pranks...at what point is it hazing? I think when it becomes hazing is when it includes an ultimatum. Like you either do this or you can’t be initiated. Like when I was a junior and when they were initiating me in the choir, they had people swallow goldfish and so I chose not to do that and it didn’t count against me.” Through this statement, this participant asserted that although hazing may involve a great deal of subjectivity, at some point these behaviors must be quantified and defined to avoid allowing hazing activities to occur because they are hard to monitor or regulate.

Several of participants’ statements also helped to clarify why participants’ responses on the defining hazing and intervention subscale of the HP in the quantitative phase may have been inconsistent, as well not always normally distributed. Although this qualitative phase only included four participants, participants’ perspectives completely

deviated on how to potentially define and intervene in acts of hazing. First, Andrew perceived hazing as being relatively concrete and objective. He stated, “I think most people know what’s wrong. I don’t think a training or education would really help that. Most of the time, hazing is pretty black and white. People know what’s wrong. It’s easier to educate kids that are younger. Education may help with bullying, I feel like by the time you get to college you just know.” In contrast, Ethan understood hazing as being ambiguous and contextually diverse. He mentioned “No pun intended, I think it’s a hazy line between bullying and it being used for initiation and things. I think our society is much more careful and we have to do things different ways and you have to follow the rules. When referring to his own experiences, he contemplated, “Again, I think without having experienced that, it probably would be labeled as hazing. Even I may label it hazing if I were to observe that, but it’s just a gray area.”

These two participants gravely disagreed on the definitions of hazing, while Katie further supported the idea that hazing is not always easily determined as “some people honestly don’t realize it’s bullying or hazing and if they did they might stop.” Thus, how participants’ viewed and defined hazing, as well as the contexts surrounding it influenced what interventions they considered viable (i.e., the participant who viewed hazing as more objective relied on sanctions from authority, while the participants who viewed hazing as more subjective were in favor of education and spiritual interventions to target hazing). Table 25 shows participants’ quotes according to each HP subscale.

Hypothesis 2: Participants will identify new predictors and motivators of hazing based on their own experiences and constructed realities. This will be

facilitated by the interviewer through the process of domain analysis (i.e., symbol term, included term, and the relationship between the symbol and included term).

Several themes emerged during the qualitative phase that were not investigated during the quantitative portion of the study. These themes relate to the inevitability of bullying and/or hazing, spirituality as guiding one's worldview and influencing bullying and/or hazing, and power/control as a motivation for hazing. The first two emerging were interpreted to be connected to one another. For example, Andrew considered drinking as being unavoidable on campus, specifically "we are all going to drink. It's unavoidable." He further stated that "bullying is unavoidable and it comes down to how you raise your kids." However, Ethan's comment regarding religion and spirituality helped to stress why Andrew's comments can be supportive of moral disengagement and hazing. Ethan stated, "People think there is no hope or no chance and we are an accident, there's no purpose. So if we go a billion years down the line, we're all gone so me hurting some people now isn't going to mean anything b/c we are just a product of chance we are just matter." Thus, if one assumed that negative behaviors will occur anyway and inevitably, it could have been easier to justify aggressive acts since those individuals viewed hazing as occurring eventually and inevitably, whether they individually engaged in hazing or not.

As discussed earlier in reference to gender, a few of the interview participants also perceived hazing as a product of individuals wanting power and control over others to reduce insecurities. Andrew noted that he bullied others due to being insecure, "When I bullied others in high school, I was very insecure." Katie further discussed that when she experienced bullying in high school, "Everyone wanted to fit in. We were all in the

same friend circle, the same 4-H group. It was a small town.” Ethan additionally commented on relational aggression and bullying to reduce insecurities, “Maybe we can use hazing as an excuse to bully. I think that’s based on the unity of the group they are going into. If someone is being hazed, I wouldn’t expect their relationship to be blossoming in whatever relationship they are in.” All of these notions related not only to power/control, but also exerting power/control in order to experience belonging in a group. See Table 26 for more comments on emerging themes in the qualitative interviews.

One participant, Ethan, also commented on being a part of hazing related activities as a member of an athletic team. His comments helped to shed light on the quantitative findings that athletes were less likely than non-athletes to define the situations in the vignettes as bullying and hazing. He stated, “A lot of hazing on football teams involves sexual activities in the locker room and stuff like that. And to me that’s obviously not okay and I can’t imagine someone not feeling belittled. I think they would feel disrespected, so you can’t judge the definition of hazing by common sense or by the judgment of people because it’s different for everyone.” His statements indicated that at the very least, hazing may be occurring in athletic groups. His quote also emphasized that as an outsider it may have been easier to objectively define a behavior as hazing. In contrast, being immersed in the hazing context prevented Ethan, as well as many other participants, as viewing himself as experiencing hazing.

When comparing his experiences in a choir versus an athletic swimming and diving team, Ethan further noted that these two groups diverged. When asked to describe

his former high school choir in which some of the hazing activities occurred he reported “Um we got along well. A really close group. Built relationships until the end of the year. In contrast when describing the swimming and diving team, Ethan noted, “It was athletic, competitive. I’m trying to think of a word to describe it. In some cases, it was a bit more delinquent. There were a lot of people who smoked marijuana on the team, there were a lot of people who partied. So that affected things. Yeah, I think there was a lot of peer pressure to partake in those things. Maybe an elephant in the room like only the cool people were doing those things.” Thus, even though only one participant discussed athletic issues, Ethan’s clear difference in descriptions between the choir and the athletic group denote that athletics may have a different kind of culture potentially more susceptible to hazing activities.

Domain Analysis. This brief domain analysis was undertaken as a supplement to the constant comparison analysis and to examine more meaningfully the cover term of “hazing.” During the constant comparison analysis phase of the qualitative interviews, participants continued to note problems with defining hazing concretely, including contextual factors and difficulty defining hazing when being involved in the hazing activity itself, consistent with previous research in this area (Allan & Madden, 2008). Still, although some participants struggled to objectively define hazing, the structure of language itself during the qualitative interviews may inform a hazing definition. Spradley (1979) maintained that language is a means to translate participants’ culture and this domain analysis was facilitated in hopes that the structure and location of language in the interviews would help provide additional evidence for defining the processes surrounding

college bullying, as well as hazing. The interview transcripts were examined employing Spradley's (1979) nine universal semantic relationships, including 1) strict inclusion, 2) spatial, 3) cause-effect, 4) rationale, 5) location for action, 6) function, 7) mean-end, 8) sequence, and 9) attribution.

The following semantic relationships were noted for each domain using bullying or hazing as the cover term. Strict Inclusion (X is a kind of Y): Relational bullying is a *kind* of bullying, Ignoring is a *kind* of bullying, Sexual activities in the locker room are a *kind* of hazing, Bullying in a group setting is a *kind* of hazing, Acting out is a *kind* of bullying, Initiation and making people feel uncomfortable is a *kind* of hazing, Just joking around is a *kind* of bullying, Assault is a *kind* of hazing, Stuff that benefits everyone is a *kind* of hazing, Textbook hazing is a *kind* of hazing, Hazing on football teams is a *kind* of hazing,

Spatial (i.e., X is a place in Y): Class is a *place* for bullying, A small town is a *place* for bullying, Clubs are a *place* to not be involved in bullying, Campus living facilities are a *place* for college bullying, College is not a *place* for bullying, Fraternities are a *place* for trainings and stuff on hazing, High school choir is a *place* for hazing, Someone's house is a *place* for hazing, Funny fashion shows are a *place* for hazing, and Swimming and diving teams are *places* for hazing.

Cause-Effect (X is a result of Y): Being physically sick is a *result* of bullying, Bullying is a *result* of hazing, Bonding experiences for the group are a *result* of hazing, Being shoved into a locker is a *result* of bullying, Bullying is a *result* of being really insecure already, Bullying is a *result* of jealousy, Defensiveness is a *result* of bullying,

Avoidance is a result of bullying, Bullying is a *result* of a lack of documentation and recording, Hazing is a *result* of bullying from someone who is older and in the same organization, Getting kicked off campus is a *result* of hazing, Bullying is a *result* of being 15 and stupid, Bullying is a *result* of how you view people, Hazing is a *result* of who you are with, Hazing is a *result* of trust, Hazing is a *result* of competition, Deaths are a *result* of hazing, Hazing is a *result* of relativism.

Rationale: (X is a reason for doing Y): Fitting in is a *reason* for bullying, Bullying is a *reason* for feeling insecure, Bullying is a *reason* for screening the people you live with, Bullying is a *reason* for just walking away, Hazing is a *result* of not seeing others as valuable.

Location for Action (X is a place for doing Y): The university is a place for doing bullying, Elementary school is a place for doing bullying, fraternity houses are places for doing hazing.

Function (X is used for Y): Bullying is used for finding out who people really are, Bullying is *used* for power, Bullying is *used* for lashing out against people, Bullying is used to cause harm on another person regardless of if they deserve it, Hazing is used *for* fun, Hazing is *used* for welcoming, Hazing is *used* for traditions, Hazing is *used* for building relationships.

Means-end (X is a way to do Y): Getting in a fight with someone is a *way* to do bullying, Cleaning and driving is a way to do hazing, Bullying is a *way* to disrespect someone, Hazing is a *way* to be initiated, Hazing is a way to have fun,

Sequence (X is a step in Y): Picking on someone is a *step* in bullying, Not being taught about bullying is a *step* in bullying, Starting by saying really mean things is a *step* in bullying, Not having any consequences is a *step* in bullying, Feeling disrespected is a step in hazing, Seeing acts as mundane and not having a good heart is a step in hazing,

Attribution (X is a part of Y): Doing stupid or harmful things that allow people to be let into a club or organization is a *part* of hazing, Taking stuff and making fun of how someone looks is a *part* of bullying, Name calling is a *part* of bullying, Power and ignorance is a type of hazing, Not realizing its bullying or hazing is *part* of bullying and hazing, Making someone feel useless/worthless is a *part* of bullying, Verbal and relational aggression are *parts* of bullying, Power and control are *parts* of bullying, Alcohol and marijuana are *parts* of hazing, Rituals are a *part* of hazing, Not really knowing someone is a part of bullying, Drinking in college is a *part* of hazing, *Insecurity* is a part of bullying, Not seeing someone as valuable is a part of bullying, Causing harm on another person is a *part* of bullying, Your worldview is a *part* of bullying, Seeing the other person inferior is a *part* of bullying, Playing pranks is a *part* of hazing, An ultimatum is a *part* of hazing, Swallowing goldfish is a *part* of hazing, Squirting with ketchup is a *part* of hazing, History and tradition are a *part* of hazing, Peer pressure is a *part* of hazing.

Several key relationships will be elaborated on in the next chapter, including bullying in a group setting is a kind of hazing, bullying is a *result* of hazing, playing pranks is a *part* of hazing, and ultimatums are a *part* of hazing. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to discuss each semantic relationship in detail, but it is critical to

understand that these semantic relationships were helpful in uncovering additional meanings and relationships among hazing variables that were not identified through the quantitative phase of the study or the constant comparison qualitative analysis. For example, Hazing is a *result* of trust, as noted in the cause-effect category, was not explored in the previous constant comparison analysis. This relationship was extracted from Ethan's transcript who noted "All of the initiation activities were built on trust. They were welcoming." Mentioning trust here served to add a positive tone to the initiation activities, even if the behaviors themselves were characteristic of hazing. In addition, Ethan discussed these activities within the feeling of experiencing trust and it is that particular affective feeling that allowed Ethan, and others, to not identify themselves as experiencing hazing, although the behaviors themselves might be suggestive of hazing. The next chapter will further explain and clarify the results of the quantitative and qualitative phases of the study, while linking the findings with the extant literature on bullying, hazing, needing to belong, and moral disengagement.

Chapter Five: Quantitative and Qualitative Discussion

This study is one of the first mixed-methods investigations of the relationship between bullying, hazing, social-cognitive, and personality factors among college students. Further, this study contributes to the literature on hazing by using a psychometrically reliable questionnaire to assess student perceptions towards hazing behaviors. In their sample of marching band members, Silveira and Hudson (2015) reported that the most frequently experienced hazing behaviors, included “being yelled at, cursed at, or sworn at,” “associating with specific people and not others,” “depriving oneself of sleep,” and “singing/chanting by oneself or with select others in public in a situation that is not related to an event, rehearsal, or performance” (p. 12). Regarding the current study, similar hazing behaviors were described through the use of hypothetical vignettes to determine the effects of participants’ previous bullying/victimization, need to belong, moral disengagement, and demographic variables on hazing perceptions.

Quantitative Discussion

This study further expanded on a quantitative pilot study of hazing perceptions in college students by adding a measure of need for belonging and continuing to investigate whether moral disengagement and previous bullying perpetration/victimization were viable predictors of hazing behaviors. Moreover, factor analysis was used as a means of assessing the validity of already established measures in this study, including the MDS and VPBS. Factor analysis on the MDS was congruent with previous analyses on the measure (Bandura et al., 1996; Turner, 2008) in that all 32 items loaded onto one distinct factor. During the qualitative phase of this study, it was clear that many of Bandura’s mechanisms of moral disengagement are related and that participants may have

responded to the items as such. The factor analysis of the VPBS was also consistent with previous research conducted by Swearer and colleagues (2012) showing that the 12 perpetration and 12 victimization items loaded onto three subscales that attempted to distinguish between the various forms of bullying behaviors (i.e., physical, verbal, relational, cyber).

Factor analysis was also utilized to investigate the validity of the HP questionnaire. Two factors emerged on both the acceptability and defining bullying subscales that appeared to differentiate items that related to mild and items that related to moderate activities. These findings are consistent with those reported in the literature (Allan & Madden, 2008; Ellsworth, 2006; Owen et al., 2008) that suggests that hazing activities occur on a mild to severe continuum of behavior. Many participants perceived depriving club members of sleep, forcing alcohol consumption, sending negative or embarrassing emails, and circling body fat on club members as the most severe incidents depicted in the vignettes.

Indeed, on the defining hazing subscales, only the items that participants perceived as the most severe items loaded onto the second factor (i.e., sending negative emails and circling group members' body fat). However, on the intervention subscale, several of the mild and severe hazing items loaded onto one factor, while a few benign items loaded onto a second factor (i.e., making prank phone calls). The factor analysis of the intervention subscale was the least consistent with previous research and the most puzzling. Furthermore, when using ANOVAs and independent t-tests to examine mean differences across groups, participants' scores on the intervention subscale were not

normally distributed and did not appear to show a clear pattern of skewness. Some of the confusing findings associated with the intervention subscale may be due to the lack of clarity surrounding the word “intervene” in the vignettes, which is discussed in further detail in the study limitations section. Furthermore, the variance in qualitative responses helped to further underscore why hazing intervention is difficult to measure, quantify, and agree upon.

The participant demographics in this study were similar to that of the pilot study conducted during Fall 2012 and Spring 2013 at the university (Strawhun et al., 2013; Strawhun et al., 2014). Although the participant sample was overrepresented by White/Non-Hispanic females, a wide variety of groups and clubs were represented in the sample, including athletes, Greek members, and fine arts club members. Social Sciences majors comprised the bulk of the sample, but other majors were represented, including Business, Education, and Engineering. Further, when reflecting on the participants in this dissertation study, it was helpful to compare the sample to the university population at large to determine that some groups (e.g., students identifying as African Americans/Black) were not heavily represented in the sample, but are also underrepresented at the university as a whole. An implication of this finding may be to be more creative and selective with partnering agencies in order to recruit diverse samples and strategies for diverse sample recruitment are discussed in subsequent sections.

The current study identified several critical variables that influence hazing perceptions that were also identified in the pilot study. Participants with higher levels of moral disengagement were significantly more likely to view hazing situations as

acceptable, less likely to define hypothetical situations as bullying and hazing, and were less likely to intervene in hazing situations. Moral disengagement appeared to demonstrate the strongest relationship with hazing acceptability, still remaining significant even with a reduced number of participants in the model. Research has begun to emerge that specifically links moral disengagement with hazing acceptability (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005; Hamilton, 2014; McCreary, 2012; Owen et al., 2008). A recent study conducted by Silveira and Hudson (2015) related to hazing in NCAA marching bands even included moral disengagement as one of the chief “psychological perspectives” used to explain hazing behaviors. It appears that literature on moral disengagement is growing beyond just linking moral disengagement to aggressive acts, but focusing on the relationship between moral disengagement practices and hazing, specifically.

Participants who had been previously victimized and possessing higher belonging needs were also more likely to define situations as consistent with bullying (Pickett et al., 2004) and hazing. Although not an original hypothesis, it makes sense that individuals who have been previously victimized are more attuned and aware of the definition and criteria for bullying. Previous research on bullying victimization has also noted the repetitive nature of victimization and polyvictimization (Finkelhor et al., 2007; Finkelhor et al., 2012). The learned helplessness that often appears as a result of polyvictimization may also help to explain why participants with higher victimization scores were more likely to define situations as bullying, but were no more likely to intervene than students who had not been victimized. Previous scholarship on the need to belong (Baumeister &

Leary, 1995) literature also notes that individuals with high needs for belonging will still conform to the behaviors in their environment, potentially limiting these participants' likelihood of intervening in the vignettes. Further, hazing has been found to contribute to a power imbalance in organizations, as well as lead to individuals feeling humiliated, embarrassed, and coerced (Johnson & Miller, 2004). It is possible that participants with high needs for belonging would not want to risk overturning the power imbalance structure and intervening in potentially embarrassing and coercive situations.

These findings illustrate the complex nature of intervening and the additional factors it may involve (e.g., bystander presence, relationship to the perpetrator and victim) that were not investigated in this study. Past reasons for not intervening in hazing scenarios include, "afraid of losing the respect of one's friends," "feeling ashamed," "not regarding the behavior as hazing", "the hazing was not severe enough to warrant intervention," and "the hazing was reported by another individual" (Silveira & Hudson, 2015, p. 14). This is likely due to the more concrete definitions of bullying and the tendency for students to minimize behaviors that meet criteria for hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005).

Hypothesis 6 related to gender differences in hazing perceptions. The quantitative findings demonstrated that males were significantly more accepting of hazing than females, and were significantly less likely to define scenarios as constituting bullying and hazing. These findings are similar to those reported in the pilot study, as well as the extant research on this topic (Allan & DeAngelis, 2004; Allan & Madden, 2008; Gershel et al., 2003; Pershing, 2006). According to Allan and DeAngelis (2004), hazing can

function to preserve males' masculinity and heterosexual orientation. In essence, hazing is a reminder for men that they were not born women (McGinley, 2008). Although males at the university in which this study took place are exposed to hazing prevention curricula and workshops, it appears that they are still significantly more likely than females to support hazing, despite these efforts. It is important to note; however, that although males' scores on the HP subscales of acceptability, defining bullying, and defining hazing were significantly higher than females' scores on these subscales, the overall sample scores were positively skewed for hazing acceptability. Thus, most participants in the sample thought that the hazing scenarios were not acceptable. Males' mean scores on hazing acceptability ($M=2.50$ on a 10-point Likert scale) were still relatively low. It is likely important to build on hazing prevention efforts that are already successful on campus in sending the message that hazing is unacceptable. Additional interventions should be cognizant of male norms that might perpetuate homophobia, heterosexism, and violence and/or micro-aggressions against women (Allan and DeAngelis, 2004; Finley & Finley, 2007; McGinley, 2008), but not rush to the conclusion that these attitudes are present or salient in all college males.

As with the pilot study conducted by Strawhun and colleagues (2014), Greek membership was not a significant predictor of hazing perceptions. Although the Allan and Madden (2008, 2012) study reported that hazing most frequently occurs in athletic and Greek organizations, the study did report that hazing occurs across groups. Other research confirms that hazing exists in the military (Pershing, 2006), as well as police and fire departments (Allan, 2004; Johnson & Miller, 2004). Thus, it is flawed to assume that

hazing only occurs in fraternity/sorority organizations, and that these students are more accepting of hazing and less likely to intervene in hazing situations without examining additional contextual factors.

Further, at the university in which this study took place, the Office of Greek Affairs has made efforts to promote anti-hazing workshops and educational programming, as well as publish the definition of hazing as agreed on by the university Inter-fraternity Council. Each fraternity/sorority chapter is to be guided by citizenship, dependability, commitment, respect, caring, and open-mindedness (Office of Greek Affairs, 2016). It is possible that after several high-profile incidents of hazing within university fraternities, over the last five years, current Greek members are not significantly likely to endorse hazing-supportive attitudes than non-Greek members. In the qualitative phase, Andrew also noted that “you do not want to be that guy that ruins the fraternity.” Therefore, the consequences of hazing may be more salient for Greek members, leading to attitudes that do not condone hazing behaviors.

Age was a significant predictor of hazing acceptability with non-traditional college students (i.e., students over age 22) finding hazing more acceptable than traditional college students. Ethan also referenced this finding in the qualitative interviews when stated that “I would hesitate to say that the activities have really changed, it’s just the way we view them and what’s tolerable and what’s not.” Taking this into consideration, it is possible that non-traditional college students may have more acceptable attitudes towards hazing as they grew up in an era in which research regarding the consequences of hazing was much less prevalent. In addition, younger students are

typically more likely to experience hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008) and be exposed to negative consequences of bullying and hazing in high school through education and trainings (Hoover, 1999; Hoover & Pollard, 2000). Still, there were significant differences between athletes and non-athletes on several subscales of the HP measure. Further qualitative data confirmed that at least one person experienced an athletic culture comprised of competition and peer pressure. Johnson and Miller (2004) also observed that hazing supportive attitudes may occur in athletic teams as athletes may use hazing to prove their strength, agility, or power. Although hazing has been found to occur in a multitude of campus groups, athletic teams should continue to be prime avenues for hazing research (see Geisert, 2011; Gershel et al., 2003; Hamilon, 2011; Hoover, 1999).

Qualitative Discussion

The present study utilized constant comparison analysis codes and domain analysis to clarify, support, and expand upon findings from the quantitative phase of research. Previous themes emerging in qualitative or mixed methods studies of hazing involved alcohol, power dynamics, gender differences, fear, violence, and failing to define acts as hazing despite behaviors being characteristic of hazing (Allan & Madden, 2013; Johnson & Chin, 2016). In particular, the qualitative phase of this study provided several examples of why researchers have found a gap between experiencing behaviors associated with hazing and not considering oneself hazed (Allan & Madden, 2008; Campo et al., 2005; Gershel et al., 2003). Participants noted that some behaviors that could seemingly be defined as hazing did not feel “belittling or “disrespectful.” Further, these initiation activities were not used as a “punishment and benefited everyone” (e.g.,

being a sober driver for the fraternity). The domain analysis further suggested that trust, knowing the people you are experiencing hazing with, and feeling welcomed may limit one's ability to actually feel "hazed." When trying to articulate the struggle in defining hazing, Ethan concluded "I think it depends on who you are with. And I think you can be a good judge of that. But that's not a very good answer, because it's very subjective and if you look for objective truth about hazing you are going to have to shy on the cautious side." Participant comments heavily emphasized context, variability, and subjective experience. Even the participant that viewed hazing as "very black and white" seemed to conclude he wasn't hazed because of the quality of the relationships and standards set for behavior in his current fraternity. Participants also rationalized acts of bullying and hazing through using linguistic and euphemistic labeling (e.g., "it was just joking or messing around), as well as referencing other facets of moral disengagement, such as dehumanizing victims (e.g., making others feel "worthless or not valuable").

Although moral disengagement was a significant predictor of finding the bullying situations acceptable, having a reduced likelihood of defining bullying and hazing in the vignettes, and intervening, the qualitative study provided specific examples of moral disengagement in practice and how it can perpetuate hazing (Hamilton, 2011, 2014; McCreary, 2013). The qualitative interviews further demonstrated that moral disengagement can occur with even seemingly benign acts, like dressing up in a funny outfit or giving rides to people, when these acts are justified in the name of "tradition." The qualitative findings illuminated why moral disengagement was a significant predictor in the quantitative study for not just the severe vignettes involving forced alcohol use or

restricting sleep, but also more mundane or silly acts, such as carrying a goldfish to class. Hazing is not necessarily the result of an immoral character (Silviera & Hudson, 2015), but rather group members that are embedded within a culture of pro-hazing norms making sense of and filtering initiation acts through “organizational sensemaking” (i.e., using group meanings and norms to interpret and understand behavior; Owen et al., 2008). Bandura’s mechanisms of moral disengagement also work to preserve historical and traditional group rituals, albeit dangerous acts.

Participants suggested at multiple points, that defining and identifying hazing should not rely on the act itself, but the motivations and context surrounding that act. In order to interpret this data, the concept of “organizational sensemaking” appears applicable. Group meanings and norms become extremely salient when embedded within a social group (Owen et al., 2008; Weick, 1995). These norms take precedent when analyzing and attempting to understand hazing behaviors. In addition to moral disengagement, this may be one reason Ethan continued to discuss his experiences “meeting the textbook definition of hazing,” but not feeling hazed in the moment. Andrew’s understanding of his own previous victimization in elementary school as “kids just being kids” and how the kids were raised further reflects how his current organizational sensemaking based on his current experiences affects how he interprets past situations, even those in which he was the recipient of negative behaviors. This organizational sensemaking may sometimes be inaccurate, but it highly coincides with moral disengagement and could prevent cognitive dissonance if Andrew feels as though

his current behaviors are incongruent with his attitudes on bullying and hazing events and how they originate.

The qualitative interviews also further clarified that a need for belonging and reductions in insecurities are predictors of bullying and hazing behaviors. When reflecting on their own past bullying experiences, participants mentioned “insecurity” as a primary reason why they believed others targeted them or they targeted others. Further hazing behaviors in the interviews were described in terms of “building relationships,” “building trust,” and a “bonding experience.” These qualitative findings may also help to make sense of the qualitative finding that individuals with increased needs to belong were less likely to intervene in the hazing situations depicted in the vignettes. Higher belonging needs have not been found to be related to rebelling against the group or going against group norms (Sonnetag & Barnett, 2013) or standing up to injustices (Caravello & Pelham, 2006), further suggesting that although a need to belong may make someone more apt to be aware of what constitutes bullying and hazing (Pickett et al., 2004), it may not necessarily correlate with intervening in hazing or limiting one’s participation in hazing.

The qualitative interviews additionally assisted in revealing and substantiating gender differences for why participants engage in hazing and the tools they use to explain hazing behaviors. The male participants were much more likely than the female participants to have direct experiences with hazing, while the female participants were more likely to share experiences related to relational bullying. Although females commented as to why they believe hazing occurs, their reasoning for why others haze

related more to power/control and belonging needs. Meanwhile, the male participants more frequently discussed hazing in terms of moral disengagement and the culture that envelops hazing behaviors. These qualitative results further confirmed previous research that females tend to report higher levels of need to belong (Keisner et al., 2002; Newman et al., 2007) and males display higher levels of moral disengagement (Hamilton, 2011; Turner, 2008). These qualitative findings are also consistent with the quantitative findings that males reported significantly elevated levels of moral disengagement when compared to females and females reported significantly higher belonging needs when compared to males. The qualitative interviews lent support as to why these findings might be valid, and also demonstrated that individuals saliently articulate whichever psychological concept is more related to their gender to actually discuss, share, and make sense of hazing behaviors.

The domain analysis served as a different method of analyzing the qualitative interviews that did not rely on coding the data in terms of the quantitative study variables. Two semantic relationships were extracted from the domain analysis that are pertinent to the relationship between bullying and hazing, specifically, “Bullying in a group setting is a *kind* of hazing,” and “Bullying is a *result* of hazing.” When asked to define hazing, several participants also used the word bullying as a way to discuss what hazing meant to them. In contrast, no participants borrowed the word “hazing” as a way to define bullying. Bullying clearly is the more established and well-known concept as indicated by the number of peer-reviewed journals on this topic and its emphasis in scholarly research (McCreary, 2013) when compared to hazing. Individuals make sense of hazing

as it relates to bullying since individuals may have more knowledge or experience with this topic (Silveira & Hudson, 2015).

Individuals may also be more willing to discuss their own experiences with bullying as bullying does not necessarily assume the types of seriousness and sanctions that are associated with hazing. One participant noted that “hazing may be an excuse to bully others.” Thus, hazing initiation rites may be used as a way to justify or promote bullying behaviors by having them advertised as rituals or traditions. In their discussion of the relationship between bullying and hazing, Ostvik and Rudmin (2001) noted that one notable difference involves the outcome of hazing being interpreted as more positive and consistent with group bonding. Therefore, individuals may utilize potential positive outcomes of hazing to not only rationalize hazing activities, but also a culture of bullying that may be present on campus or within individual collegiate clubs and organizations. The relationship between bullying and hazing continues to deserve research attention and further inquiry, and this mixed methods study is an advocate for continued exploration of this area.

The final domain analysis relationship that deserves attention relates to the idea that “Ultimatums are a *part* of hazing.” This participant’s perspective provided support to the notion that not only do hazing behaviors exist on a continuum from mild to severe (Allan & Madden, 2013), but this language also suggests that individuals’ willingness to participate in hazing exists on a continuum from volunteering and being willing to being forced and dominated. Some of these ideas may already have been present in the hazing literature, for example Hover (1999) qualifies the definition of hazing with ensuring that

the reader knows that hazing still exists even if the victim is willing to participant. However, this discussion emphasized that when behaviors become forced and individuals are presented with ultimatums, hazing may be present. This comment also relates to Ethan's early position that "hazing does not necessarily lie within the act," but rather the context the act is embedded within. When examining the language in the hypothetical vignettes, many vignettes included the word "required." Interpreting the nature of the word "required" could include many aspects of forced or suggested behaviors. Certain clubs or groups may require individuals to participate in particular activities or they are not allowed entry into the group, while others may require individuals to participate in hazing activities by using physical force. Ultimately, the forced nature of many hazing behaviors, as well as the language used to describe this ultimatum appear to be central components of the hazing definition.

In his analysis of hazing from a symbolic interactionist perspective, Sweet (1999) maintained that campus hazing occurs due to "manipulation of symbols, social relations, and definitions of situations" (p. 355). Thus, Sweet (1999) asserts that hazing results from a high need for belonging that allows participants to morph the definitions, symbols, and language related to hazing to legitimize it as a viable initiation practice. One participant referred to hazing and bullying as "immature," "stupid," and "acting like a dick." Symbolic interactionists would suggest that these labels not only minimize the nature of the situation with euphemistic labels (e.g., immature), but this language also heavily emphasizes the individual discounts the complex group interaction processes that may have led to and perpetuated the hazing behaviors (Sweet, 1999).

Blumer (1969), one of the founders of symbolic interactionism, generated the following premises that are characteristic of symbolic interactionism and also support the use of domain analysis as a qualitative data analysis technique. Blumer (1969) notes that a) humans act towards things based on the meanings they ascribe to things, b) meanings arise out of social interaction, and c) individuals interpret meanings based on these relationships. Symbolic interactionism suggests that the human self is malleable and context-specific (Mead, 1934). The composition of one's self is more typical of a process rather than a static object or state (Sweet, 1999), and hazing can be understood as occurring when a group uses language to maintain hazing processes. Specific language that may be used to preserve hazing rites include "tradition," "character-building," "pranks," and "jokes" (Kowalski & Waldron, 2010).

Bandura's concept of euphemistic labeling also stresses that individuals may use language and words to morally disengage from acts of aggression and justify these acts under linguistic terms that are more acceptable (Bandura, 1999; McCreary, 2013). Not only does the definition of hazing rely on cognitive (e.g., moral disengagement) and social processes (e.g., need for belonging), but also intersects with the words individuals use to define and label these events. Given the emphasis on language, domain analysis was an appropriate data analytic strategy to break down language patterns of participants that might relate to hazing. Spradley (1979) further asserted that good ethnographic interviewing occurs when building rapport, giving explanations, and asking questions. The richest interviews in terms of extracting meaning through the constant comparison analysis and the domain analysis were that of Ethan and Andrew who asked a lot of

questions regarding the study and a solid rapport was built with the principal investigator. When holding future focus groups, workshops, or trainings on hazing, Spradley's (1979) guidelines for good interviewing should continue to be utilized in order for participants to not only share their hazing experiences, but also contribute their perspective and worldview as to why these hazing events are occurring.

Implications for practice and policy

The current results suggest that cognitive and social factors can be modified in order to promote behaviors consistent with effective models of hazing intervention (i.e., Waldron, 2012). It is also extremely important to consider that some significant predictors found in this study (e.g., gender) are somewhat less malleable and should be integrated into hazing intervention and prevention practices rather than modified completely. Student affairs may benefit from partnering the Women's Centers or LGBTQA resource centers on campus to address specific findings that male students may find hazing more acceptable, be less likely to define behaviors as hazing, and be less likely to intervene. Moral disengagement may be one of the primary findings driving these differences (Hamilton, 2014; Turner, 2008) and although specific mediational analyses were not performed in this study, the qualitative portion of the study did confirm the increased discussion of hazing in terms of moral disengagement among males. Again, interventions targeting these findings for males should validate males' experiences and incorporate literature regarding norms of masculinity (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003), homophobia (Phoenix et al., 2003), competition, power and other expectations for males into workshops.

In addition, since Greek students were not significantly more likely to view hazing situations as acceptable, define bullying/hazing, or intervene, organizations are urged to survey their Greek students to determine which practices students have found most helpful in identification and intervention of hazing. For example, most students report not receiving specific psychoeducation regarding hazing practices and interventions beyond the statement, “hazing is not tolerated” (Allan & Madden, 2008, p. 31). Specifically, adults and students are urged to direct intervention efforts at addressing students’ moral disengagement, as well as social norms present on campus. Targeting these factors will provide an ecological model of intervention at both the individual and group levels of behavior.

At the individual level, cognitive-behavioral therapy that focuses on cognitive restructuring may be beneficial for students who tend to minimize hazing situations, or blame victims of hazing. A list of positive team building exercises should also be generated to help reframe cognitive distortions and errors in moral judgment (Waldron, 2012). In a broader sense, administrators and policy makers should incorporate the tenants of moral disengagement or attitudes that support aggression into their macrosystem practices (i.e., anti-hazing policies and legislation) in order to present a context for how these behaviors may develop on college campuses. University researchers are encouraged to conduct studies on students’ reactions to hazing policies to determine if moral or cognitive factors are salient influences in how students view and respond to policies.

It is also critical to encourage students to interact with one another, as well as other levels of their micro-system. Sweet (1999) suggests exposing group members to other outside groups, so that group members have a chance to interact with other individuals and create new or revised meanings of their potential hazing or bullying experience. Reducing the isolation and homogeneity among certain groups may also create a dialogue on acceptable initiation behaviors and team-building practices so as to move away from the “relativism” described by the participant in the qualitative interviews. Campus policy makers should seek to eradicate the belief that hazing builds cohesion and perpetuates tradition and generate alternative activities that serve these functions (Johnson & Chin, 2016).

Kowalski and Waldron (2010) suggest that some individuals consider hazing an honor, do not want it to end, and look forward to perpetrating hazing after they have been victims or bystanders. This finding was confirmed in the qualitative interviews with Ethan who noted: “That presupposes that you want it (hazing) to stop...I think it was a bonding experience for the group. By the textbook definition of hazing, you may define it as hazing. It’s tough for a gray area like that.” I don’t think it was mean spirited or mean hearted. Thus, these researchers assert that coaches or club directors can practice open communication so that group members can reach out if they uncomfortable or belittled during initiation activities. Group directors that are withdrawn, detached, and isolated may allow hazing to occur by not monitoring or openly communicating with group members. In addition, student affairs and involvement coordinators should also recognize that how student view and define hazing may influence the types of prevention and

intervention strategies that students view as effective (e.g., one of the qualitative participants not perceiving education on hazing as appropriate since hazing is “black and white”). In these cases, if students are not receptive to education or trainings, it may be more appropriate to create a culture of open communication that incorporates and embeds student feedback in organizational practices. Caperchione and Holman (2004) assert that coaches and club leaders determine the social and cultural values of their teams and organizations. These values and attitudes directly contribute to the acceptance or rejection of hazing activities. Although some qualitative participants recommended hazing policy that is drafted and enforced by the university administration, it is truly the coach or organizational leader that interprets university policy and develops a personal relationship with the club members. This relationship can help to create a team culture that is neither supportive nor conducive to hazing.

Extensive research from the multi-institutional study of collegiate hazing (Allan & Madden, 2008, 2012, 2013) has found that students prefer to talk with friends, another group member, or family about their hazing experiences. Students were least likely to talk with clergy or a counselor. In addition, none of the four students from the qualitative interviews identified a mental health professional or mental health counseling as a factor that would have stopped the bullying or hazing incidents that they were involved in. With students not extremely eager to seek mental health supports following hazing incidents, student affairs and group leaders must be cognizant of and open to discussing incidents of student hazing and make appropriate referrals.

Campus life should continue to inform students of behaviors that constitute hazing, but also provide questions and trainings around the context and meanings (Sweet, 1999) that appear to support hazing (e.g., you are being hazed if you feel uncomfortable, disrespected, belittled). Positive initiation rituals may include maintaining a certain grade point average, participating in community service, completing ropes courses, organizing a fund raising event, and engaging in mentoring or tutoring, among others (Waldron, 2015); however, hazing has been found to supplement positive initiation rituals and the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Campo et al., 2005; Waldron, 2015).

It is necessary to create interventions that target norms, values, and attitudes (Waldron, 2012, 2015) related to hazing rather than merely replacing hazing with other seemingly positive activities. As Ethan noted “I think its (referring to continuing to bully and haze others) totally dependent on how you view other people. That’s the closest I can get to summing it up in one sentence.” For example, ensuring students know where to report hazing, providing students with a copy of the anti-hazing policy, group directors offering clear expectations on hazing and its consequences, signing anti-hazing contracts, and attending hazing prevention workshops (Allan & Madden, 2013) have all been proposed as mechanisms to change the values and culture surrounding hazing. These interventions must allow participants to speak to the thoughts and feelings surrounding the hazing behaviors so as to not minimize one’s experience or assumed that every initiation ritual will lead to negative outcomes. One participant summarized hazing as “I don’t think it’s solely in the activity that you do but moreso in the feeling and the heart behind it. Because yes if someone has a good heart, but yet you are sexually assaulting

someone. I guess why I say this is because there will be some acts that seem mundane that if they don't have a good heart about it and then it ends up becoming hazing," signaling that campus officials should be prepared to talk with students about the feelings and cognitions surrounding hazing and not just limiting hazing to dangerous acts and behaviors.

Campus leaders and student affairs representatives cannot question every club regarding the rationale behind their initiation rites, but campus stakeholders can teach students about what it means to feel uncomfortable, information on consent, and discuss the continuum of all possible hazing behaviors. Workshops may also involve participants listing aspects of their club or team's culture and how this may influence their perceptions of hazing (Waldron, 2012). Even during the qualitative interviews themselves, some participants realized how their own organizational culture and experiences could be contributing to hazing. Allowing students to articulate their experiences aloud with facilitators or with students outside of their group may create a new awareness of why hazing behaviors continue to exist. Hazing prevention activities can also discuss that hazing not necessarily be defined by the act itself, but the amount of force/willingness allowed in that act. If individuals are being forced to complete an activity as an "ultimatum," students need to be informed how this is consistent with hazing and should be provided resources with how to intervene and address the hazing incident.

Limitations and Future Directions

There were several noteworthy limitations in this study that may affect the generalization of the findings and assist in producing future research directions. This study utilized a primarily a homogeneous, convenience sample of undergraduate participants that was overrepresented by White/Non-Hispanic and female participants, even when comparing to the broader university student population (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2016). Future research may be informed by more diverse participants, particularly other populations in which hazing is known to exist, such as among high school students and athletes (Hoover & Pollard, 2000). Given the lack of racial/ethnic and sexual orientation diversity in both phases of this study, this study cannot substantially contribute to the literature on bullying and hazing in Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs) or victimization on campus based on sexual orientation. Researchers may be more successful in obtaining more diverse samples when partnering with advocacy organizations in this area, such as Campus Pride, which often publishes research about the intersection of LGBTQ students and other identities on campus (e.g., LGBTQ athletes; Campus Pride, 2012). Larger samples allowing for more complex path analyses (e.g., mediation analyses) will also be necessary to further disentangle the relationship between attitudes towards bullying, moral disengagement, and hazing perceptions.

Another primary limitation of the study was the lack of clarity on the HP measure related to the word “intervene.” The word “intervene” or “intervention” was never defined on the HP, potentially leading to confusion and ambiguity for some participants.

This was demonstrated through the factor analysis of the intervention subscale, which did not show a clear pattern of responding to items based on a mild/severe hazing continuum distinction. In the results section, it was also mentioned that participants' responses on the intervention subscale were often not normally distributed, suggesting that perhaps individuals answered in a subjective manner as to what constituted intervening in the vignettes. However, much of this is speculation since participants were not given choices of how to intervene in the vignettes.

Future research may benefit from including concrete choices for participants to select how they may want to intervene or how they feel the university should intervene in hazing scenarios. Future studies may also include the opportunity for open-ended responses so participants could include their own ideas for intervening in hazing scenarios. Participants should also be encouraged to explain why they may choose not to intervene in the vignettes. Providing this clarity and explanation will better serve to inform hazing intervention efforts and to determine if patterns exist in intervention behaviors among various campus groups, genders, sexual orientations, or other variables. An additional limitation of note is that participants could indicate if they were a member of a sorority/fraternity, but these two groups were not broken down further. As there have been gender-specific studies that focus on hazing-specific attitudes in males (McCreary, 2012) and related behaviors in females (Carroll, 2009), future research should break down sorority and fraternity membership into two distinct categories.

An additional limitation to this study relates to the failure to ask follow-up questions in the qualitative interviews related to formal mental health supports that may

help to eradicate hazing. Although some participants noted that education about bullying and hazing would be helpful, it would have been advantageous to ask more detailed questions about how mental health personnel could provide this education, particularly given the significant results of the psychological variables of moral disengagement and need to belong in this study. Three participants also noted “insecurity” as being a variable that catalyzed bullying and hazing experiences and questions about how mental health or psychological providers could target that insecurity would have been useful to incorporate into the interviews.

It is also critical to remember that Bandura’s eight mechanisms of moral disengagement are correlated (Bandura et al., 1996) and thus the coding of participant quotes as corresponding to a particular facet of moral disengagement may not be extremely reliable. The factor analysis of the MDS further demonstrated that all items loaded onto one distinct factor rather than four items separately and cleanly loading onto each of the eight mechanisms. Therefore, efforts were made to consult with an additional school psychology graduate student with qualitative coding experiences in order to validate the moral disengagement codes, but some codes are likely applicable and interchangeable with multiple mechanisms of moral disengagement. Similarly, Spradley’s (1979) nine semantic relationships are also related to one another (e.g., rituals are both a *part of* and a *kind of* hazing), and thus some linguistic statements could appropriately be placed in multiple semantic relationship categories. Lastly, the principal investigator made attempts to consult domain analysis resources (e.g., Spradley, 1979 and corresponding training powerpoints), yet the research on domain analysis somewhat

limited. The principal investigator was able to ask follow-up questions during the qualitative interviews where warranted; however, this approach was not identical to the idea of asking structural questions that Spradley (1979) recommends. Thus, the domain analysis should be interpreted as a complement to the other data analytic techniques and should not be used as the sole basis for making study conclusions or generalizations.

Concluding Remarks

The current study adds to our understanding of motivations for hazing behaviors in college students by identifying moral disengagement, need to belong, and gender as significant predictors of hazing perceptions. In addition, the qualitative study further helped establish these concepts as related to hazing and accentuated the contextual nature of hazing across individuals. Several themes were extracted from the qualitative data, such as the force/willingness continuum of hazing, using one's worldview to guide hazing, power/control, spirituality, and the relationship between bullying and hazing, which helped to guide analysis and would not have been discussed if this study had terminated after the quantitative phase.

These results further support interventions that incorporate moral and social-cognitive factors in assisting students to identify and intervene in hazing behaviors. Since students have previously reported not discussing issues related to hazing with mental health professionals (Allan & Madden, 2008), it is extremely important that there is a shift in overall campus climate and attitudes towards hazing that assess students' comfort, knowledge, relationships, definitions, and communication/linguistics related to hazing behaviors. Research has indicated that modifying hazing initiation rituals in favor of

ropes courses, adventure education, community service, and mentoring (Johnson & Chin, 2016; Johnson & Miller, 2004) may be effective in reducing attitudes that lead to hazing. However, through the qualitative interviews it emerged that even these innocuous acts can become dangerous if they are forced on others or used to humiliate students. Not only must the activities themselves be healthy and non-threatening, but also the intention, motivation, context, and spirit behind them. Although campus policies may not completely eradicate hazing, legislation and education are likely to initiate a dialogue (Johnson & Miller, 2004) on hazing that includes a discussion of specific contextual and organizational factors that relate to hazing that may not be included in universal policies and education. As with bullying efforts, this research recommends policies that include individual (e.g., cognitive, moral, age, sexual orientation) and group-level (e.g., athletic and locker room environment, campus climate, knowledge of state and federal laws) considerations for hazing education programming and policies.

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Table 1

Participant Grade Levels Presented by Gender

Number of Participants	Males	Females	Other	Total Sample
	30.8% (140)	68.6% (312)	0.60% (3)	100% (455)
Grade				
Freshmen	38.8% (33)	61.2% (52)	0% (0)	18.8% (85)
Sophomore	23.2% (33)	76.8% (109)	0% (0)	31.4% (142)
Junior	32.3% (39)	67.7% (82)	0% (0)	26.7% (121)
Senior	32.7% (35)	64.5%(69)	2.8% (3)	23.1%(107)

Note: Three individuals ($n=3$) identified as a gender not listed and comprise the “other” category. This category composes 0.60% of the total. Percentages represent the proportion males/females/other gender for each grade level.

Table 2

Participant Ethnicities Compared to University Estimates

Number of Participants (20,182)	Current Sample (455)	University Estimates
Ethnicity		
White/Non-Hispanic	84.20% (383)	77.10% (15,559)
Black/African American	2.00% (9)	2.65% (535)
Latino/Hispanic	4.20% (19)	5.40% (1,088)
Asian/Pacific Islander	5.90% (27)	2.44% (492)
Native American/American Indian	0.20% (1)	0.20% (39)
Middle Eastern	0.40% (2)	Not Listed
Two or More Races	2.90% (13)	2.81% (567)
Other	0.20% (1)	1.74% (351)

Note. The university did not report statistics for the Middle Eastern population. The university also reports the number of Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students (15 students total), which was not assessed in this study.

Table 3

Participant Sexual Orientation Presented by Gender

Number of Participants	Males	Females	Other	Total Sample
	30.8% (140)	68.6% (312)	0.60% (3)	100% (455)
Sexual Orientation				
Heterosexual	31.78% (136)	68.00% (291)	0.23% (1)	94.10% (428)
Homosexual	33.30% (2)	66.70% (4)	0% (0)	1.30% (6)
Bisexual	7.1% (1)	92.9% (13)	0% (0)	3.10% (14)
Pansexual	16.7% (1)	50.00%(3)	33.3% (2)	1.30%(6)
Other/Not Listed	0%(0)	100% (1)	0% (0)	0.20%(1)

Note: Percentages represent the proportion of males/females/other gender endorsing each sexual orientation category.

Table 4

Self-reported College Major Presented by Gender

College Major	Total	Frequency			Percent of Total Sample
		Male	Female	Other Gender	
Agriculture and Animal Science	2	1	1	0	0.44
Art (e.g., design, music, film)	7	1	6	0	1.50
Athletic Training, Exercise Science, or Nutrition	27	16	11	0	5.91
Business Administration	52	29	23	0	11.40
Biological Sciences (e.g., biology, physics, chemistry)	50	14	36	0	11.00
Education, Child Development, Speech Pathology	74	18	56	0	16.30
Engineering	11	6	5	0	2.43
Communications/Journalism	34	14	19	1	7.48
Social Sciences (e.g., sociology, psychology, political science)	192	39	152	1	42.21
Foreign Language	6	2	3	1	1.33
Total	455	140	312	3	100.0

Note. Individuals were instructed to choose their primary major if they were double major.

Table 5

Self-reported Group Membership Presented by Gender

Group/Club	Total	Frequency			Percent of Total Sample
		Male	Female	Other Gender	
Athletic Team	111	54	57	0	24.40
Fine Arts Club	67	19	47	1	14.73
Social Sorority or Fraternity	155	50	104	1	34.10
Academic Sorority or Fraternity	98	19	79	0	21.54
Service Sorority or Fraternity	15	4	11	0	3.30
Cultural Sorority or Fraternity	11	6	5	0	2.42
Student Government	30	8	22	0	6.60
Gender or Cultural Programs	42	5	35	2	9.23
Foreign Language Club	39	8	31	0	8.57

Note. Participants could endorse more than one club or group, so the percentages total greater than 100% and the respective sample *ns*

Table 6

Factor Analysis of the Perpetration Subscale of the VPBS

Items	Factor Loading		
	Verbal/Relational Cyber	Physical	
% Variance explained	27.12	23.77	14.44
I called others bad names	0.76		
I made fun of other kids.	0.74		
I played jokes on others.	0.59		
I wouldn't let people be part of my group.	0.70		
I purposefully didn't talk to someone else.	0.72		
I said mean things behind someone's back.	0.77		
I broke other people's things.		0.67	
I pushed or shoved others.		0.86	
I attacked someone.		0.76	
I said I would do bad things to others		0.85	
I wrote bad things about someone.			0.74
I wrote mean things or made up mean things online about someone.			0.79

Table 7

Factor Analysis of the Victimization Subscale of the VPBS

Items	Factor Loading		
	Relational/Cyber	Physical	Verbal
% Variance explained	23.69	23.52	16.58
People wouldn't let me be part of their	0.77		
Nobody would talk to me.	0.74		
People wrote bad things about me.	0.68		
People said mean things behind my back.	0.74		
People wrote mean things or made up things online about me.	0.59		
People said they would do bad things to me.		0.70	
People broke my things.		0.75	
People attacked me.		0.84	
People pushed or shoved me.		0.82	
I was called bad names.			0.76
I was made fun of.			0.79
People played jokes on me.			0.64

Table 8

Factor Analysis of the Moral Disengagement Scale

Item	Factor Loading
% Variance explained	16.60
It is alright to fight to protect your friends	0.69
Slapping and shoving someone is just a way of joking	0.41
Damaging some property is no big deal when you consider that others are beating people up	0.51
A person in a gang should not be blamed for the trouble the gang causes	0.76
If people are living under bad conditions they cannot be blamed for behaving aggressively	0.54
It is okay to tell small lies because they don't really do any harm	0.55
Some people deserve to be treated like animals	0.62
If students fight and misbehave on campus it is their school's fault	0.62
It is alright to beat someone who badmouths your family	0.55
To hit obnoxious classmates is just giving them a "lesson"	0.66
Stealing some money is not too serious compared to those who steal a lot of money	0.64
A student who only suggests breaking rules should not be blamed if other students go ahead and do it	0.45
If students are not disciplined they should not be blamed for misbehaving	0.55
Students do not mind being made fun of because it shows interest in them	0.52
It is okay to treat badly somebody who behaved in an underhanded way	0.51
If people are careless where they leave their things it is their own fault if they get stolen	0.63
It is alright to fight when your group's honor is threatened	0.59
Taking someone's car without their permission is just "borrowing it"	0.62

Table 8 continues

Item	Factor Loading
It is okay to insult a person because beating him/her is worse	0.60
If a group decides together to do something harmful it is unfair to blame any kid in the group for it	0.72
People cannot be blamed for using bad language when all their friends do it	0.40
Joking with someone does not really hurt them	0.75
Someone who is obnoxious does not deserve to be treated like a human	0.64
People who get mistreated usually do things to deserve it	0.60
It is alright to lie to keep your friends out of trouble	0.45
It is not a bad thing to “get high” once in a while	0.74
Compared to the illegal things people do, taking things from a store without paying for them is not very serious	0.59
It is unfair to blame a child who had only a small part in the harm caused by a group	0.55
Students cannot be blamed for misbehaving if their friends pressured them to do it	0.73
Insults among friends do not hurt anyone	0.68
Some people have to be treated roughly because they lack feelings that can be hurt	0.61
Students are not at fault for misbehaving if their parents force them too much	0.71

Table 9

Factor Analysis of the Acceptability Subscale of the HP

Items	Factor Loading	
	Factor 1	Factor 2
% Variance explained	35.46	25.06
Sending text messages at various times of the day and night ordering new members to run errands	0.60	
Forcing potential new members to make prank phone calls	0.80	
Requiring new teammates to carry goldfish to class for at least a week	0.72	
Requiring new teammates to wear shorts and flip flops in the cold.	0.58	
Requiring new club members to memorize excessive amounts of information and were yelled at if they answered questions incorrectly	0.65	
Requiring club members to sit in the dark for hours listening to Rebecca Black's "Friday."	0.73	
Requiring members to perform various calisthenics.	0.67	
Requiring club members to eat a combination of leftover foods mixed together.	0.64	
Requiring new club members to live with current club members for a weekend and restricting new club members' communication.	0.69	
Requiring fellow team mates to drink an excessive amount of alcohol.		0.76
Restricting new teammates sleep by waking them in the middle of the night and requiring that they perform menial tasks.		0.61
Sending an email to the entire club listserv detailing new members' negative and embarrassing experiences.		0.82
Requiring new teammates to eat an excessive amount of food while standing up.		0.62
New members were told to bring bathing suits and makers and were falsely told that their body fat would be circled by other members.		0.71

Table 10

Factor Analysis of the Defining Bullying Subscale of the HP

Items	Factor Loading	
	Factor 1	Factor 2
% Variance explained	45.46	20.59
Sending text messages at various times of the day and night ordering new members to run errands	0.64	
Forcing potential new members to make prank phone calls	0.75	
Requiring new teammates to carry goldfish to class for at least a week	0.81	
Requiring new teammates to wear shorts and flip flops in the cold.	0.72	
Requiring new club members to memorize excessive amounts of information and were yelled at if they answered questions incorrectly	0.73	
Restricting new teammates sleep by waking them in the middle of the night and requiring they perform menial tasks.	0.74	
Requiring club members to sit in the dark for hours listening to Rebecca Black's "Friday."	0.78	
Requiring members to perform various calisthenics.	0.75	
Requiring club members to eat a combination of leftover foods mixed together.	0.74	
Requiring new teammates to eat an excessive amount of food while standing up.	0.72	
New club members were required to live with current club members for a weekend and new club members' communication was restricted.	0.74	
Requiring fellow team mates to drink an excessive amount of alcohol.		0.56
Sending an email to the entire club listserv detailing new members' negative and embarrassing experiences.		0.87
New members were told to bring bathing suits and makers and were falsely told that their body fat would be circled by other members.		0.83

Table 11

Factor Analysis of the Defining Hazing Subscale of the HP

Items	Factor Loading	
	Factor 1	Factor 2
% Variance explained	42.06	23.77
Sending text messages at various times of the day and night ordering new members to run errands	0.76	
Forcing potential new members to make prank phone calls	0.77	
Requiring members to drink an excessive amount of alcohol	0.56	
Requiring new teammates to carry goldfish to class for at least a week	0.76	
Requiring new teammates to wear shorts and flip flops in the cold.	0.70	
Requiring new club members to memorize excessive amounts of information and were yelled at if they answered questions incorrectly	0.71	
Restricting new teammates sleep by waking them in the middle of the night and requiring they perform menial tasks.	0.70	
Requiring club members to sit in the dark for hours listening to Rebecca Black's "Friday."	0.72	
Requiring members to perform various calisthenics.	0.64	
Requiring club members to eat a combination of leftover foods mixed together.	0.63	
Requiring new teammates to eat an excessive amount of food while standing up.	0.64	
New club members were required to live with current club members for a weekend and new club members' communication was restricted.	0.70	
Sending an email to the entire club listserv detailing new members' negative and embarrassing experiences.		0.82
New members were told to bring bathing suits and makers and were falsely told that their body fat would be circled by other members.		0.80

Table 12

Factor Analysis of the Intervention Subscale of the HP

Items	Factor Loading	
	Factor 1	Factor 2
% Variance explained	42.06	23.77
Requiring members to drink an excessive amount of alcohol.	0.58	
Requiring new teammates to wear shorts and flip flops in the cold.	0.64	
Restricting new teammates sleep by waking them in the middle of the night and requiring they perform menial tasks.	0.62	
Requiring club members to sit in the dark for hours listening to Rebecca Black's "Friday."	0.60	
Requiring members to perform various calisthenics.	0.68	
Requiring club members to eat a combination of leftover foods mixed together.	0.84	
Requiring new teammates to eat an excessive amount of food while standing up.	0.82	
New club members were required to live with current club members for a weekend and new club members' communication was restricted.	0.66	
Sending an email to the entire club listserv detailing new members' negative and embarrassing experiences.	0.72	
New members were told to bring bathing suits and makers and were falsely told that their body fat would be circled by other members.		0.84
Sending text messages at various times of the day and night ordering new members to run errands		0.82
Forcing potential new members to make prank phone calls.		0.83
Requiring new teammates to carry goldfish to class for at least a week.		0.67
Requiring new club members to memorize excessive amounts of information and were yelled at if they answered questions incorrectly.		0.65

Table 13

Means and Standard Deviations for Hazing Subscales across Hazing Vignettes

	Acceptability	Defining Bullying	Defining Hazing	Intervention
Instant Messages	2.06(1.98)	5.45(3.03)	6.76(2.91)	3.75(2.66)
Phone Calls	2.69(2.52)	4.21(3.12)	5.59(3.16)	3.35(2.70)
Forced Alcohol	1.25(1.99)	6.88(3.18)	8.48(2.40)	5.84(3.08)
Carry Goldfish	2.03(2.40)	4.82(3.26)	6.69(3.10)	3.27(2.97)
Shorts and Flip Flops	1.62(2.08)	6.26(3.12)	7.56(2.70)	4.36(3.18)
Memorize Information	2.18(2.50)	5.68(3.15)	6.70(3.02)	3.62(2.77)
Restrict Sleep	1.47(1.95)	6.58(3.18)	7.81(2.68)	4.65(3.16)
Negative Emails	1.08(1.77)	8.04(2.48)	6.79(3.23)	5.40(3.18)
Song Replay	2.00(2.39)	5.26(3.42)	7.17(2.98)	3.55(3.08)
Extensive Exercises	2.67(2.64)	4.87(3.29)	6.07(3.29)	3.39(2.80)
Leftover Food	1.54(1.95)	5.92(3.19)	7.10(2.84)	4.29(3.01)
Excessive Food	1.41(1.89)	6.22(3.12)	7.19(2.90)	4.51(3.09)
Circling Fat	1.08(1.77)	7.86(2.86)	7.72(2.91)	5.72(3.48)
Restrict Communication	2.24(2.48)	5.05(3.23)	6.40(3.13)	3.60(2.91)

Table 14

Correlations between Independent and Dependent Variables for Total Sample

	Acceptability	Define Bullying	Define Hazing	Intervention	Perpetration	Victimization	Need to Belong	M.D.
Acceptability	—							
Define Bullying	.378**	—						
Define Hazing	-.319**	.794**	—					
Intervention	-.144**	.594**	.471**	—				
Perpetration	.240*	-.139	-.127**	-.053	—			
Victimization	.008	-.055	-.114	-.024	.254*	—		
Need to Belong	-.061	.177**	.189**	-.057	.004	.075	—	
M.D.	.371**	-.407**	-.400**	-.269	.369**	.018	-.132**	—

Note. Statistical Significance=* $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$, ***= $p < .001$.

Table 15

*Revised Multiple Regression Model for Defining Bullying Scores****

Model		<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta (β)
1	(Constant)	8.43	.842	
	Need to Belong**	.053	.019	.124
	Moral Disengagement***	-.066	.007	-.390

Note. $R^2=.181$, $n_{\text{defining bullying}}=448$; Statistical significance: ***= $p<.001$, **= $p<.01$

Table 16

*Revised Multiple Regression Model for Defining Hazing Scores****

Model		<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta (β)
1	(Constant)	9.09	.801	
	Need to Belong**	.056	.018	.138
	Moral Disengagement***	-.062	.007	-.382

Note. $R^2=.179$, $n_{\text{defining hazing}}=448$; Statistical significance: ***= $p<.001$, **= $p<.01$

Table 17

*Revised Multiple Regression Model for Intervention Subscale Scores****

Model		<i>B</i>	Std. Error	Beta (β)
1	(Constant)	8.73	.873	
	Need to Belong*	-.040	.019	-.095
	Moral Disengagement***	-.047	.008	-.282

Note. $R^2=.179$, $n_{\text{defining hazing}}=448$; Statistical significance: ***= $p<.001$, *= $p<.05$

Table 18

Means and Standard Deviations for Continuous Independent Variables across Sexual Orientation

	Perpetration	Victimization	Need to Belong	M. D
Heterosexual	24.92(6.17)	32.79(10.14)	33.76(5.53)	64.74(14.03)
Homosexual	24.00(n/a)	32.66(12.70)	37.66(3.77)	57.83(13.03)
Bisexual	25.75(4.45)	40.38(17.00)	33.21(6.82)	65.86(11.76)
Pansexual	23.00(n/a)	31.25(10.31)	36.66(6.44)	75.16(13.35)
Other	19.00(n/a)	27.00(n/a)	32.00(n/a)	49.00(n/a)

Note. The standard deviation could not be calculated (i.e., n/a) when only one individual comprised a category. There was only one participant identifying as homosexual who reported bullying perpetration and only one participant who identified his/her sexual orientation as “other” (i.e., a sexual orientation not listed). There were no statistically significant differences by sexual orientation on each of the independent variables.

Table 19

Means and Standard Deviations for Continuous Dependent Variables across Sexual Orientation

	<u>Acceptability</u>	<u>Defining Bullying</u>	<u>Defining Hazing</u>	<u>Intervention</u>
Heterosexual	1.79(1.53)	5.96(2.38)	7.05(2.23)	4.33(2.35)
Homosexual	1.86(1.61)	5.86(2.96)	6.86(2.96)	5.13(1.85)
Bisexual	2.05(1.36)	5.94(1.90)	6.83(2.16)	5.04(1.63)
Pansexual	1.99(3.41)	4.26(2.64)	4.64(3.00)	2.89(2.67)
Other	0.00(n/a)	4.78(n/a)	5.93(n/a)	.571(n/a)

Note. The standard deviation could not be calculated (i.e., n/a) when only one individual comprised a category. There was only one participant who identified his/her sexual orientation as “other” (i.e., a sexual orientation not listed). There were no statistically significant differences by sexual orientation on each of the dependent variables.

Table 20

Means and Standard Deviations for Continuous Independent Variables across Ethnicity

	Perpetration	Victimization	Need to Belong	M. D
White/Caucasian	24.65(6.28)	33.51(10.67)	34.17(5.48)	64.33(13.70)
Black/African American	32.00(n/a)	32.66(3.44)	31.22(7.31)	63.33(9.19)
Latino/Hispanic	25.40(4.45)	31.80(12.73)	32.57(5.76)	64.21(14.46)
Native American	N/A	18.00(n/a)	32.00(n/a)	44.00(n/a)
Middle Eastern	N/A	38.00(n/a)	27.00(5.66)	52.00(16.80)
Asian American	25.00(4.99)	27.86(10.00)	33.04(5.13)	72.07(15.93)
Biracial or Multiracial	26.75(5.74)	30.33(8.62)	30.00(6.23)	68.92(17.03)
Other	N/A	30.00(n/a)	38.00(n/a)	59.00(n/a)
Total Sample	24.87(6.04)	33.05(10.54)	33.83(5.58)	64.79(13.99)

Note. The standard deviation could not be calculated (i.e., n/a) when only one individual comprised a category. There were no individuals identifying as Native American, Middle Eastern, or Other race category endorsing bullying perpetration.

Table 21

Means and Standard Deviations for Continuous Dependent Variables across Ethnicity

	Acceptability	Defining Bullying	Defining Hazing	Intervention
White/Caucasian	1.77(1.55)	5.93(2.36)	7.06(2.23)	4.32(2.38)
Black/African American	2.26(1.99)	5.91(2.56)	6.98(1.99)	5.87(2.38)
Latino/Hispanic	1.85(1.52)	6.30(2.41)	7.11(1.94)	4.30(2.12)
Native American	1.21(n/a)	5.57(n/a)	6.64(n/a)	4.36(n/a)
Middle Eastern	.321(.455)	9.11(.253)	9.43(.101)	9.18(.555)
Asian American	2.30(1.82)	5.61(2.57)	6.05(2.63)	3.71(2.56)
Biracial or Multiracial	1.82(1.20)	5.77(2.94)	6.60(2.86)	4.47(2.78)
Other	0.00(n/a)	7.14(n/a)	7.86(n/a)	5.71(n/a)
Total Sample	1.81(1.56)	5.94(2.38)	7.00(2.26)	4.34(2.33)

Note. The standard deviation could not be calculated (i.e., n/a) when only one individual comprised a category.

Table 22

Means and Standard Deviations for Continuous Independent Variables across Gender

	Perpetration	Victimization	Need to Belong	M.D.
Male	27.52(5.68)***	33.61(10.20)	32.15(4.89)***	71.94(13.07)***
Female	23.78(5.89)***	32.86(10.67)	34.55(5.70)***	61.50(13.13)***
Other Gender	N/A	38.00(11.31)	37.50(9.90)	69.50(21.21)
Total Sample	24.87(6.04)	33.05(10.54)	33.83(5.58)	64.79(13.99)

Note. The three individuals identifying as another gender did not endorse perpetrating bullying in their elementary or high school years. ***=Statistical significance ($p < .001$)

Table 23

Means and Standard Deviations for Continuous Dependent Variables across Gender

	Acceptability	Define Bullying	Define Hazing	Intervention
Male	2.50(1.59)***	4.92(2.31)***	6.05(2.35)***	3.88(2.06)**
Female	1.51(1.45)***	6.41(2.26)***	7.46(2.06)***	4.57(2.41)**
Other Gender	.071(.101)	4.87(3.69)	5.15(3.48)	3.18(.909)
Total Sample	1.81(1.56)	5.94(2.38)	7.00(2.26)	4.34(2.33)

Note. ***=Statistical significance ($p < .001$), **=Statistical significance ($p < .01$)

Table 24

Qualitative Result Quote Matrix Displayed with Bandura's Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement

Mechanism of MD	Quote(s) from Participant(s)
Moral Justification	"If the bullying is bad enough in elementary school, you could justify getting in a fight with someone"
Euphemistic Labeling	"It was just me being immature. I wasn't bullying to fit in. It was being 15 and being stupid. Immaturity would be the best way to describe it."
Advantageous Comparison	"Sometimes freshmen have to clean, like taking out the trash. But that takes like 15 minutes. That's really all (name of fraternity) does. Cleaning and driving"
Displacement of Responsibility	"I think what would make it stop would be first and foremost would be an administration saying that it's not allowed" "Getting caught makes a lot of people stop. Alumni boards and executive committees have a lot of control over that stuff if they are aware of it."
Diffusion of Responsibility	"It comes down to how you raise your kids and how they might act out. It happens when the school might not be supervising," "I knew the guys we were having fun with and, unfortunately, we just can't have as much fun because a few people have ruined that on a broader scale."
Distortion of Consequences	"A teacher or a parent probably would never have picked up on it because it wasn't even a big enough deal"
Dehumanization of Victims	"Bullying means making someone feel useless/worthless, degrading them, attacking them"
Attribution of Blame	"It's also people's personal responsibility. Whenever there is a tragedy, you always say "there should have been someone there for them." But it's partly their fault, they should be aware of their own conditions, you can't catch everything"

Table 25

Qualitative Result Quote Matrix Displayed with Dependent Variables of Hazing Perceptions

Hazing Perception	Quote(s) from Participant(s)
Acceptability	“I think the way we have viewed it (i.e., hazing) has changed a lot. I would hesitate to say that the activities have really changed, it’s just the way we view them and what’s tolerable and what’s not.”
Defining Bullying	<p>“I have never been physically bullied or shoved into a locker, so I want to say that I know what bullying means. It doesn’t have to be physical though”</p> <p>“I think some people honestly don’t realize it’s bullying and if they did they might stop.”</p>
Defining Hazing	“No pun intended, I think it’s a hazy line between hazing and it being used for initiation and things. I think our society is much more careful and we have to do things different ways and you have to follow the rules.”
Intervention Efforts	“The university obviously has hazing policies for things you can’t do and I think...common sense would seem to be a good indicator of what you should and shouldn’t do but time after time I don’t think it’s a very good indicator anymore because some people just don’t get it and are doing really stupid and inappropriate things.”

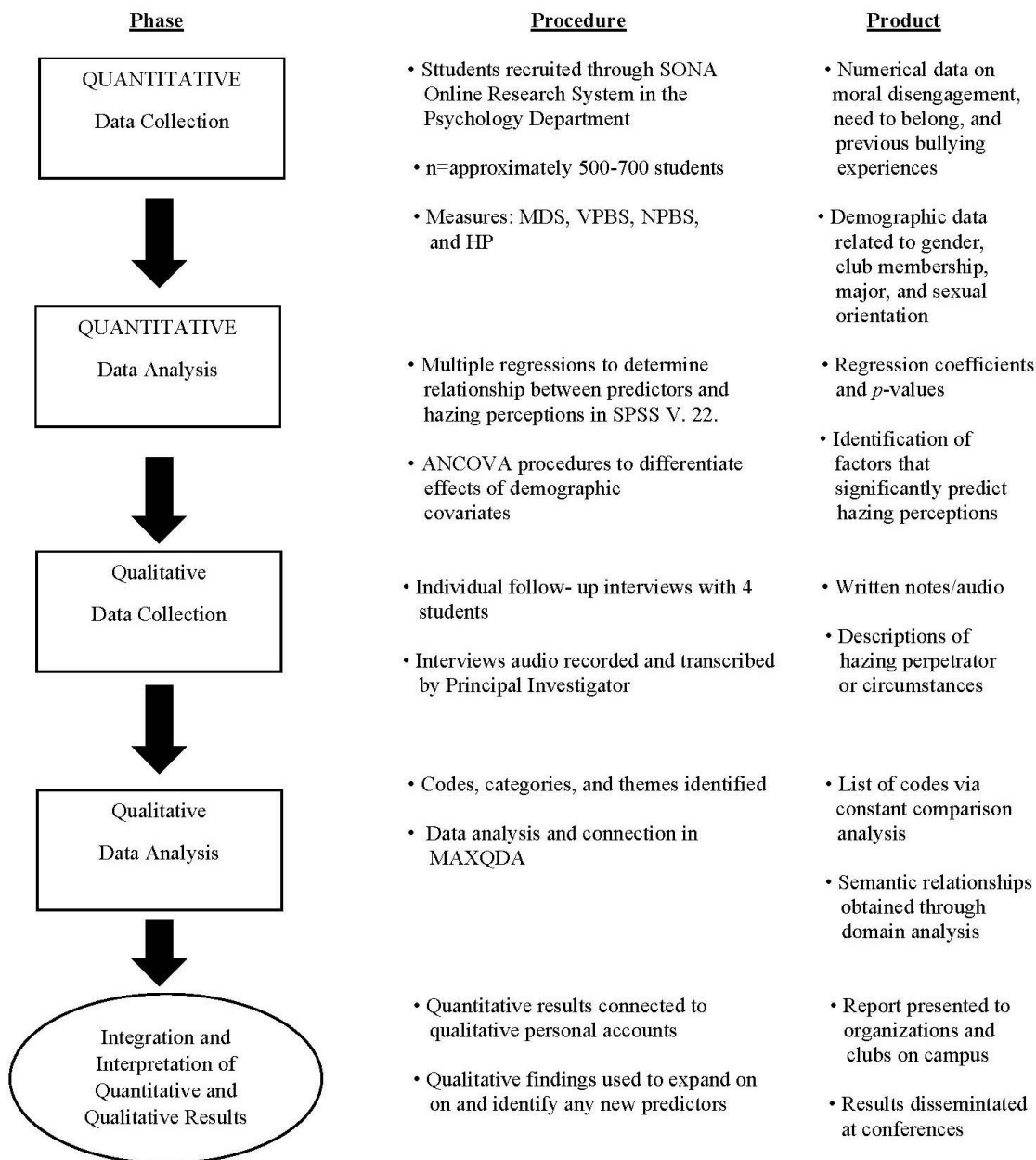
Table 26

New Codes Emerging From Qualitative Data

Emerging Code	Quote(s) from Participant(s)
Drinking and hazing related behaviors are unavoidable	<p data-bbox="639 470 1417 615">“I know there have been deaths in fraternities for hazing. Even here, there has been students die. I mean that blows my mind how someone can die and people are still going out and getting wasted.”</p> <p data-bbox="639 638 1417 783">“People are going to drink. Make it a wet campus. Why make people rely on ride? There could be someone from the university at every party. You should know how to act. At a certain point, you should understand your limits.”</p>
Spirituality	<p data-bbox="639 806 1417 982">“My worldview affects how I see people. My belief in God affects how I view people. What I see is a relativistic world view and a materialistic worldview. So I see people that see everything as truth. They only see a physical truth. So I see a lot of relativism. What’s true for you, is true for you.”</p> <p data-bbox="639 1005 1417 1182">“I was put down for my morals and I had no self-esteem, and I was really insecure already. It was very calculated. I was kind of a goody two-shoes and they made fun of me for not doing drugs/alcohol. This girl would use stuff against me to get in with the popular kids. It was really hurtful.”</p>
Power and Control	<p data-bbox="639 1205 1417 1350">“I think it’s about power/control. Other people like being in the victim role and that can be powerful for them. They believe they can’t do any wrong and others are out to get them. Kind of a ‘poor me’ mentality”</p> <p data-bbox="639 1373 1417 1476">“She would distort things so it seemed like we were against her. I started recording conversations with her because things got so intense”</p> <p data-bbox="639 1499 1417 1675">“I think she was really insecure. She didn’t know who she was and she was trying to find out by saying things about me. She took my stuff, hid my stuff. Very insecure and defensive. She was extremely insecure and I think it threatened her that I knew who I was.”</p>

Appendix A

Figure 1. Explanatory Sequential Diagram for Psychological Factors that Underlie Hazing Perceptions



Appendix B

SONA Recruitment Script for Students to Participate in Quantitative Surveys (Phase I)

Earn two credits by participating in a study about your social and psychological experiences on campus! Surveys will take approximately one hour to complete! Please follow this link to the informed consent form to begin the study:

https://jfe.qualtrics.com/preview/SV_3NV0sTrSnuGM6cl?Preview=Survey&BrandID=unleducation

Thank You!!

Jenna Strawhun, M.A. (618) 401-2043

Susan Swearer, Ph.D. (402) 472-1741

Appendix B

Consent Form Campus Experiences-Quantitative Surveys (Phase I)

We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are enrolled as a student at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and currently registered for a psychology course which requires you to be a part of psychological research studies. This research study will take you approximately one hour to complete. We will ask you to fill out several surveys that ask questions about your experiences on campus, any involvement with hazing and/or bullying, and general psychological questionnaires. Some surveys will contain questions that ask about hazing and bullying on campus. Through this research, we hope to better understand how past and present bullying incidents may be influence hazing and other psychological traits.

You will be asked several questions which may cause you to feel upset or uncomfortable as they may address personal topics. Participation in this study may lead you think about any problems or concerns you experienced in school and in any recent peer relationships. We will provide you with names of counselors on campus and in the community who may be able to further help you with these feelings. You will be responsible for covering the cost of these services if you choose to seek them out. Ultimately, we hope that the information obtained from this study will help us to better understand the relationship between bullying, hazing, and other related emotions.

Your responses to the questions will be kept confidential. There will be no way for the researchers to know which responses you produced after each questionnaire has been coded. Each participant will have a code number that we will use to organize the data. We may publish a summary of everyone's responses or present a summary at an academic conference, but your identity and your specific responses will be completely confidential. You must be 19 years old to participate in this study. Additionally, you may earn extra credit points for participating in this research in your psychology course. You will earn one extra credit point for every half hour of research that you participate in.

You have the right to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without it negatively affecting your grade in the course, your relationship with the investigators, or the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Your decision to withdraw will not result in any loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you choose to not participate in this study, there will be other options available for you to gain sufficient research experience within the psychology department. You may speak to the instructor of your course about these alternatives. At the end of the survey, you will be asked to indicate your desire to be contacted for a follow-up research interview to further discuss your campus experiences.

If you have any questions at any time during your involvement with this study, please ask one of the researchers, or you may call the principal investigator, Jenna Strawhun, or secondary investigator, Susan Swearer at (402) 472-174. Additionally, some study participants may have questions or concerns about their rights as a research participant. If this occurs, you should contact the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (402) 472-6965.

If you check “yes,” and provide your signature, it means that you have decided to participate in the study and have read everything that is on this form. You may print out a copy of this form for your records.

_____ Yes, I would like to participate in the study.

INVESTIGATORS

Jenna Strawhun, M.A.

(618) 401-2043

Susan Swearer, Ph.D.

Office: (402) 472-1741

Appendix B
Campus Experiences Surveys (Phase I)-Demographic Form

1) Which choice best describes your gender?

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Transgender
- d. Prefer not to disclose

2) What is your age?

- a. 19
- b. 20
- c. 21
- d. 22
- e. 23 or older

3) Which choice best describes your class year?

- a. Freshman
- b. Sophomore
- c. Junior
- d. Senior

4) Which choice best represents your major or area of study? Please choose only one major.

- a. Agriculture
- b. Animal Science
- c. Art (e.g., Design, Dance, Music, Film)
- d. Athletic Training/Exercise Science/Nutrition
- e. Business Administration
- f. Biological Sciences (e.g., Biology, Chemistry, Physics)
- g. Education/ Child Development/Speech Pathology
- h. Engineering
- i. Ethnic or Gender Studies (e.g., African American, Latin American, Women)
- j. Communications (e.g., Public Relations, Journalism)
- k. Social Sciences (e.g., Sociology, Psychology, Anthropology, Political Science)

5) Which choice best describes your race?

- a. White/Caucasian
- b. Black/African American
- c. Hispanic/Latino/a
- d. American Indian or Alaskan Native
- e. Asian
- f. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- g. Two or more races/Mixed Race
- h. I identify as another race that was not listed; Please list the race you most identify with_____.

6) Which choice best describes your sexual orientation?

- a. Heterosexual
- b. Homosexual
- c. Bisexual
- d. Pansexual
- e. Asexual
- f. I identify as another sexual orientation that was not listed; Please list the sexual orientation you most identify with_____.

7) Please circle any clubs, groups, or associations in which you are active.

- a. Athletic or Sports Team
- b. Fine Arts Group or Club
- c. Social Sorority or Fraternity
- d. Academic Sorority, Fraternity, or Honor Society
- e. Service Sorority or Fraternity
- f. Cultural Sorority
- g. Student Government
- h. Gender or Cultural Programs
- i. Foreign Language Group or Club

Appendix B
Campus Experiences Surveys (Phase I)
Verbal and Physical Bullying Scale-Perpetration (Swearer, 2001)

Did you bully others during your school age (elementary, middle or high school years)?

Yes No

In what grade was the bullying the most problematic for you?

K, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, N/A

Thinking of the time when the bullying was most problematic, please answer the following questions:

1. I called others bad names.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

2. I made fun of other kids.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

3. I said I would do bad things to others.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

4. I played jokes on others.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

5. I wouldn't let people be part of my group.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

6. I broke other people's things.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

7. I attacked someone.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

8. I purposefully didn't talk to someone else.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

9. I wrote bad things about someone

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

10. I said mean things behind someone's back.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

11. I pushed or shoved others.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

12. I wrote mean things or made things up online about someone (i.e., Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc.).

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

Appendix B

Campus Experiences Surveys (Phase I)

Verbal and Physical Bullying Scale-Victimization (Swearer, 2001)

Were you bullied during your school age (elementary, middle or high school years)?

Yes No

In what grade was the bullying the most problematic for you?

K, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, N/A

Thinking of the time when the bullying was most problematic, please answer the following questions:

1. I was called bad names.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

2. Other kids made fun of me.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

3. People said they would do bad things to me.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

4. People played jokes on me.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

5. People wouldn't let me be part of their group.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

6. People broke my things.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

7. People attacked me.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

8. Nobody would talk to me.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

9. People wrote bad things about me.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

10. People said mean things behind my back.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

11. People pushed or shoved me.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

12. People wrote mean things or made things up online about me (i.e., Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc.).

1	2	3	4	5
Never Happened	Rarely Happened	Sometimes Happened	Often Happened	Always Happened

Appendix B
Campus Experiences Surveys (Phase I)
Moral Disengagement Scale (Bandura et al., 1996)

Please select how much you agree with each sentence.

1. It is alright to fight to protect your friends.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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2. Slapping and shoving someone is just a way of joking.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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3. Damaging some property is no big deal when you consider that others are beating people up.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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4. An individual in a gang should not be blamed for the trouble the gang causes.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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5. If people are living under bad conditions they cannot be blamed for behaving aggressively.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

6. It is okay to tell small lies because they don't really do any harm.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

7. Some people deserve to be treated like animals.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

8. If students fight and misbehave in school it is their teacher's fault.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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9. It is alright to beat someone who bad mouths your family.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

10. To hit obnoxious people is just giving them "a lesson."

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

11. Stealing some money is not too serious compared to those who steal a lot of money.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

12. A person who only suggests breaking rules should not be blamed if other individuals go ahead and do it.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

13. If people are not disciplined they should not be blamed for misbehaving.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

14. People do not mind being teased because it shows interest in them.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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15. It is okay to treat badly somebody who behaved like a “worm.”

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

16. If people are careless where they leave their things it is their own fault if they get stolen.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

17. It is alright to fight when your group’s honor is threatened.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

18. Taking someone’s bicycle without their permission is just “borrowing it.”

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

19. It is okay to insult a classmate because beating him/her is worse.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

20. If a group decides together to do something harmful it is unfair to blame any person in the group for it.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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21. People cannot be blamed for using bad words when all their friends do it.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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22. Teasing someone does not really hurt them.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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23. Someone who is obnoxious does not deserve to be treated like a human being.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

24. People who get mistreated usually do things that deserve it.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

25. It is alright to lie to keep your friends out of trouble.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

26. It is not a bad thing to “get high” once in a while.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

27. Compared to the illegal things people do, taking some things from a store without paying for them is not very serious.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

28. It is unfair to blame a person who had only a small part in the harm caused by a group.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

29. People cannot be blamed for misbehaving if their friends pressured them to do it.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

30. Insults among individuals do not hurt anyone.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

31. Some people have to be treated roughly because they lack feelings that can be hurt.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

32. Individuals are not at fault for misbehaving if their parents force them too much.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

Appendix B
Campus Experiences Surveys (Phase I)
Need to Belong Scale (Leary et al., 2006)

Instructions: For each of the statements below, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement by writing a number in the space beside the question using the scale below:

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Moderately disagree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = Moderately agree
- 5 = Strongly agree

- _____ 1. If other people don't seem to accept me, I don't let it bother me.
- _____ 2. I try hard not to do things that will make other people avoid or reject me.
- _____ 3. I seldom worry about whether other people care about me.
- _____ 4. I need to feel that there are people I can turn to in times of need.
- _____ 5. I want other people to accept me.
- _____ 6. I do not like being alone.
- _____ 7. Being apart from my friends for long periods of time does not bother me.
- _____ 8. I have a strong need to belong.
- _____ 9. It bothers me a great deal when I am not included in other people's plans.
- _____ 10. My feelings are easily hurt when I feel that others do not accept me.

Appendix B

Campus Experiences Surveys (Phase I)-Hypothetical Behavioral Vignettes

The following is a list of behaviors engaged in by various campus organizations, including but not limited to: academic clubs, speech and debate teams, marching bands, athletes, social and philanthropic Greek organizations, and ROTC. Please read each bullet point and answer the questions that follow.

1) Current teammates sent text messages to potential new teammates at various times of day and night ordering them to run errands for them.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

2) Members told potential new members to make prank phone calls.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

3) Various teammates required fellow teammates to drink excessive amounts of alcohol.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

4) Senior team members required new teammates to carry goldfish to class. This continued for at least a week, even if the fish died.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

5) Various team members required fellow teammates to wear shorts and flip flops to class on a cold, winter day.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

- 6) **Current club members were required to memorize extensive amounts of information about senior club members and were yelled at when they answered questions incorrectly on a quiz.**

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

- 7) **Team members restricted new teammates' sleep by frequently waking them or requiring them to perform menial tasks or exercises in the middle of the night.**

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

- 8) **Group members sent an email to the entire club email list detailing embarrassing and negative remarks about fellow club members.**

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

9) Current club members required new members to stand in a dark room for hours listening to Rebecca Black’s “Friday” on repeat.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

10) Various members required fellow members to perform extensive calisthenics, such as jumping jacks and sit ups.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

11) Club members mixed together a combination of leftover food and required fellow members to eat it.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

12) Various teammates required fellow teammates to eat an excessive amount of food while standing in a corner.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

13) Team members told potential new teammates to bring bathing suits and markers to an event and falsely told them that members would circle the body fat on new members.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

14) Senior club members required new members to live with club members for an entire weekend during which they were not allowed to communicate with anyone else.

Is this behavior bullying?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Is this behavior hazing?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How acceptable is this behavior?

How likely are you to intervene in this situation?

Appendix C

Recruitment Email for University of Nebraska-Lincoln Students to Participate in the Qualitative Interviews (Phase II)

Dear Student's Name:

Thank you for completing surveys through the SONA research participation system regarding your campus experiences! You have been selected to participate in a follow-up interview to further discuss and share your university experiences.

Interviews will take place at Teachers College Hall (14th and Vine Streets on City Campus) with the primary research investigator and will take approximately 30 minutes. Most questions will ask if you have ever witnessed or experienced forms of victimization (e.g., hazing, bullying) on campus. We are interested in gaining your insight and perceptions of these past experiences. The interviewer will have a list of questions but you are free to share as much or as little as you would like. If you consent to participate in the interview, your interview will be audio recorded, but your identity will be kept completely confidential. At the end of the interview, you will receive a \$25 gift card to Starbucks for your research participation.

The consent form to participate in this research study is attached to this email and further describes the study purpose, risks/benefits, and confidentiality. Please reply to this email if you are interested in participating or if you have any further questions. Thank you for your time and research commitment!

Sincerely,

Jenna Strawhun, M.A.

Susan Swearer, Ph.D.

Appendix C
Consent Form
Campus Experiences-Qualitative Interviews (Phase II)

Dear Campus Experiences Participant:

You are invited to participate in this research study because you have completed the Campus Experiences surveys on Qualtrics. You must be at least 19 years of age to participate in this in-person interview. This interview process will lead to a better understanding of the factors that influence bullying and hazing behaviors on campus.

The lead graduate student investigator will conduct the in-depth, semi-structured interview with you in a secure location on campus. This study will take approximately 30 minutes of your time, and will be completed one time. An investigator will contact you to schedule a convenient date and time for this interview. Questions will focus on your collegiate experiences and how they relate to answers provided during the online surveys. An interview protocol that contains questions such as, “How would you explain the bullying or hazing incident that you were involved in? “How would you describe the individuals who bullied or hazed/you?” “What was the nature your relationship with these people?” “Were you part of a club or group when these events occurred? If so, how would you characterize this club/group?” Interviews will be recorded and will be stored in a secure, password-protected file on the lead investigator’s computer.

You may experience mild discomfort while participating in the interview (for example, it is possible that this will cause psychological discomfort for some participants who are experiencing problems with bullying/hazing or who feel at risk for psychological or health problems). All participants that are interviewed will also receive a referral card to the Counseling and Psychological Services Center on campus. You will be responsible for covering the cost of these services if you do choose to access them. It is also possible that you may appreciate being asked about these experiences. Also, answering questions about their experiences often helps participants process them.

Any information obtained during this study that could identify you will be kept strictly confidential. Although interviews will be transcribed, transcriptionists will sign a confidentiality agreement prior to working with the interview material. Your name and any other identifying information will be deleted once the interviews are transcribed. In addition, your interview responses will not be directly linked with your responses to the initial surveys on Qualtrics. The information obtained in this study may be published in scientific journals, books, or presented at scientific meetings, but your identity will be kept strictly confidential and no names will be used in publications or presentations.

If you choose to participate, you will be compensated with a \$25 gift card to Starbucks. Your participation is completely voluntary. You are free to decide not to enroll in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with the investigators or the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Your decision will not result in any loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Jenna Strawhun at (618) 401-2043 or Dr. Susan Swearer at (402) 472-1741. If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigator, or to report any concerns about the study, you may contact the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Institutional Review Board (UNL IRB), telephone (402) 472-6965.

DOCUMENTATION OF INFORMED CONSENT

YOU ARE VOLUNTARILY MAKING A DECISION WHETHER OR NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY. YOUR ELECTRONIC SIGNATURE CERTIFIES THAT YOU HAVE DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE HAVING READ AND UNDERSTOOD THE INFORMATION PRESENTED. YOU MAY PRINT OUT A COPY OF THIS FORM FOR YOUR RECORDS.

Signature of Participant

Date

Print Your Name

Identification of Primary Investigators

Jenna Strawhun 618-401-2043

Susan Swearer 402-472-1741

Appendix C
Qualitative Interview Protocol

- 1) What does bullying mean to you?
- 2) What does hazing mean to you?
- 3) How would you explain or describe the bullying and/or hazing incident that you were involved in?
- 4) How would you describe the individuals who bullied/hazed you?
- 5) How would you describe the victims in the scenario?
- 6) What was the nature of your relationship with these people?
- 7) Were you a part of a group/club when these events occurred? If so, how would you characterize this club or group?
- 8) What would have helped stop the bullying/hazing incidents you were involved in, if you wanted them to stop?
- 9) Why might individuals continue to bully or haze others?

Appendix C
Counseling and Psychological Services Referral Card for Phase II Participants

Counseling and Psychological Services Center
University Health Center-2nd Floor
1500 U Street
402-472-7450
Lincoln, NE 68588

The CAPS staff provides individual, group and relationship counseling.

Walk-in and after hours assistance is available for students with urgent concerns.

In addition, staff psychiatrists can prescribe medications if needed.

We also offer special workshops and support groups that help students relax, gain assertiveness skills, manage the demands of school and children, improve body image, complete theses and dissertations, manage anger, and handle other issues of concern.

The list of services available include:

- Anxiety and Depression
- Relationship Difficulties
- Eating Disorders
- Sexuality Concerns
- Communication Skills
- Homesickness
- Time Management
- Learning Disabilities / ADD
- Diversity Concerns
- Grief and Trauma
- Social Justice Issues
- Other Personal Concerns

TO MAKE AN APPOINTMENT

Call 402 472-7450 to schedule an appointment Monday to Friday: 8 a.m. – 5 p.m.

About Us

We're here for you! The multi-culturally and professionally diverse staff at Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) consists of psychologists, social workers, counselors and psychiatrists who are available to respond to a broad spectrum of concerns and issues.

Eligibility

All registered students at UNL are eligible for services.

Students enrolled for 7 or more credit hours are automatically eligible for subsidized rates.

Students enrolled in less than 7 credit hours may elect to pay University Health Center (UHC) facility fees to become eligible for subsidized rates.

Students not taking classes during the summer who were enrolled at UNL the previous spring or who are registered at UNL for the upcoming fall semester are eligible for services.

One follow-up session for counseling/psychotherapy and/or psychiatric visit is allowed the semester or summer immediately after the last semester as an enrolled student.

There will be a fee-for-service charge for the follow-up visit. UHC facility fees will be waived for the follow-up session.

Appendix C

Qualitative Interviews (Phase II) Transcriptionist Confidentiality Statement

I (transcriptionist) agree to hold all information contained in audio records/tapes and in interviews received from Jenna Strawhun, primary investigator for “Psychological Factors that Underlie Hazing Perceptions: A Mixed Methods Study” in confidence with regard to the individual and institutions involved in the research study. I understand that to violate this agreement would constitute serious and unethical infringement on the informant’s right to privacy.

I also certify that I have completed the CITI Limited Research Worker training in Human Research Protections.

Signature_____