ABSTRACT

The Socialization of First Year Students through Unsanctioned Events

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The purpose of this study was to determine the ways in which socialization occurs in a specific first year student population in relation to participation in unsanctioned events that are hosted by an unaffiliated organization. Unaffiliated organizations are student organizations not officially registered with their collegiate institution. Unsanctioned events are events that are hosted by university students but are not in partnership with the institution itself. The most common of these types of unsanctioned events are off campus parties. These parties are examined through a ritual lens in order to better understand the ways in which first year students are sociologically affected by their participation in an unsanctioned event.

The Socialization of First Year Students through Unsanctioned Events

by

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I would first and foremost like to thank my participants for their honesty and trust in this research. Your insights and experiences are truly priceless and it is your tenacity that has inspired my dedication to the process.

To my parents, thank you for encouraging me to pursue an education and for supporting me in any ways that you can throughout life, and this project. It would not have been completed without you.

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DEDICATION

To my participants, thank you for sharing.
May this research help you and others continue the good work

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The red cups are organized neatly in a pyramid on my side of the table, and only one cup remains on the side of my opponent. I launch the sticky ping pong ball into the air with a flick of my wrist, and I sink the final cup for the victory in my first ever game of beer pong. I am a freshman, I have just joined a sorority, and I am at my first college party. I am not being pressured to drink, in fact, I am playing beer pong (minus the beer) completely sober, we are all just *hanging out.* My sorority sisters all crowd around me and sing *Hadie Kadie* jumping and cheering at my success, this is the first time I actually felt like a college student; the support and encouragement, and the *haide kadie cala waide* that my sisters sang to me create a moment where I feel at home.

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As long as there have been colleges and universities, students have engaged in activities outside of the classroom, taking their education, and events, into their own hands to accomplish goals and create relationships with their peers in ways that the university will not or cannot. (Alleman & Finnegan, 2009; Haskins, 1957). Haskins (1957) recalls the earliest universities in Bologna; students in these universities banded together and bargained for rights with the townspeople and the professors in order to be treated fairly and be provided with quality education. Alleman and Finnegan (2009) recall the more recent (1885-1930) undertakings of the YMCA student associations, in which upperclassmen students socialized the incoming classes of students into the norms

and values for their particular institutions. In this regard, my experience, described above, was no different. There certainly is not an official recreation league of beer pong offered by my undergraduate university, nor does the entire university offer me the support and intensity of membership that my sorority does. But students throughout history (including myself) have sought connections with their peers, often outside of the bounds of institutional regulations and often precisely for that reason. In the early days of American higher education, before the ivy had grown on the Ivy League, students were known for their raucous affinities and penchants for getting into trouble (Jackson, 2000). Although not (usually) trouble solely for the sake of trouble, Jackson (2000) notes that the riots at late 18th century Harvard were brought on through restrictive and punitive living conditions, exacerbated by student demands that they be recognized as men by the institution. The Harvard administration and faculty did not view their students as men, resulting in unrest and rebellion (Jackson, 2000). Harvard students in the 1800s were denied many rights that students exercise today. Even the most basic of choices such as when to go to lunch, to class, or which professor's class to take, are considered unalienable by today's standards. Choices such as these were at the heart of the conflict at Harvard College. At Harvard students were denied rights of manhood and were treated like children, hence the rioting. An alternate society began during the riotous 1800s at Harvard; Phi Beta Kappa provided a different social outlet to the window shattering and Bible stealing of the other student-organized activities. Phi Beta Kappa served as an alternative organization to riots that focused on brotherhood, secrecy, and rationality. Many of the students and administrators at Harvard were suspicious of the group, but it became an environment in which students could see themselves as men, regardless of the

opinions of administrators (Jackson, 2000). Although events held by both organizations can be considered unsanctioned and outside of university oversight, the ways in which the men conducted themselves and the types of groups they became a part of, highlight the different forms of socialization that may result from the experience of participating in unsanctioned events.

Examples of such socializing experiences can be found within the history of the YMCA student associations. The Y men took it upon themselves to impose the cultural norms and standards of particular institutions onto the incoming students through various communication outlets, including unsanctioned events (Alleman & Finnegan, 2009). The YMCA men, through opening receptions, informational handbooks, seasonal events, and freshman orientation camps, were able to influence incoming students and showcase the forms of collegiate identity that were expected at the specific institution.

The commonalities between the Harvard riots and the YMCA student association programs are the students' shared desire to socialize younger students into their preferred conceptualization of student identity and the use of annual formal events (rituals) to accomplish these ends. Whether riotous sophomores, Phi Beta Kappa, or YMCA, each group, and its subsequent activities, presents its own social norms that individuals align themselves with through ritual participation. Further advancement of these norms occur when an individual takes the norms on as an aspect of their individual identity. The unsanctioned event is a method by which the norms and values of a group are translated and adopted by the students who are affected by them through the medium of ritual.

The propensity for college students to get into trouble and organize events outside of university control has not tapered in the two hundred years since the unrest at Harvard.

Nor has the students desire to make themselves and their beliefs known waned during this time. However, there has been increased research on the foundations of student led events and the socializing outcomes that result from student participation.

Defining Unaffiliated Organizations and Unsanctioned Events in Higher Education

In order to understand the ways in which unaffiliated organizations utilize unsanctioned events might to socialize students, the types of unsanctioned events must first be defined. Unsanctioned events in higher education today have largely been studied in the contexts of Greek life, hazing, and champagne drenched post-commencement antics (Manning, 2000). Greek life and hazing are often thought to go to hand-in-hand (Alvarez, 2015; Mangan, 2015; Parks & Spencer, 2013). Other unsanctioned events have a calendrical focus that are situated around national holidays or university holidays. Buckner, Henslee, and Jeffries (2015) researched the ways in which students engage in dangerous behaviors such as binge drinking and drug use around holidays such as these. Drinking and drug use both increased around these types of events, even more so if there were university norms and events related to the holidays. Neighbors et al. (2011) discuss academic events and holidays such as graduation and spring break that lend themselves to increased alcohol intake. Whether Greek or non-Greek, based on the calendar year or academic year, student activities outside of the confines of the educational institution have often been studied for their precarious and sometimes dangerous outcomes.

Each of the events discussed above are "unsanctioned" in the simple fact that the event itself is hosted outside the control of the university, even though organizations that host the events may be subject to university oversight. In the case of the unaffiliated

organization that hosts unsanctioned events, neither the organization nor its subsequent events are governed by an institute of higher education. Nevertheless, there are varying degrees to which activities are allowed to remain unsanctioned and the degree to which colleges and universities intervene in these organizations and events. A three-part typology of ritual events, developed for this project, helps to describe the extent to which unsanctioned events vary based on the levels of student agency and the potential for and degree of institutional intervention.

Sophomoric Events are the first type of unsanctioned events and have the least likelihood of institutional intervention. These events are typically the least formal and involve the least amount of planning, comparatively. Often these events do not align with preferred institutional values, but are not a substantial threat to the institution's reputation. In Sophomoric Events, there is little effort from an institution to supervise the students or intervene in the event. Students may engage in behaviors that run counter to institutional values, but because of the minimal threat of the event, the institution does not usually seek to regulate that behavior. One example of these activities are the organized chants that students holler throughout sporting events. Although a single chant alone would not normally constitute an unsanctioned event, the historical persistence and prevalence of many of these songs make the chants a tradition and event within themselves throughout the experience of college game day. The Ole Miss *Hotty Toddy* chant or Texas Christian University's *Riff Ram* tune can be heard on game days and some versions can include profane or derogatory language (Bronner, 2012). The songs and chants are not policed by university officials, and are for many participants an integral part of the game day experience. Traditional chants and cheers of college game days fit

in to the first type of events in this typology because of the lack of oversight from university officials and the continued participation and persistence of the sing-a-longs.

Coordinated Events are the second type of unsanctioned events and are potentially harmful to participants, but only present a moderate threat to the institution's reputation. There is some level of involvement in, or tacit acquiescence to, the event from both students and the institution. These events occur largely off campus, and while they are not endorsed by the university, and may result in physical, mental, or emotional harm to the student, the university may still play a part in the development or regulation of the event. A prime example of this event is Greek pledging practices and possible occurrences of hazing. New member activities for Greek organization are often monitored by university officials. However, there may be instances in which the individuals running specific events cross the line between pledging and hazing, resulting in an unsanctioned event that is potentially harmful to both the student and institution. The cases of Greek pledging explored by Bronner (2012) fit the distinction of the second type of unsanctioned event since institutions and national organizations intervene most often with measured policies that regulate pledging activities, locations, and times of day. Students also have moderate agency and control over the activity. Nevertheless, this type of event also brings with it a possibility of physical, or emotional harm to an individual, as well as a possible threat to institutional reputation. Due to the possibility of harm, many universities and national organizations have increased their regulation of pledging practices since the 1980s (Bronner, 2012). This oversight forces organizations to consider the ways in which pledging is conducted, and to reduce (and hopefully eliminate) any aspects of hazing that may be harmful to participants.

Finally, Intensive Events are the third type of unsanctioned events; these events have the largest potential for student agency and control and yet also are most likely to incur institutional intervention. These events seldom occur, but when they do, they are student hosted and student attended and may have a high possibility of physically, mentally, or emotionally harming the individual student and the institutional reputation. The now defunct freshman flag rush at Amherst College is an example of this third type. The event of the early 1900s was intended to show one's place in the hierarchy of the campus. The freshman, tasked with planting a flag at the top of a telephone pole must attempt to prevent the sophomores from climbing the pole and taking the flag (Bronner, 2012). Of course, the student organizers of the event ensured difficulty and danger by banning the use of pegs, wires, and other climbing materials, and as a student climbed upwards, the ever looming threat of being crushed by the crowd below would be enough adrenaline to help anyone hang on for dear life (Bronner, 2012).

In summation, Sophomoric Events are unlikely to harm anyone and therefore the institution does not intervene. Sophomoric Events have high student agency, and low institutional intervention. Coordinated Events have more potential for harm but the event itself is not necessarily dangerous. There are more policies that govern these types of events to attempt to negate harm occurrences. Coordinated Events have moderate student agency and moderate institutional intervention. Finally, Intensive Events s are the most likely to cause physical, emotional, or mental harm to an individual and therefore the institution is much more likely to intervene; especially to the extent of completely ending the event, or forcing it underground. Intensive Events have high student agency and high institutional intervention.

In the case of the freshman flag rush, the threat of physical harm of the unsanctioned event was so high that the institution eventually put an end to it. Reisberg (2000) recalls more recent university traditions, ranging from naked Olympics to alcohol induced fountain hopping that have drawn increased scrutiny from administrators at universities, in part propelled by risk management responsibilities. As administrators realize the potential harm, whether physical, mental, emotional, or in regards to reputation, increased scrutiny of student events occurs, especially with concerns about student safety (Abraham, 2013; Calderon & Pero, 2013; Lipka, 2005; Saltz, Paschall, McGaffigan, & Nygaard, 2010). In response, institutions have developed numerous policies and procedures for hosting university-sanctioned events both on and off campus. These sorts of events are often short lived, as the risk of physical or emotional harm make them unacceptable institutionally. Two centuries ago the extensive oversight and control of students by Harvard College resulted in a range of behaviors, including smashing windows, hanging effigies, and stealing books, that were intended to be institutionally unacceptable (Jackson, 2000). It is no surprise that as colleges increase their involvement in student activities, both on and off campus, students are likely to exercise some forms of resistance.

Ritual, Unaffiliated Organizations, and Unsanctioned Events

Rituals have largely been studied through religious contexts and perspectives, with more recent research including more subsets of ritual environments. Durkheim, (1912/1995) researched religious forms of ritual and described the sacred and profane aspects of a religion, which in turn create and reinforce the ideals and values of the group. The sacred features of ritual are the symbols, emblems, and shared experiences that

communicate group membership and value. The profane features of ritual are any experiences outside of the ritual ceremony that are mundane and do not create or reinforce collective identities (Durkheim, 1912/1995). Ritual ceremonies, as described by Durkheim (1912/1995), are a time and place in which individuals can come together and experience a heightened state of emotion that bonds the individuals through the emotional experience, termed "collective effervescence". These rituals create and reinforce group identities that individuals take on for themselves (Durkheim, 1912/1995). Unsanctioned events provide an outlet for the "collective effervescence" discussed by Durkheim (1912/1995) in ways that the institution may not supply.

In the past half-century, the focus on ritual has shifted away from formal and religious ceremonies to informal and interactional exchanges. Goffman (1967) and Collins (2004) discuss the ways in which informal rituals occur on a daily basis. Goffman (1967) is particularly concerned with interaction rituals that encourage the individuals in the interaction to espouse the values within their specific subgroup identities. The interaction itself is a ritual that creates meaning for the relationships built during the interaction (Goffman, 1967). Collins (2004) is also concerned with interaction rituals, through causal chains, that emphasize the importance of repeated interaction with other members in order to create a sense of shared identities and socialize an individual into a social group, status or role. The interaction ritual chain is a means by which an individual becomes socialized into a particular group and develops an individual identity in relation to that group. Ritual theory provides a framework for understanding importance of physical gathering together (what Collins calls "co-presence"), the shared focus that

occurs through known and structured elements, and the emotional energy and shared identity that result (Collins, 2004; Durkheim, 1912/1995, Goffman, 1967).

Collegiate rituals are researched by Manning (2000) who presents a description of multiple types of ritual ceremonies in higher education. Manning (2000) examines the many types of ritual events in higher education and their ability to perpetuate or modify campus culture. Manning (2000) views ritual from an anthropological perspective noting that rituals are both communal and individual. As well, rituals are dynamic, complex, and ever-changing, providing an avenue for understanding the perceptions and interpretations that students develop both inside and outside of the ritual participation. Further, rituals act as a social glue, holding together the culture of the university and ensuring its continuation (Manning, 2000). Six types of rituals are noted by Manning (2000). Of these, the "ritual of resistance" is the most relevant to this study. *Rituals of resistance* are ritual events that run counter the institutional culture. Manning (2000) asserts that rituals of resistance occur when students engage in organizing and participating in events that critique or contradict the values or norms of an institution. These include "fraternity and sorority hazing, champagne stimulated antics of commencement, and rites of spring observed on many campuses" (Manning, 2000, p.6). Whether by hosting parties in off-campus venues, rushing a flag pole, or running streaking through the quad. Rituals of resistance may be regarded as, "the *real* rituals of campus life, [and can be] a more accurate reflection of the true meaning of college living" (Manning, 2000, p.5).

The ritual events in this study are unsanctioned and completely outside of university control, some of which can be categorized as rituals of resistance, though not all of them. Student attendees at the unsanctioned events may derive specific

interpretations about their identity and group allegiances through their attendance and perception of the events. These unsanctioned rituals often act as displays of power and legitimacy to the administration (Bronner, 2012; Reisberg, 2000). Students at Harvard in the 18th century rioted while others formed Phi Beta Kappa as an alternative secret society, each to defend their view of themselves as men (Jackson, 2000). Just as those students took agency to serve their own ends in ways that the university would not, students today still utilize agency through unsanctioned events. These events and organizations show, by implication if not intention, the ways in which today's students can be legitimized by their own ritual experiences that may vary for different subgroups of an institution.

Magolda (2001) discusses the sanctioned ritual events of the campus tour and the graduation ceremony that invoke the power of the institution and its values and norms with the intention of instilling them in the incoming and outgoing classes. Thus, ritual is not only a display of power, but it also has a community building function for individuals as they become members of a particular group. In Magolda's (2001, 2003) examples the individual is becoming either a college student or an alumnus. In these examples, the power of the institution is imposed upon the individual and socializes them into the particular groups of a college student or an alumnus of the particular institution. Therefore, specific communities of students or alumni are created and recreated through the powerful rituals of the campus tour (Magolda, 2001), or the commencement ceremony (Magolda, 2003).

Arnold Van Gennep (1960) examined a particular kind of ritual that facilitates an individual's transition from childhood to adulthood, and from stranger to member of a

particular group. Van Gennep's (1960) *rites of passage* include the three phases: separation, transition, and incorporation, through which an individual changes from stranger to group member through the process of formalized ceremonies and rituals. An individual begins as an outsider and must first separate from their former identity and acquaintances in order to enter into the second stage, called "liminality." The second stage is a transitionary stage in which an individual continually strives to embody the ideas and values of the insider group they strive to gain membership within. The stage is both constructive and destructive in that the individual is separating from their initial identities and is transitioning their identity into the new membership group. The third stage is accomplished through participation in the ritual ceremony where the individual becomes a member of the insider group, embraces their new identity as part of this group after completing the right of passage, and is therefore initiated into the group. The individual may then interact with those from whom they initially separated, but those interactions are now dependent upon the new identity gained through the ritual integration (Van Gennep, 1960).

Examples of liminal transitions appear in contemporary studies of higher education as well. Silver (1996) specifically notes the experience of moving away to college as an example of liminal transition, and describes the ways in which various individuals, and men and women in particular, perceive the symbolic importance of objects they bring with them to college. Silver (1996) study found that men and women perceive the objects they brought to college differently and due in part to the specific identities that they want to portray about themselves to others (Silver, 1996). The negotiation between separating from former high school identities and integrating into a

new collegiate identity occurs as students wrestle with what to do with the various objects with which they previously represent about themselves (e.g., varsity jackets) and the ways in which these representations their identity are maintained or rejected.

Despite the traditional importance of ceremonial rituals that allow individuals to integrate (as noted by Van Gennep, 1960) into a new identity and group, Tinto (1993, p. 94) argues that they are "no longer commonplace" throughout higher education institutions. Other rituals that persist are subsets of social groups, such as faculty (Alleman, 2014) or Greek letter organizations (Callais, 2002). Rituals may also operate completely outside of the intuition's control. A prime example is the Texas A&M Aggie ring dunk; an event not endorsed by the university or governed by the institutional administration, but that can often be a ritual event that determines one's membership as a senior class Aggie. Although Greek initiation generally is sanctioned, the Aggie ring dunk is unsanctioned, yet both events function as ritual ceremonies that facilitate individuals' transition from outsider to insider of the respective groups. It is in the creation of, and participation in these events that students determine the definitions, statuses, and identities of a college student outside the purview of the institution. Further, outside of the events, there are some instances in which specifically unaffiliated organizations take it upon themselves to host the unsanctioned event and provide an arena for students to be socialized into the broader institutional culture (Jackson, 2000).

College Student Identity and Group Membership

The identity development of college students has been extensively investigated through the psychosocial, cognitive, and environmental influences of the university

setting and personal identities. Through theorists such as Sanford (1966) and his concern with challenge and support of college students, Kohlberg's (1975) interest in the moral development of college students, Gilligan's (1982/1993) attention to collegiate female's ways of knowing, and King and Kitcheners' (2004) constructions of reflective judgement of college students, these theorists and many others have analyzed individual psychological change in college students. However, fewer theorists have considered the sociological changes of college students, and the interactions between individual, environments, and groups that unsanctioned events facilitate. Further research can be conducted on the sociological impacts of college students and the experience during their time on and off the defined acreage of campus.

Lamont and Molnar (2002) describe the ways in which societies enforce symbolic and social boundaries so that individuals may see themselves as inside or outside of particular subgroups. The construction and reinforcement of social and symbolic boundaries for various individuals and subgroups through the boundaries of in-group and out-group experiences are important considerations for identity development in college students. The identities that are developed throughout an individual's college experience can and do compete and sometimes conflict with one another. For example, Trautner and Collett (2010) analyzed the competing identities of students who are also strippers. The two identities of student and stripper are often juxtaposed with one another. The authors describe how this compartmentalization of identities was often reflected in the appearance and dress of the women inside and outside of work. During their time at work, women would often wear heavy makeup, wigs, and revealing clothing, often taking strides to try and hide their "real" identity. But in class women in the study would wear

little to no makeup and baggy clothing, in an effort to further differentiate one aspect of their identity from another (Trautner & Collett, 2010). Therefore, the behaviors that the student strippers engage in align with either the stripper identity, or the opposing student identity of the woman but seldom both (Trautner & Collett, 2010). Thus, college student's identities are constructed through various experiences with peers and subgroups, as well as the jobs and specific roles that student assume while on and off campus. These experiences and roles can have varying effects on a student's ability to define themselves and find a place to fit in on campus.

The ability of a student to fit within the prescribed boundaries of the institutions they attend and the subgroups they interact with is an important part of considering how unsanctioned events socialize individual students to those specific boundaries. Peer groups have been shown (Alleman, Robinson, Leslie, & Glanzer, 2016) to be the primary source of support for student who do not feel like they fit within an institution. Similarly, a lack of peer group support is related to absence of social connections and lack of feeling as if an individual fits in (Alleman, et al., 2016; Tinto, 1993). In some instances, students who feel like they do not fit in may bond with others who share those experiences and therefore find camaraderie in the communal experiences and perceptions of a lack of fitting in (Alleman, et al., 2016). The campus environment also plays a role in determining the fit and identity of college students. Students whose academic life is constructed around early morning classes may not fit with students who work nights at a fast food restaurant (Strange & Banning, 2001) because of the different roles and constraints that accompany each distinct environment. The unsanctioned event may provide an outlet by which assimilate to specific identities, and adhere to values of

various other groups on campus. Further research in the context of the unsanctioned event is required to better understand the ways in which personal and group identity, experience, and perceptions of fit relate to the overall socialization of first year students.

Contrary to Van Gennep's (1960) model that requires separation from former identities to be successful in current identities, Hurtado and Carter (1997) research the ways in which a Latino subset of students maintain multiple identity sources in order to be successful in college. The specific identities of these Latino students are nested in their persistent connection with their Latino identity and related non-student groups, including, family, friends, and religious groups. The authors found that the continuity among these affiliations were paramount in ensuring that the Latino students felt welcomed, and belonged on campus. Therefore, Hurtado and Carter (1997) critique the Van Gennep (1960) model of separation and integration by noting the value of persistent connections between former, current, and future identities, rather than separating from previous identities in attempts to succeed in college (Hurtado & Carter, 1997). Hurtado and Carter's (1997) distinction here is important because it shows that successful students often persist because they have multiple sources of identity across various groups and contexts. For my research, it will be important to consider how the rituals of unsanctioned groups might contribute to transition as Van Gennep (1960) described it, or contribute to the maintenance of separate identity spheres.

Deviance and Positive Deviance

Historically, theorizing about deviance began with Durkheim (1912/1995) and Merton (1957) in their discussions on the ways in which deviance occurs and whether it

occurs out of societal norms or society pressures. Dubin (1959) built upon Merton's (1957) typology of deviance to include various subsets of deviance that accept, reject, and recreate institutional norms and rules that produce legitimacy for an organization.

Dubin (1959) continued to expand upon Merton's (1957) view of deviance in which individuals behave in illegitimate ways to respond to overt societal pressures. In doing so, Dubin (1959) differentiated between institutionalized *norms* and institutionalized *means* as acts of deviance and institutional inventions as an outcome of deviance. Institutionalized norms are the boundaries that exist between prescribed and proscribed behaviors that occur within a particular setting. Institutional means are the actual behaviors of individuals in the particular setting. When an individual acts outside of the norms their behaviors are considered illegitimate. But when those behaviors that occur outside of the norms create their own standards of legitimacy they become institutional inventions (Dubin, 1958). This occurs when norms and means that were previously considered illegitimate become legitimate through individuals that are both rejected previous norms and means and substituting new norms and means. Through this rejection and substitution, groups invent new cultural norms that they strive towards. Similarly, as groups create their own new cultural norms, the previous norms are no longer accepted as *normal*.

Further, Dubin (1959) provides a typology of deviant behavior that builds upon Merton's (1957) original deviant typology to illustrate the different types of deviance that occur throughout society. Merton (1957) first described four forms of deviance: innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. Dubin (1959) expands on these to include behavioral innovation, value innovation, behavioral ritualism, value ritualism, retreatism,

and rebellion. In this first extension of Merton's (1957) theory, Dubin (1959) adds behaviors and values to the innovation and ritualism deviance types, creating four new deviance types, to showcase how individuals both reject institutional norms and means, and substitute new means and norms for themselves. Dubin (1959) expanded further on these four types to include fourteen distinct deviance types that illustrate the different ways that deviance occurs throughout society. Each of these deviant adaptation variations include degrees of acceptance, rejection and substitution of institutional norms and means.

Positive Deviance

Deviance has often been described as going against societal norms, which is therefore considered *bad.* But an emerging field of research on positive deviance shines light on the ways in which deviant behaviors can benefit individuals and societies. Positive deviance research first emerged in medical communities in understanding how individuals given the same resources, utilized them differently and had better outcomes in health and wellness (Marsh, Schroeder, Dearden, Sternin, & Sternin, 2004). Positive deviance is defined as a departure from the normative behaviors of a group that results in positive outcomes for the individuals that deviate. This contrasts with the original definition of deviance in which a deviation from social norms results in negative or unacceptable outcomes (Sternin, 2002). Positive deviance is helpful for this research because it clarifies the ways in which Q3 events offer positive outcomes for members and event attendees, even though their activities are deviant from Applewood University. Positive deviance has been explored in a variety of contexts, including in medical circles, in organizations, and in businesses (Marsh, Schroeder, Dearden, Sternin, & Sternin,

2004; Peterson, 2002; Sternin, 2002). Throughout these studies, and especially in the public health field, the available resources, the institutional climate and culture, and personal values are important components of positive deviance. An important piece of the positive deviance puzzle is that the individuals who are deviant and the individuals who are not, have the same capital and cultural resources available to them. However, it is the individuals who are deviant that have better outcomes, with the same resources, than their non-deviant counterparts. Therefore, it is the deviant behaviors that individuals engage in that produce a positive outcome (Sternin, 2002).

In the workplace and in organizational settings, researchers explore deviance via the ethical climate of the organization in relation to the individual values of an employee. Climates that foster deviance are often those that are considered unethical and counterproductive to the organization's goal; examples of this can include absenteeism or theft (Peterson, 2002). On the other hand, when viewing deviance from a positive lens, the individual who deviates from an unethical culture, and therefore behaves in ethical and productive manners can be considered to be positively deviant because the departure from the unethical norms create positive outcomes for the individual and the organization.

The discussion on deviance has since shifted from only a negative connotation with negative outcome to the theory of positive deviance in which departure from norms is beneficial to those who participate in the deviation. As deviance has often been researched in negative terms that result in negative outcomes, the shift in conversation towards positive deviance warrants further research on the ways in which positive deviance affects higher education and its students.

Culture

The culture of organizations often influences the behavior and actions that individuals and groups engage in. The beliefs that influence organizational behavior can be categorized into either a social actor perspective or a social constructivist perspective (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006) as dependent upon the behaviors and beliefs that are most salient to the organization. These two perspectives govern the ways in which beliefs are constructed and behaviors are carried out. In the social actor perspective, organizational identity is defined through institutional claims about the central, salient, and distinct characteristics about the organization. Another option for categorization is the social constructivist perspective which concludes that organizational identity is defined through collectively shared beliefs and values that are central and relatively unchanging characteristics of an organization (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). This distinction is helpful in understanding the foundations of organizational culture and the ways in which organizational behaviors relate to the foundational culture. The summative definition of organization culture, provided by Ravasi and Schultz (2006) notes that culture is defined by shared mental assumptions that guide the interpretations and behaviors of individuals and organizations by defining suitable conduct for a variety of situations (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006).

Organizational culture can be effected by many intrinsic and extrinsic forces on an organization that may shift the culture (Mihaela & Bratianu, 2012). This is especially difficult for leaders of organizations as they try to model the organizationally preferred behavior for their followers. The difficulty in modeling organization culture is derived from the complex and layered configurations of culture that will drive the behavior of the

leader and the overall organization (Mihaela & Bratianu, 2012). The layers of organizational culture are explored in this study by examining of the culture of an unaffiliated organization. Schein's (1992) levels of culture were specifically utilized to organize and understand the behaviors and beliefs of the unaffiliated organization in a layered system.

Schein's (1992) three levels of culture include (1) artifacts, (2) espoused values, and (3) basic underlying assumptions. The deepest and most implicit level of culture, the basic underlying assumptions, are the foundation of the organizational culture that is central to the ways in which individuals in the organization behave. The espoused values are the middle level of the cultural hierarchy and help to articulate the values, ideals, and principles that govern the organization. The top level of culture, as described by Schein (1992) are the artifacts. Artifacts are what individuals not involved in the organization see from the outside looking in. I utilized Schein's (1992) levels of organizational culture for this study for its usefulness in explaining organizational culture, and to organize and categorize the cultural beliefs, values, and behaviors that are central to the institution and the student organizations discussed in this study.

Suellen and Leonard (2014) utilized a similar approach in exploring Schein's (1992) model in the study of law firm effectiveness and innovation. Results of this study noted that the layers of organizational culture, the norms, artifacts and behaviors of an organization moderately effect the ability of law firms to be both effective and innovative (Suellen & Leonard, 2014). This study also employed Schein's (1992) levels of culture in order to best understand the ways in which unaffiliated organizations socialize students, and how the culture of an unaffiliated organization influences the socialization of

students. Understanding culture for unaffiliated organizations was coupled with understanding the culture of the institution as well as the culture of other student organization involvement opportunities. Understanding the culture of unaffiliated organizations as well as the institution and other student organizations was central to understanding their subsequent behaviors.

Statement of Problem

Unaffiliated organizations, unsanctioned events, ritual, and college student identities have been extensively researched; unfortunately, there has been little examination of the convergence of these topics. Further, the ways in which unaffiliated organizations and unsanctioned events contribute to the socialization of a specific first year student population is greatly under researched. Unaffiliated organizations and unsanctioned events have come under increased scrutiny in recent years from higher education administrators who discuss the risky behaviors that students engage in during these events and the need to reduce possible harm (Abraham, 2013; Calderon & Pero, 2013; Lipka, 2005; Saltz, Paschall, McGaffigan, & Nygaard, 2010). Student affairs professionals appear to be preoccupied with the task of protecting students and ensuring the safekeeping on the institution's reputation (Parks & Spencer, 2013). Although risk management for students and institutions are worthy concerns that should be addressed, the socialization aspect of these types of events must also be considered in order to best understand the ways in which our students personally experience them. Although deviance and positive deviance literature can provide an interesting and helpful perspective to unsanctioned events and their socialization processes, the socialization

processes are the main focus of the research. Thus, this research explored the following question: *How does the culture of an unaffiliated student organization influence the socialization of students through, unsanctioned, ritual events?* This question was further focused by the following sub-questions.

1. Do unsanctioned events contribute to the socialization of first year college students? If so, how?
2. Is participation in unsanctioned events reflected in participants' descriptions of their identities and group affiliations?
3. What are the socialization outputs that result from participating in an organization's unsanctioned ritual event?
4. What is the nature of the peer relationships that result from participation in an organization's unsanctioned ritual event?
5. Do students feel as though their participation in unsanctioned events bonds them to other individuals or groups?

Significance

Unaffiliated organizations and unsanctioned events affect college students in a variety of ways. Participation in the organization or attendance at events does not ensure acceptance or group membership, nor does a lack of participation/attendance necessarily reflect a lack of sociability. This study addressed a significant gap in the literature and will aid in understanding what role unaffiliated organizations and their subsequent unsanctioned events play in the socialization of students in ways that relate to individual and group identities. The unsanctioned events are often the ones most talked about in news headlines, or (sometimes scandalously) posted on social media, and are often given

a bad reputation for being noisy, dangerous, and unnecessary. Therefore, researchers tend to view unsanctioned events as deviant and counter to preferred educational ends. Further research must consider the positive *and* the negative socialization outcomes of unsanctioned events. There is no doubt that unsanctioned events can create the potential for physical and psychological harm and that the concerns raised by institutions about the events are not unfounded. Nevertheless, researchers must consider the ways in which these types of events are perceived by organizing and participating students and whether attendance or lack thereof plays any role in the socialization into the campus culture. Findings of this research are applicable to further study of in-group and out-group experiences and identities, how unsanctioned events function as an act of ritualizing students, and to what ends. Further, student affairs professionals will be able to utilize findings in order to better understand student involvement that occurs outside the bounds of the university's typical control.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the Literature

This chapter is comprised of a review of the relevant literature on unaffiliated organizations, unsanctioned events, ritual ceremonies, and the socialization of college students that demonstrate the need for further research on the convergence of these topics. In prior related literature, authors note that the use of ritual ceremonies may be central to the integration of an individual to a new group identity (Van Gennep, 1960). Ritual ceremonies in higher education that have been the subject of prior research include the campus tour (Magolda, 2001), graduation (Magolda 2003), presidential inaugurations, and chartering days (Manning, 2000) beginning of the year faculty meetings (Alleman, 2014), and hundreds of examples of traditions and stories from universities across the nation (Bronner, 2012). These formal ceremonies are often joined by a range of informal events such as Halloween hijinks, human versus zombie nerf gun games, drinking games centered on athletic events and graduation, parties focused around the Greek system, and a range of freshman follies. Reisberg (2000) also recalls the "nude Olympics" and similar *au naturale* sporting events, drunken fountain hopping, and other such unruly occurrences that are perpetrated on many campuses.

Despite the insights provided by previous studies, there is little research on student-hosted and student-focused rituals that exist outside university control. Nor is there extensive research on unaffiliated organizations or unsanctioned events outside of unsanctioned events hosted by Greek life. Discussion of any positive outcomes that may

come of such events, typified by Astin's (1997) attribution of "hedonism" to such groups, has also been lacking. Further, with few exceptions (Alleman, et al., 2016), research on the socialization of college students has not been extensively discussed in regards to sociological conceptualizations of identity and group membership. As student affairs professionals continue to focus on the co-curricular learning opportunities that colleges and universities can offer, higher education scholars and practitioners must not disregard those events that fall outside of institutional control. This literature review will be used to show the previous work on unaffiliated organizations, unsanctioned events, rituals, and college student identity that point to a need for further research on the convergence of these topics.

Ritual

The importance of rituals has been extensively researched, demonstrating their ability to create and reinforce group and individual identities amongst individuals (Collins, 2004; Collins, & Lewis, 2008; Durkheim, 1912/1995; Magolda, 2001; Magolda, 2003; Schuck & Bucy, 1997). Rituals have often been studied within the contexts of religion, transition, interaction ritual chains, and home and family life (Collins, 2004; Collins & Lewis, 2008; Durkheim, 1912/1995; Van Gennep, 1960). Specific higher education rituals have been studied in relation to events such as the campus-wide faculty meetings, campus tours, chartering days, presidential inaugurations and graduations (Alleman, 2014; Magolda, 2001, Magolda, 2003, Manning, 2000). Contextually, rituals have been studied at liberal arts colleges (Manning, 2000), religious colleges (Alleman, 2014), and HBCU's (Schuck & Bucy, 1997). The commonality among the literature shows the ways in which some individuals and groups are socialized by ritual events.

Ritual events have the ability to socialize individuals in the ways that they both create group identities and convey the values, norms, and principles of a group that an individual should adhere to in order to be considered a member of the group (Collins 2004; Durkheim, 1912/1995; Van Gennep, 1960). Through engagement with the sacred and profane aspects of a religion, as described by Durkheim, (1912/1995), the ideals and values of a group are both created and reinforced. Ritual ceremonies are a time and place in which individuals can experience "collective effervescence" by coming together and experiencing a heightened state of emotion that bonds participants through the emotional energy generated in the ritual ceremony. These rituals aid in creating and reinforcing individual and group identities for participants who engage with them (Durkheim, 1912/1995). What Durkheim (1912/1995) does not articulate is the sociological underpinnings of exactly what occurs during these ritual events that make up the effervescence that encourages connections of groups (Kemper, 2011). The connection that is built with individuals and groups is solely discussed through the emotional aspect of effervescence and there is little discussion on the sociological development of individuals who experience these ritual events (Kemper, 2011).

In higher education, ritual events are studied through a range of formal observances, including the campus tour (Magolda, 2001), graduation (Magolda, 2003), and presidential inaugurations and chartering days (Manning, 2000). A central notion described by each author is the aspect of power and messages of community expectations that are communicated to the attendees. The institution, through its formal rituals convey the ways in which an individual should interact with the institution during and after their time at the specific university; wielding a power over students and their behavior that

defines specific actions, beliefs, or values, as an integral part of membership within that university (Alleman, 2014; Magolda, 2000; Magolda, 2003; Manning, 2000). The power of the university can be influential in socializing its students to act in the ways that the university deems favorable, but also in creating an environment where students seek out spaces and events that they can also control.

Greek letter organizations and hazing practices are often the place where the power of rituals hosted outside of intuitional control are studied (Alvarez, 2015; Mangan, 2015; Parks & Spencer, 2013). When informal and unsanctioned rituals are discussed in higher education it has been through informal interactions such faculty lunch rituals (Alleman, 2014). Informal rituals focus on the day to day interactions among individuals rather than large scale events and exchanges, and faculty rituals do not include a student perspective on informal rituals. Thus, further research on large ritual events that occur outside of the university boundaries is needed in order to better understand the effect of these events, and specifically, their role in the socialization of college students. Ritual events within higher education institutions are discussed by Manning (2000), who presents a typology for understanding the various types of rituals that occur across campuses. These types include rituals of reification, revitalization, resistance, incorporation, investiture, entering and exiting, and healing. The *ritual of resistance* described by Manning (2000) is the most relevant for this study, since it is often used by students to dispute the meanings of other campus rituals. Through rituals of resistance, students "create their own rituals, separate from the administrative sanctioned rituals of campus life" (Manning, 2000, p. 5). The unsanctioned event may function as a ritual of resistance when the event runs counter the mission and values of the institution. All

unsanctioned events cannot be described as rituals of resistance but it will be important in my research to consider the possibility that the unsanctioned events under investigation may also be rituals of resistance.

Analyses of formal ceremonies conducted by students, whether they be sanctioned or unsanctioned, are often examined in an effort to highlight or understand the misdeeds of various student subgroups (Alvarez, 2015; Mangan, 2015; Parks & Spencer, 2013). Going forward, it is imperative to consider the ways in which unsanctioned events may be examined through a ritual lens without assuming nefarious or destructive ends. Rather, by examining unsanctioned events through the lens of ritual this study remains open to a range of findings about the nature of socialization through the ritual event. Ritual theory provides researchers with a basis for understanding the ways in which identities are created and meaning is made by participants who experience the ritual ceremony. Furthermore, ritual theory facilitates the examination of students' perceptions of the event and of their effected identity. In sum, rituals are a window into the possible ways that the event may socialize students. Ritual theory provides a framework for understanding how an individual can become a part of the shared identity through formal ceremonies that symbolize various group identities, and help reinforce the values of those groups (Durkheim, 1912/1995; Manning, 2000; Magolda, 2001; Magolda, 2003; Van Gennep, 1960).

Socialization and Student Identity

The development of college students has been broadly explored psychosocially, cognitively, and environmentally (Gilligan, 1982/1993; King & Kitchener, 2004; Kohlberg, 1975; Sanford, 1966, Strange & Banning, 2001) but further research on the

sociological development of students is needed. From a sociological perspective, socialization is not synonymous with development, rather socialization is the process by which an individual takes on the values, behaviors, role and status expectations, and standards of a particular group or society (Chapin, El Ouardani, & Barlow, 2016; Kaufman & Feldman, 2004; Sell, Chapman, & Rothenberg, 2012; Rhys, 1983). Chapin, El Ouardani, and Barlow (2016), Kaufman and Feldman (2004), Sell, Chapman, and Rothenberg (2012) and Rhys (1983) all define socialization in similar terms that showcase an individual learning and identifying with the values and norms of subgroups. Kaufman and Feldman (2004) specifically examine socialization and how collegiate environments certify students to think about themselves differently across three domains: intelligence and knowledgeability, cosmopolitanism, and employment. This process of legitimation culminates in an individual's ability to identify themselves as a member of that particular group or society. It is the social pressures of the environment on new members of a group that encourages them to adhere to the predominant behavior patterns of the group. (Feldman & Newcomb, 1994; Kaufman & Feldman, 2004).

The examination of adherence to dominate groups and behavior patterns are explored across the academic classifications of college students and findings reveal that seniors in college tend to display less need to affiliate with specific campus groups or cultures in comparison to freshman or sophomores (Feldman & Newcomb, 1994) yet the upperclassmen are often the ones designing socialization experiences for first year students (Alleman & Finnegan, 2009; Bronner, 2012; Kaufman & Feldman, 2004). First year students have a need to integrate into the particular groups of their higher education institution, and a much higher need for this type of socialization than seniors, who could

reasonably be assumed to already have found their specific subgroups choice (Feldman & Newcomb, 1994). In my research, this distinction is important when considering specifically the socialization of first year students and their need to affiliate on one hand, and the upperclassmen who are responsible for overseeing socializing events.

Another important way that researchers have examined student socialization is through the influence of the collegiate environment on the formation of a new college student social status (Kaufman and Feldman, 2004). This study examined the felt identities of individuals in their new roles as college students, describing the ways in which college students develop their identity as a *college student* in relation to the societal norms and values that are espoused in the collegiate environment. Norms that define the social status of a college student were then reinforced through social interactions with individuals outside of the institutions, such as friends or parents, as well as individuals within the institutions such as faculty members. The individual's identity of being a college student is therefore validated through the interactions with other individuals (Kaufman & Feldman, 2004). In regards to my research, the ritual event highlights one specific mechanism of identity formation that then reinforces collegiate social roles and expectations.

Similar to Kaufman and Feldman's (2004) emphasis on felt identity formation through environmental press, Van Gennep (1960) focuses on socialization and integration into a particular subgroup through a rite of passage that results in separation from previous group identities. Conversely, Hurtado and Carter (1997) found that it was the continuation of pre-college relationships with family, friends, and other groups outside the university that stabilized identity and promoted student persistence. Therefore,

Hurtado and Carter (1997) contradict the Van Gennep (1960) model of separation and integration by encouraging the persistent connection between former, current, and future identities, rather than separating from previous identities in attempts to succeed in college (Hurtado & Carter, 1997). Further, Hurtado and Carter (1997) oppose Tinto's (1993) application of Van Gennep's (1960) model that requires separation and instead showcase the ability of students to succeed in their collegiate careers while retaining continuity among various group affiliations. This conceptual disagreement highlights the importance of understanding the individual and group identities that are created in college and reinforced through interactions on and off campus, and the socialization that results.

Another important facet of college students and identity is the creation of in-groups and out-groups through social and symbolic boundaries (Lamont & Molnar, 2002). These boundaries are embedded into societal structures and are reinforced through ongoing interactions (Lamont & Molnar, 2002). The socialization process of college students, of learning the values, behaviors, expectations, and standards of the institution or subgroups have been explored through felt identity (Kaufman & Feldman, 2004), taking on new identities (Van Gennep, 1960), maintaining identities despite new social contexts and expectations (Hurtado & Carter, 1997) and creating in-group and out-group boundaries (Magolda, 2000). My study will instead focus on the socialization that occurs outside of the control of the institution. Students are continually socialized and are socializing others. Forms of socialization occurring institutionally and environmentally on-campus have been extensively discussed (Strange & Banning, 2001; Kaufman & Feldman, 2004; Feldman & Newcomb, 1994). However, the focus of this project is on

what happens when students go off campus and create unsanctioned ritual events that influence the formation of group memberships and individual identities

Unaffiliated Organizations and Unsanctioned Events in Higher Education

The unaffiliated and unsanctioned aspects of collegiate life are under-researched and require further analysis and description. The unaffiliated student organization of yore, such as Phi Beta Kappa (Jackson, 2000) and the YMCA (Alleman & Finnegan, 2009) have both given way to institutional oversight and control. Now both of these organizations are found across the nation serving goals that are influenced by institutions rather than by student. The unsanctioned events hosted by unaffiliated and affiliated organizations are also under researched, especially in terms of socialization. Manning (2000) does make an effort to examine these types of events through a ritual lens.

In contrast to formal institutionally-sanctioned rituals, Manning (2000) describes the unsanctioned ritual of resistance, thus pointing to, but not adequately addressing, the importance of this form of ritual. Unsanctioned events in higher education have most often been studied in regards to risky behaviors such as hazing (Alvarez, 2015; Mangan, 2015; Parks & Spencer, 2013), and binge drinking (Buckner, Henslee, & Jeffries, 2015; Neighbors et al., 2011). The effects of hazing are well known to be detrimental to the mental, physical, and emotional development of students (Alvarez, 2015; Mangan, 2015; Parks & Spencer, 2013), and binge drinking has been a long discussed topic of higher education (Buckner, Henslee, & Jeffries, 2015; Neighbors et al., 2011). Approaches to combatting such behaviors has also been extensively researched (Lee & Bichard, 2006; Moore, Soderquist, & Werch, 2005; Weitzman & Nelson, 2004).

Research on unsanctioned events outside of higher education typically has been limited to the discussion of subcultures and the associated norms that run counter to the overall culture of society. Identities of being goth (Goodlad, Bibby, & Gunn, 2007), or punk (Hannon, 2010) are explored, as well as sports branding (Green, 2001) and individual consumerism and participation in sporting events (Schwarzenberger & Hyde, 2013). Despite this important research, few researchers explore the socialization of student-organized events that occur outside of the bounds of the institution.

Convergence of the Literature

A century of scholarly development and more recent application to higher education has shown the potency of ritual theory as an analytic tool to investigate group formation and identity. The research of rituals has been primarily limited to those that are formal and often outside of higher education (Durkheim, 1912/1995; Goffman, 1967; Van Gennep, 1960) and informal and outside of higher education (Collins, 2004; Collins & Lewis, 2008). These rituals identify the emotional outputs and feelings of collective identity for participants in the ritual ceremonies. Prior research on rituals in higher education has focused primarily on the transgressions of students and the power of the institution. Formal rituals that have been researched within higher education include studies of the beginning and ending of a student's collegiate career (Magolda, 2001; Magolda, 2003), Greek life (Callais, 2002); at liberal arts colleges (Manning, 2000), religious colleges (Alleman, 2014), and HBCU's (Schuck & Bucy, 1997). These rituals in higher education have well described the ways in which institutions enact power over students as a form of socialization into the campus norms. Informal rituals of higher education include hazing examples (Alvarez, 2015; Mangan, 2015; Parks & Spencer,

2013) and faculty interactions (Alleman, 2014) that focus on the interactions between individuals to create ritual ceremony. But, research from the student perspective about membership in an unaffiliated student organization and participation in unsanctioned events through the lens of ritual remains lacking. It is especially important for my research to consider ritual ceremonies that exist outside of control of an institution that are both student led and student attended in order to better understand how unaffiliated organizations and unsanctioned events socialize students through ritual ceremonies. Prior research on rituals that are formative to the development of individual identity and group affiliation as an act of socialization have again only been discussed within the administrative borders of colleges and universities. Therefore, further research must be conducted to look outside of this context and better understand college student identity that is being developed off campus. Unaffiliated organizations and unsanctioned events that are hosted by students and for students have largely been studied through hazing practices and binge drinking tendencies, two aspects which most, if not all, institutions, look upon unfavorably. Future research, such as this study, should consider the possible ways that unsanctioned events socialize students into individual identities and group memberships apart from expectations that outcomes are antisocial or oppose positive developmental ends.

CHAPTER THREE

Conceptual Framework and Methodology

The Conceptual Framework

My conceptual framework of unsanctioned events drew upon ritual theory (Durkheim, 1912/1995) as applied to the university context (Alleman, 2014; Magolda, 2001; Manning 2000). Ritual was an important factor in this study because the ritual ceremony was the context in which an individual's identity and group membership were created (Durkheim, 1912/1995). I utilized the unsanctioned event as a type of ritual that students hosted and attend for many reasons, as outlined in Chapter One. My typology (Figure 1) of ritual events describes the extent to which unsanctioned events remain unsanctioned due to the source of control (student or institutional) and due to the challenges they create to institutional norms and values. Sophomoric Events are unsanctioned events have the lowest likelihood of interference from institutions and have high degree of control by students. These events may not showcase the institution in its preferred manner, but the event is not typically a substantial threat to institutional reputation. In Sophomoric Events, institutions make little effort to supervise the students or regulate the event in question. Coordinated Events are unsanctioned events have a moderate possibility of interference from the institution and a moderate amount of unmonitored agency by the students. The event is potentially harmful to the student but typically does not constitute a threat to the institution; there may as well be an unwritten agreement between students and administration that allow the activity to carry on. Finally, Intensive Events are unsanctioned events that have the highest involvement from

both students and potential intervention by institutions. The Intensive Event is often hosted by students, for students, and in opposition to university ideals, either directly or indirectly. The Intensive Event also has the highest possibility of physically, mentally, or emotionally harming an individual student or the institutional reputation. Any of the three types could be a candidate for a ritual of resistance (Manning, 2000), though the possibility for damage to institutional reputation makes it more likely to occur in the types in descending order.

	Sophomoric Event	Coordinated Event	Intensive Event
Institutional Intervention	Low	Moderate	High
Student Agency	High	Moderate	High
Possibility of Harm	Low	Moderate	High

Figure 1. Unsanctioned Event Typology.

Rather than focus on unsanctioned events as inherently unsafe to students or threatening to institutional reputation, I focused on a sociological aspect of unsanctioned organizations, specifically their ritualized events, which shaped aspects of individuals' identities and affiliations as college students. Thus, the focus here was to understand the nature of socialization that was an outcome of the unsanctioned event as ritual.

In this study, ritual theory was applied through the perspective developed by Durkheim (1912/1995) and the ritual outputs of collective effervescence that create and reinforce individual and group identity. Ritual events require the physical presence of members, at which time they focus on one another and common goals or activities that elicits an emotional response. Through these requirements the ritual produces group membership, individual emotional energy, the creation and reinforcement of specific

symbols of the group and a sense of rightness and morality that comes by adhering to the group values (Alleman, 2014). Goffman (1967) states that interactions are a fundamental aspect of ritual that convey meaning and group identity through the simple daily exchanges between individuals. Collins (2004) describes the ways in which interaction ritual chains socialize an individual as members or non-members of specific subgroups. The formal ritual described by Durkheim (1912/1995) and the interactions that result in feelings of group membership and collective identity (Goffman, 1967; Collins, 2004) will be utilized in the analysis of unsanctioned events and their nature of socialization.

The sociological aspect of ritual was paramount to this study because the ritual event had the power to create individual and collective identities and distinct subgroups (Durkheim, 1912/1995; Lamont & Molnar, 2002). Through participation in the ritual event an individual took on the values, norms, and beliefs of the subgroup as their own. Therefore, producing both an individual identity and a group membership that was created through participation in the ritual event. The below model (Figure 2) illustrates the way in which ritual events are a socializing factor for college students and their identity development.

The individual begins with their particular identity and group affiliations prior to experiencing the specific ritual event. Upon experiencing the ritual event (in this case unsanctioned) the individual interacts with the symbols and emblems of a particular group and experiences the collective effervescence described by Durkheim (1912/1995).

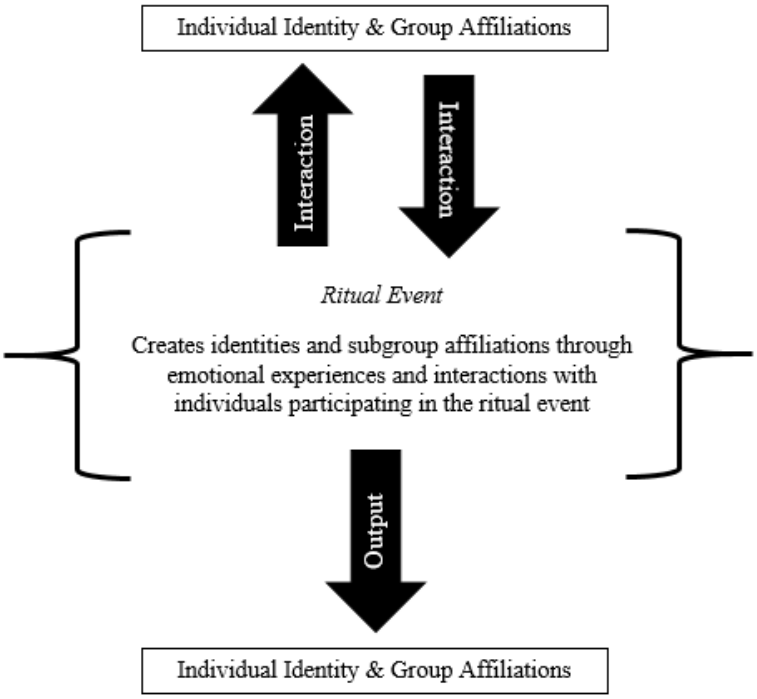

Figure 2. Ritual Interaction.

The experience of the ritual interacts with the individual's identity development and group affiliations by using the emotional power of the collective effervescence to socialize the individual into a new individual identity and group affiliation. Upon exiting the ritual event (the transition from "sacred" to "profane" time, as Durkheim termed it) the participant left with their individual identity modified, either in the sense that had been changed or that it was reinforced by the event.

I conducted this research to explore the ways in which identity and group affiliations were shaped through the unsanctioned ritual event. This study utilized the experiences of college students who attended unsanctioned events and students who hosted unsanctioned events. I sought to understand the ways in which students' identities

were constructed through ritualized unsanctioned events and constructed by the unaffiliated organizations who hosted the unsanctioned events.

Methodology

In this study I utilized an interpretivist qualitative methodology in which the researcher sought the meaning-making of participants and joined with them in the interpretation developed through the data collection and analysis process (Hesse-Biber, & Leavy, 2011). This study depended on the authority of the participants as knowers and their interpretations of their experiences with unsanctioned events; the individuals who agreed to be in this study are the ones who held knowledge about the unsanctioned events in question. Although the participant is the ultimate "knower" of information, in an interpretive approach, the researcher may use existing literature and frameworks in analyses while still maintaining the voice of the participant (Hesse-Biber, & Leavy, 2011; Schwandt, 1998). Further, this research was an explanatory case study (Hamel, Dufour, & Fortin, 1993) in which I utilized one unofficial student group at Applewood University, Q3, as my specific subject of interest to gain insight on the sociological impacts of unsanctioned events.

Methods

Qualitative case study methods included the exploration of specific individuals and groups in relation to the object of study, in this case unaffiliated organizations and unsanctioned events through ritual frameworks. Q3 is an appropriate subject for a case study because I was granted the opportunity to examine events within their context to illuminate the methods of socializing students in a real-life environment such as the Q3

events. Case studies also include avenues for exploring both historical and current elements that aid in description, understanding, and explanation of phenomena (Hamel, Dufour, & Fortin, 1993). Further, Yin (1994) states that the theoretical underpinnings of a research study can be further examined through case study in an effort to confirm, challenge, or extend the theory. Thus, the position of Q3 relative to the institution, to incoming students, and to its own emerging sense of identity and purpose expressed through ritual, provided an ideal context for analysis.

Due to the qualitative approach and case study design of this research, interviewing individuals that fill specific roles relative to the group and ritual in question was essential. Therefore, I utilized a stratified purposeful sampling technique (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011) to ensure that the sample of participants for this study, although small, was knowledgeable on the subject of the specific events hosted by Q3. The collection of the data relied on interviews and participant observation methods at an unsanctioned event. The findings and analysis of this study focused on identifying the socialization processes found in ritualized unsanctioned events. These processes were discovered via participant interviews as well as observation of Q3 events.

Data Collection

In order to understand unsanctioned events and their socializing powers, first-hand knowledge, in terms of the event and those that participate, was essential. Therefore, I utilized existing social networks with students at Applewood who were members of Q3 to request their participation in the study. Further sampling of students related to the unaffiliated organization and their unsanctioned events included current first year students who attend Q3 events. Although I sought to also recruit student affairs

administrators at Applewood in order to better understand the historical background and institutional response to Q3's unsanctioned events, I was unable to do so for a number of reasons. The chief concern in not recruiting administrators for this study was to protect the confidentiality of the student participants. Further, after careful consideration of the research question, the administrator perspective, while interesting for further study, is not directly related to the ways in which unaffiliated student organizations, and their unsanctioned events, socialize students. Table 1 shows the number of participants that were interviewed as well as their level of involvement with Q3.

Table 1

Participant Information

Pseudonym	Relationship with Q3	Academic Classification
Jacob	Q3 member	Junior
Trent	Q3 member	Senior
Josh	Q3 member	Junior
Daniel	Q3 member	Junior
Caleb	Q3 member	Junior
Braden	Q3 member	Sophomore
Debby	Event Attendee	Freshman
Bobby	Event Attendee	Freshman
James	Q3 Officer	Senior
Luke	Q3 Officer	Junior
Noah	Q3 Officer	Senior
Liam	Q3 Officer	Senior

I was purposeful in my sampling of students to ensure that individuals who participated in the study were able to provide descriptive and reflective information specifically related to the study of unsanctioned events. Selection criteria was based on the level of knowledge, experience, and involvement that an individual has had with and

about Q3 events as well as participant availability. This included Q3 general members, Q3 officers who helped to plan and host events, as well as first year students who attended the Q3 events. I also attended one unsanctioned event that occurred off campus in order to observe the ways in which individuals interacted with and socialized one another in the context of the unsanctioned event.

The specific event that I attended was an off-campus party hosted by Q3. This organization is a pseudo-Greek organization that operated outside of the institutional control of the university the students attend. According to the group's social media accounts, their self-description notes that Q3 is, "dynamic", "diverse", and "desire[s] to…glorify God at every opportunity".

Although the organization's self-description appears to dovetail with the Christian mission of the institution, other programs and activities reflected resistance to the university. Most notably [Holla Homecoming] and [Quest] (note: all person, location, and event names are pseudonyms). Along with a number of smaller events, each year Q3 hosts two major events, Holla Homecoming in the fall semester and Quest in the spring semester. Each of these occasions were attended by thousands of first year students and the events were often held within a few days of, or on the same day, of traditionally programmed university events. Throughout the semester Q3 also hosted impromptu parties at their mutual homes that were conveniently located next to one another on a street near campus, or at other locations throughout the community. The events hosted by Q3 were appropriate for this study because the events included the necessary ritual elements, including, physical co-presence of members, a shared emotional experience, and symbolic representations of the group (Durkheim, 1912/1995). I evaluated the effects

of the ritual by analyzing the specified outputs of ritual, including feelings of group membership and emotional attachment to individuals or symbols. In order to evaluate the effect of the event as a ritual I gathered student member responses to Q3 events, as well as first-year student responses about how individuals felt about their participation in Q3 events. Further, Q3 and its event titles, *Quest* and *Holla Homecoming* were symbols and emblems that represented the ritual experience had by those in attendance. Understanding the meaning participants made of these symbols was an important element of this study.

When I attended a Q3 event I acted as a *participant-observer* as defined by Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011). Being a participant-observer required me to balance my role between a student attending an event and a researcher searching for clues and indications of socialization. I was careful not to delve too far into participating and risk losing neutral perspective (Hesse-Biber, & Leavy, 2011). On the other hand, I also refrained from straying too far from regular participation that I might be seen as a complete outsider to the group and compromise the opportunity for naturalistic inquiry (Hesse-Biber, & Leavy, 2011). By attending as both a participant and observer I had the opportunity to experience the event in similar fashion as any other student might. Although this participation was beneficial for my research, my participation in the event did limit my ability to fully observe all aspects of the event.

I also took into consideration my role as a researcher and my role as an employee of an institute of higher education. These two roles may have conflicted during my attendance at an unsanctioned event if I would have witnessed any type of behavior that would require reporting by institutional procedures, though thankfully, I did not. Further, my role as a researcher could have been partially compromised when I was unable to

avoid interaction with students that I knew I would later engage with as a professional staff member. It is also important to take into consideration groups that I personally identified with, which could have clouded my judgement as a researcher and introduce bias to the study (see Appendix A for full discussion).

Throughout my data collection it was important for me to be aware of my numerous roles and identities that introduce bias or various responsibilities while participating, observing, or interviewing individuals (see Appendix A for full discussion). In this qualitative research study it was impossible for me to fully remove myself from the experience of the research itself (Hesse-Biber, & Leavy, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and its influences. Therefore, in an effort to pursue neutrality and awareness of these tendencies I also kept a research log of my thoughts and feelings regarding the study.

Protection of Participants

In order to protect the identity of the participants in this study I carefully handled all documents involved in the study and stored them on a password protected computer. I also pursued confidentiality by assigning each individual a pseudonym and stored all data collected with that pseudonym. There is a key, only available to me as the researcher, which codes the names and pseudonyms to ensure correct representation in data. This key has not been shared with any other individual, nor will it ever be shared with another individual. All data is kept on a password protected computer. I have also generalized findings including locations, descriptions or events as necessary to help ensure that participants cannot be identified throughout the discussion of findings. I have also obtained approval from the institutional IRB prior to collecting data. I have made every

effort to ensure that participants are fully informed of the subject of this research, and signed a consent form under a pseudonym that explained the full extent of this research and allowed them to decline participation at any time during the data collection process. This form described the methods by which I protected data that may be identifying to the participants. As the researcher, I have kept record of pseudonyms and actual names solely to ensure correct data collection and will continue to withhold access to any other individual.

Data Analysis

Qualitative coding enables the researcher to gather the essence of the meaning made by participants through the interview process (Saldaña, 2012). I conducted analysis of data through a two-cycle coding process. The first cycle consisted of an initial coding process in which I began with a list of 12 initial codes and continued to add to those codes throughout the coding process. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and entered into Nvivo 11 software to be analyzed and coded with descriptors that are "summative, salient, and essence-capturing" (Saldaña, p.3, 2012). This process helped to order and organize the data into various categories that summarize statements in the interviews. The second cycle coding consisted of pattern coding (Saldaña, 2012) in which I searched for commonalities across the previously discovered codes from the first cycle, including both confirming and disconfirming cases.

Trustworthiness

In order to pursue validity and reliability in a qualitative study, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest four elements of trustworthiness: credibility, transferability,

dependability, and confirmability. These elements were crucial in establishing proxies for validity and reliability throughout qualitative research. In order to pursue c*redibility* (measuring what I intend to measure), I have utilized peer scrutiny (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Peer scrutiny in this research has included reviews of my proposal, data collection, and findings by my thesis chair and by my thesis committee. Together, through these sources of feedback I have worked to confirm that the interpretations found in this study are appropriate for the material being researched. I have also pursued creditability through the triangulation of sources and persistent observation to gather the full breadth and depth of the data collected (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The pursuit of *transferability,* the extent to which the information found in this study can be applied to larger groups of individual, has been done by providing thick descriptions throughout my data collection and analyzing so that others may determine whether or not the findings are suitable for other contexts. These processes of collection and analyzing have included selection, interview protocol, and the coding process. I have pursued *dependability*, the consistency and repeatability of findings, by providing all pertinent details about the design and operation of this research, as well as the data collection and data analysis so that similar research will be able to be replicated at other institutions or in other contexts that are similar to those found in this research. The final aspect of *confirmability*, the objectivity of the findings*,* has been pursued through considering my biases and personal experiences with this topic of research and through peer scrutiny. My researcher positionality statement (Appendix A) posits the various ways that past experience may influence this research. Therefore, I have maintained awareness of these biases

throughout the research experiment including in the analysis and findings of information, and utilize triangulation of information to ensure that my findings remain neutral.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

Context of the Institution

The purpose of this research was to determine how an unaffiliated student organization socializes students through unsanctioned ritual events. In order to best articulate these findings, it is important to consider the context of Applewood University and to understand the culture of the Q3 organization because socialization is shaped by the culture and context of the institution and organizations. After considering the culture of the institution and the organization it is also important to understand the types of events hosted by Q3 in order to identify where and how the socialization occurs. Lastly, a ritual lens is a valuable tool for examining the events hosted by Q3 in order to understand the processes of socialization that occurred during organization events. These ritual events, due to Q3's unaffiliated position, can also be viewed in the context of positive deviance to understand how Q3 has successfully socialized first-year students.

In order to understand the ritualized socialization process that occurred during Q3 events, the context and culture of the institution where these events took place must first be considered. The institution, which will be referred to as Applewood University (AU) for this study is a faith-based private school, and particularly Christian in its mission, values, and norms. Benne (2001), provides a typology of four faith based institution types: orthodox, critical mass, intentionally pluralist, and accidentally pluralist. The orthodox institution has a strong commitment to their denominational background and the

denomination is central to the governance of the institution. The critical mass institution ensures that they engage with their faith tradition but allows for religious diversity in the student body and in some faculty or staff. Institutions that are intentionally pluralist have roots in a particular faith tradition but have made strides to move away from that tradition. There are often opportunities for theological and religious discussion but there is a lack of a guiding faith narrative. Lastly, the accidental pluralist institution, at its surface, presents itself as a secular institution that focuses on academic success above any particular theological or religious tendencies. According to Benne's (2001) typology Applewood University would fall within the critical mass description.

Reflective of their "critical mass" type, the institution had approximately 15,000 students drawn from a variety of religious traditions. The top four represented religions at the institution were Catholic, Baptist, Christian (Non. Denom./No Affil.), and Methodist; which accounted for more than 12,000 students at the institution. Student were enrolled from all 50 states and from over 75 countries. Applewood University ensured that institutional events were supportive of their faith tradition with biweekly chapel services, a spiritual life department, university chaplains, and a student code of conduct that affirmed the Christian mission of the university. The Christian aspect of the institution was a deciding factor in attending Applewood for many of the participants in this study. James, an executive member of the Q3 organization, stated the following when discussing his reasons for attending:

> I really liked the Christian atmosphere, which a lot of schools in the south still have, but [this institution] is a little more predominant. But not in a way that feels choking or forced on you.

Like many participants, James grew up in a Christian home and sought to find a college that could further serve him spiritually throughout his time at the institution.

Q3 and their Culture

Not only is the institutional culture and context important to consider in this research, but so too is the culture and context of the student organization being researched. It is the culture and context of the organization that ultimately drives the behavior, structure, and purpose of the events they host. Q3 was an explicitly, though not exclusively, Christian organization, that aimed to "glorify God" at every opportunity. Glorifying God in Q3 is seen in the off-campus events that they hosted, whether a large event consisting of thousands of attendees, such as Holla Homecoming, a weekend house party, as well as in smaller events such as a member's only Bible study or service event, were always hosed with the intent to glorify God. Large events, such as Holla Homecoming, house parties, and other themed parties throughout the year were stopped midway through for a short prayer, there were no alcoholic beverages, drugs, or other illicit-substances at the party, and the organization made an effort to greet every person at the party as they entered or exited. The organization's Christian faith was part of their self-described calling to serve others, and to serve first-year students by providing safe and fun events. Braden, a Q3 member spoke how the organization sought to serve others, especially the freshman population through the parties:

> The goal is to provide an alternative, basically, opportunity to have fun…and doing that in a Christ like way, of course anybody can have fun without alcohol, and so we are doing that we are also taking a step further and saying we are trying to honor God in what we do.

Q3 events regularly drew between 500 and 3000 students, the majority of whom were freshman. The organization was keenly aware of this and even sought to provide this specific atmosphere for freshman so that freshman students could have an opportunity to have fun on the weekends without getting "hurt" (Braden) or "in trouble" (Braden), which Q3 believed could occur at other events that students may have attended off-campus. Q3's events could breed tension between the university and its registered organizations, especially Greek life. Q3 operated regularly off campus through Bible studies, member meetings, and service projects in the local community; all of which could be considered good things for organizations to do from an outsider who is not knowledgeable about the organization itself. But, because the organization was not affiliated with the institution, all of their events were considered "unsanctioned". The unsanctioned activities hosted by Q3 put strain on the relationship between the organization and AU or rather, the lack of a formal relationship between Q3 and AU. Trent, a Q3 student member explained the relationship between Applewood and Q3.

> …we love Applewood individually, just as a whole, like, when you join Q3, you kinda know that you're getting on the wrong side of the fence with Applewood…. You hear the stories…from older people where, apparently there was a time when Applewood offered Q3 to come on campus as a club or whatever, but we turned it down of course, because I mean, it doesn't benefit us at all. We don't get to do as much….Cause if there's some other event going on that night, they're going to tell us "we can't do it" and we're like, "you can't tell us no", if [Applewood] doesn't like that we throw a huge rager with 3,000 people…they're gonna tell us no. And so we'd rather be able to do whatever we want to do. We're not doing anything wrong, or anything bad, we don't need somebody to tell us what to do.

Trent's statements helped to showcase the sometimes tumultuous relationship that Q3 had with Applewood. Because Q3 was not affiliated with the institution they did not have to follow any of the policies on programming and event management; on the other hand, the Q3 members knew that in some instances, they may have been "getting on the wrong

side of the fence with Applewood" (Trent). As Q3 continued to host events which drew thousands of people, students began to see Q3 parties as a legitimate event option when choosing what to do on any particular evening. This legitimization of the organization created a tension between Q3 and Applewood. Liam, a Q3 officer, further explained the ways in which events are hosted by Q3 and how those events can contribute to tensions with Applewood,

> We used to have bouts with Applewood, like being on campus…Q3 got in trouble for being on campus and advertising on campus, because we weren't an Applewood sponsored organization…We've also had other Applewood organizations put events on the same night as [Holla Homecoming] and stuff like that. So, that kind of fueled the fire, but if we're being honest, it's more of a mentality thing than anything. It's just people who are like, "Oh, we don't want to be in the Applewood system," and so they did.

Liam's description of getting into trouble with Applewood, as well as other Applewood organizations attempting to host events on the same night as Holla Homecoming, illustrated that there was a level of competition and strain between Q3's relationships with Applewood and other affiliated student organizations.

Q3, Greek Life, and Getting Involved

Q3 members discussed the ways in which their organizational culture, the institutional culture, and the culture of other student organizations played a role in determining the involvement decision-making of individual members of Q3. For members of Q3, the influence of Christian values was a deciding factor when choosing between involvement opportunities provided by Q3 and Greek life. In fact, it was the perceived incongruence between student values and Greek culture that led to the founding of Q3. Liam, a Q3 officer told the history of the beginning of Q3 in 2008.

> Q3 kind of started off as rebelling against the Applewood fraternity system. It was started by a few guys who rushed a fraternity, got to initiation night, and were like, "Man, I don't like this and I don't like what this stands for, and this isn't me." So, they dropped out and it was like a rebellious attitude when it was started, so now we have a rebellious attitude.

The "rebellious attitude" described by Liam is often seen in the ways that Q3 referred to itself as "anti-fraternity" (Jacob). Although their anti-fraternity sentiment is typically mentioned jokingly, there appeared to be an underlying sentiment in which Q3 sought to both utilize and critique the types of experiences offered by Greek organizations. Caleb, a Q3 member, noted that the ways that Q3 operates similarly to a fraternity are the ways he sees the organization as the most legitimate. These types of events were also the times in which Caleb had the most fun.

> ….we had a take a date to, like a fair…that was very fun…they had like hay rides and you could go and pet goats and buy all the farm food…. it was just very uhm, how do I put this, it's like very…I think it was just one of my favorites, it felt very official almost like a fraternity event where you'd have, ya know, it would be like a take a date, with like actual sororities and you could like go, and it was just really fun.

In the same instance Caleb made sure to emphasize that Q3 provided a different type of organizational experience for students even if they did appear to be a pseudo-Greek organization.

> …I guess just a different perspective on a non-greek organization. And just kinda understanding what that looks like and how they execute it and its just interesting…. I guess it's just different in the sense of how it's like, how its run, and I guess like the goofy element to it.

The "goofy" personality of Q3 is what helped to distinguish it from other organizational opportunities that were affiliated with the university. Events that seem to parallel the Greek experience, including recruitment and partying, were taken by Q3 and then morphed to better suit their own mission and values. As such, Q3 operated as a pseudo-Greek organization. However, Q3 members noted that imitating a fraternity "[was] never

the intent" (Caleb). Braden, a Q3 member, spoke about Q3's relationships with the fraternities on campus.

> I say most fraternities have a good relationship with us which is true, some people (laughs) some people hate us (laughter) it's like [Q3 is] a "fake frat" you know whatever, whatever and it's like "yeah we are we don't really care though", and for the most part…we have good relationships with the fraternities as a whole…

Although Q3 may have appeared to be fraternity-like, the functional and symbolic importance of its self-described goofiness is an essential aspect of its identity and events.

At Q3 events, students are provided with a substance free party (in reference to alcohol or drugs) that appears to capitalize on this safe yet fun image that in other contexts might be considered uncool. Several participants described it as a place where they feel "freer" (Daniel) and Q3 events were a place where you can enjoy a party and "not really care about what other people think of you" (Debby). Q3 believed that their events offered an alternative atmosphere and culture of Greek life at AU. The differences in Q3 and fraternity events were illuminated by Daniel, a Q3 member, when discussing his first-year experiences with fraternity parties:

> …there was alcohol involved and…. I wouldn't call them great environments for freshman to be in especially, and half of the things happening there I can't remember because I was under of the influence of alcohol….it was something new definitely. I had my first alcoholic beverage at a college party, cause before I didn't drink and I mean, college is here and ya know you watch the movies and at the time blue mountain state was a thing and so alcohol, girls, partying, that's what I was looking for and ya know at those fraternity parties I found it…. I obviously didn't feel like 100% comfortable but I just brushed it to the side…

Daniel also explained the ways in which he and his female friends experienced fraternity parties and the environment that those parties produce:

> …when I went to the frat parties with my female friends I was always alert, like if somebody talks to them I need to intervene just in case, I need to make sure their drinks are 100% okay….and it was stressful for me, and stressful for them, cause

> I didn't have fun, because I was looking out for them, and they didn't have fun because like "what if?"

Conversely, Daniel also discussed the atmosphere that surrounded Q3 and the different ways that he felt when participating in Q3 events rather than Greek Life events.

> I feel like freer in a sense, cause ya know, there's no alcohol, you can be as goofy as you want, as goofy as you can, and it's all good, ya know like all the social norms that you're expected to uphold in college are just broken down.

The different experiences that Daniel and other students had while attending Greek life events and Q3 events illustrated that there is a distinct difference in the ways students experience the parties, and the ways they feel about themselves and the organizations who hosted the events. The stories told by multiple participants often included a contrasting relationship between Q3 and Greek life. Even freshman who had only experienced one semester of Q3's unsanctioned events echoed this sentiment, stating that fraternity parties could be "awkward" (Bobby). According to Q3 members and freshman participants, the Christian mission of Q3 and the institution were seen, felt, and experienced at the Q3 events, but fraternity parties were often lacking in general safety, and had an atmosphere of exclusivity rather than inclusivity.

Q3 and Unsanctioned Events

Unsanctioned events are characterized by various levels of institutional intervention, student agency, and the possibility of harm to either group. These can occur both on and off campus that are often central to a student's college experience. Figure 3 explains the ways in which levels of institutional intervention, student agency, and the possibility of harm result in three distinct types of unsanctioned events. The unsanctioned event typology (Figure 3) includes Sophomoric Events, Coordinated Events, and

Intensive Events. The types of unsanctioned events have various levels of institutional intervention, student agency, and the possibility of harm.

	Sophomoric Event	Coordinated Event	Intensive Event
Institutional Intervention	Low	Moderate	High
Student Agency	High	Moderate	High
Possibility of Harm	Low	Moderate	High

Figure 3. Unsanctioned Event Typology.

Sophomoric Events have a low institutional intervention, high student agency, and a low possibility of harm. Coordinated Events have moderate levels of intervention, agency, and possibilities of harm. Lastly, Intensive Events have high intervention, agency, and possibility of harm.

The typology of unsanctioned events further clarifies the activities of Q3 on and off campus. Although, this typology is not all inclusive of Q3 events. Both the sophomoric and coordinated event are seen in Q3 events in when participating in intermural or advertising themselves, and their events, on campus. An example of a Sophomoric Event that had low institutional intervention, high student agency, and a low possibility of harm, was Q3's participation in intermural sports.

As long as students were enrolled in the university they could participate in intermurals, no matter what affiliations they may have with organizations. Further, Q3 participated in intermurals as representatives of the organization, showing high student agency. But there was no mention of pushback from the university on Q3's participation in intermurals sports, which showcased low institutional intervention. There was also a

low possibility of harm in Q3 participating in intermurals. Intermural sports were a usual part of collegiate life and although the organization itself was not officially affiliated with the university there were no policies or procedures that barred any type of student group from participating in such activities. It was not likely that by allowing Q3 to participate in intermurals that the institutional reputation would be harmed; nor was it likely that Q3 would be harmed by participating, outside of the possibly physical ailments that may accompany sporting events. But this risk was no greater with Q3 than it was with any other group. The low institutional intervention, high student agency, and low possibility of harm made Q3's participation in intermural sports a Sophomoric Event.

Coordinated Events that Q3 members participated in that incurred moderate institutional intervention, inspired moderate student agency, and included a moderate possibility of harm was their participation in advertising their organization on campus. Applewood University had policies that restricted flyers, handbills, and advertisements on campus, and because Q3 was not an official student organization, they did not have the approved authority to advertise their organization or their events on campus, but, they did it anyway. When Q3 advertised their events on campus there was moderate institutional intervention. Liam, a Q3 executive member recounted a story in which he, an Applewood University student, was issued a ticket by the Applewood University Police department for advertising and handing out flyers to students on campus. In this case, the institution sought to intervene in Q3's advertising by involving the campus police department. Although this was an escalated type of intervention, it was not as extensive of an intervention as could have occurred: extreme intervention could have included further sanctions for individual students, including suspension and expulsion. On the

other hand, Q3 had taken to leaving flyers around campus, on tables, bulletin boards, and slid under dorm room doors. There was a moderate level of student agency in this instance because Q3 had deescalated their involvement in advertising themselves and their events, but still strove to ensure that their voice was heard. There was also a moderate level of harm for both the institution and Q3 in this advertising dilemma. Q3 ran the risks of tickets or harsher sanctions if caught advertising, and the institution had to try to explain to students who ask about Holla Homecoming or Quest how there was a slightly tumultuous relationship and that Q3 was not directly affiliated with AU.

In classifying Q3's large parties and events, most notably Holla Homecoming and Quest, the original iteration of the unsanctioned event typology was not sufficient to describe Q3's largest events that look similar to the intensive event, as described in the unsanctioned event typology (Figure 4). Q3's large events often took place on the same nights as institutional events and in some cases, Q3 had chosen to host the events over the university event to try and provide an alternative for students. On the other hand, the institution had also opted to plan events over usual Q3 party nights in an effort to keep students on campus. There is high institutional intervention during these events as Applewood University is often hosting an on-campus event that are competing with Q3's off campus parties, in addition to any other Greek life parties that may be occurring that week, which Q3 specifically sought to offer alternatives to. There was high student agency because these events took weeks and months to plan for the organization and thousands of students from Applewood to attend, especially first-year students. But, the typology became incongruent with the large Q3 events as there was only a moderate possibility of harm for both Applewood and Q3. Applewood can be harmed by students'

assumption that Q3 is an official student organization and students who ask about how to get involved are often surprised to hear that the university does not support the organization. This lack of affiliation with Q3 could be harmful for Applewood if the legitimization of Q3 also means the de-legitimization of Applewood and its available student involvement opportunities, which may or may not be true depending an individual student's perspective. Further, when Applewood events compete with a Q3 event, the institution may run the risk of fewer people attending their event, opting to attend an off-campus event such as Q3's or to stay home. Q3 also had a moderate possibility of harm due to the large number of students that were traversing across town and coming to their event to party. Even though the event is substance free and police officers were hired for security, having 3,000 or more people in one place looking for a rave scene could lead to a disaster if there were any sort of accident, of which, Q3 and the students would be held legally liable. Because Q3's large events could not be wholly described as an intensive event with only a moderate level of risk for either party, Figure 4 illustrates a revised unsanctioned event typology which includes two new types of events categorized by the various levels of institutional intervention, student agency, and possibility of harm in Q3.

	Sophomoric Event		Coordinated Event		Intensive Event
Institutional Intervention	Low	Coordinated Variation	Moderate	Intensity Variation	High
Student Agency	High		Moderate		High
Possibility of Harm	Low		Moderate		High

Figure 4. Revised Unsanctioned Event Typology. 60

In the revised unsanctioned event typology (Figure 4) a coordination variation and intensity variation is included. The coordination variation allows for differences in intervention, agency and harm between the three levels currently listed in the sophomoric and coordinated event descriptions. Therefore, events may have a low institutional intervention, a moderate student agency and a low possibility of harm, and would therefore fall within the coordination variation. The intensity variation operates in a similar fashion in which differences in intervention, agency, and possibility of harm are seen between the coordinated and intensive event. In this variation, an event may have a high level of institutional intervention, a high-level agency, and a moderate level of harm to either party, as in the Q3 large events and parties. The data and findings gathered from this research prompted the revision of the unsanctioned event typology to include these variations for events that may not fall exactly within the descriptions of sophomoric, coordinated, and intensive events.

Q3 Events as Ritual

Not only were Intensive Events the ones that were most visible to the institution and to the student body, but they were also formative ritual events for the members and for the students in attendance. Both first-year students and Q3 members spoke about the ways in which attending Q3 events made them feel like a real college student and helped them feel welcomed and accepted at Applewood. Debby, a first-year student noted that going to Q3 events, “made [her] feel like more of a college kid”.

I observed a Q3 party, hosted off-campus and attended by an estimated 700 students. This event, looked much like a rave, party, or celebration seen in movies,

television, or social media. Neon lights, smoke machines, college students excessively sweating and jumping in a rented-out basketball gym are indicative of a typical party that one could expect a college student to attend. But Q3 added their particular style to these events. The controlled substance-free environment ensured that all attendees could arrive and depart the event safely. If police arrived for any reason (at the event I attended, it was the fire alarm) they were often gracious and supportive of the organization and the event being hosted because it was alcohol free. Q3 members personally welcomed every student as they entered and thanked them for coming while serving water, soda, and energy drinks. From my observation of one such event, attendees and Q3 members were accepting and appreciative of the individuals who attend the events. Whether students wanted to do flips in the middle of the dance floor, or just dance in a more subdued manner in the corner, others students were present who could find peers willing to dance with them, flip with them, and cheer excessively loud when the chart topping hit from 2004 was played by the DJ. Because of the collective experience of a Q3 event that included the physical presence of other students and other Q3 members, as well as an emotionally stimulating experience, the Q3 event that I attended functioned as a ritual ceremony.

Durkheim (1912/1995) discussed the ways in which ritual ceremonies bring individuals together in an experience of heightened emotion that in turn, bonds individuals to one another through the ritual ceremony. In Q3 events, especially large parties, there was a sense of moral rightness and a shared identity that was created through the participation. Jacob, a Q3 member articulates the emotional experience of a Q3 party when discussing Holla Homecoming:

> I guess just a mix of emotions and just kinda like, [deep breath out], there's a specific word that I'm thinking of, that I can't think of the word [laughing with frustration]. I want to say enlightening, but that's not the word I'm looking for. A feeling of like grandeur and ecstasy and just feeding off the energy of everyone, it just feels great.

Jacob's reflection illustrates the ways in which Holla Homecoming acted as a ritual ceremony that bonded attendees to one another through the emotional experiences that accompanied participation in the event. Bobby, a first-year student who attended Q3 events in the fall semester recalled how he and others felt during their attendance:

> …like when I was there I didn't see a single person there not smiling pretty much the entire time. Like in all honestly it kinda felt like a crazy middle school dance party that was just like a ton of fun where like no one cared at all and it was just like "Woo! Let's have fun!"

The interactions that occurred at these events reinforced the validity of the ritual experience that bonds individuals to one another and encouraged individuals to espouse the values of their own subgroup identities.

Figure 5 illustrates the process by which Q3 events socialize first year students. In Q3's ritual events, students began the ritual experience oriented by their prior personal identity and group affiliations. Upon experiencing the ritual event (in this case unsanctioned and hosted by Q3) the individual interacts with the culture of Q3, their faith, their friendliness and their support of first-year students. During the event the attendees experiences the collective effervescence, or shared emotional energy, described by Durkheim (1912/1995). Jacob described (above) the ritualized experience that is shared by individuals who attend Q3 events. Feelings of "grandeur" and "ecstasy" and the "energy of everyone" are characteristics of ritual events that help to socialize students in their college experiences. This process is illustrated by Figure 5.

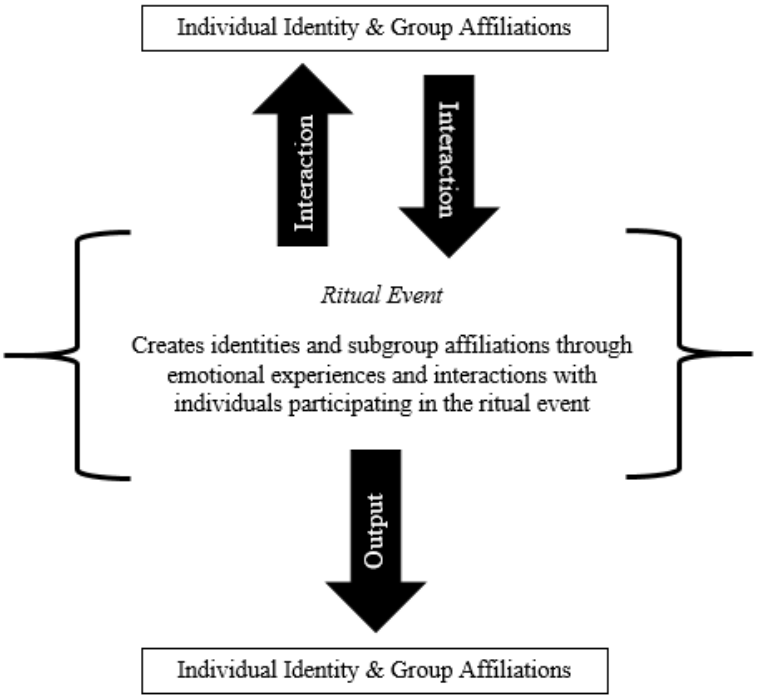

Figure 5. Ritual Interaction.

During this event, and other Q3 events that function in a similar fashion, students entered the event with their preconceived notions of what college is, who they are as individuals, and what types of groups they might belong to. While participating in the event, the students reveled in their shared experience, jumping, dancing, and chatting with new people. By the time the students left the event they felt as though they have been bonded together through their shared experience, they felt "freer" (Daniel) and as if they could be themselves. These distinctions showcased that during Q3 events the barriers between groups and individuals were broken down and participants experienced personal acceptance and validation which increased the efficacy and attraction to the event and group. Daniel explains the ways in which these barriers were broken down on the dance floor at Q3 events:

> Absolutely no inhibitions about anything. You wanna like do the little [dances in chair] like go for it you can, you want to just like tap the rhythm, that's fine too. Everyone can do their own thing, and that's perfectly fine. I really like it when they have like these huge circles, and everybody dances, and then you will have like the one Q3 member that goes and like stands there and walks away. And everyone cheers for that. And I'm like that's the most ridiculous dance ever, like you didn't even dance, you just stood there, but we don't care, we're cheering for you, like go you. It's great, 'cause we get to be silly and we get praised for it, which is such a great thing.

Daniel's description pointed to shared emotions, support, and sense of care he experienced, and generalized to the experiences of others. Braden, a Q3 member, noted that he made a specific effort to reach out to those at the event who may have felt left out, stating that his first priority was to be "a good host and making [sure] people feel welcome." The welcoming atmosphere provided by Q3 was central to creating in-group and out-group boundaries that socialize students into the Q3 organization experience. This included affecting students' group membership of being a college student as well as their individual identity for participants who felt like they could be themselves at the event. For many students, this ethic of care and welcome continued to inform their experience after leaving the event. Many Q3 members noted that they wanted to be welcoming and caring in their personal lives, because they believed that their affiliation with Q3 means that they "[had] something to represent" (Jacob). Thus, Q3's events functioned as ritual ceremonies for members and attendees, but it is important to consider which types of rituals are occurring during Q3 events so that the socialization processes can be fully examined.

Q3's Ceremonial Rituals

Manning's (2000) typology of campus rituals provided a useful structure for further organizing and understanding Q3's events. Manning identified six types of rituals

that can occur in collegiate settings: rituals of incorporation, reification, revitalization, investiture, resistance, and entering/exiting. *Rituals of incorporation* are rituals that welcome new members into the preexisting groups and organizations *Rituals of reification* showcase to participants that their choice is valued and appreciated. *Rituals of revitalization* renew commitment to the group and their ideals, motivations, and values. *Rituals of investiture* are rituals that invest power in new individuals. *Rituals of resistance* are rituals that dispute the meanings of other campus rituals in ways that allow the resisting students to create their own rituals that operate separately from the institution. Lastly, *rituals of entering/existing* are often grandiose and symbolize an individual that moves into or out of existing groups (Manning, 2000).

Of the typology presented by Manning (2000), three types of ritual were most salient in Q3: rituals of incorporation, reification, and resistance. The rituals of incorporation were especially pertinent to Q3 in their membership policies and in their focus to host events specifically for the first-year student population. In Q3's membership policies there were rituals of incorporation into the organization itself that specifically govern the joining process in Q3. In Q3 events, there were rituals of incorporation for the student attendees to be socialized into the college student identity through an individual's participation in Q3 events.

Q3 Rituals of Incorporation

Aspects of incorporation rituals occurred throughout the recruitment and Quest process for Q3 and at Holla Homecoming. To become members of Q3, males went through a rush process, similar to the Greek system. Just as Q3 had borrowed and critiqued the party experience offered by Greek life, Q3 did the same with the rush and

pledging process. Q3 did not have formal recruitment of members nor did they require any member to participate in any activity outside of their public initiation, Quest. Quest was a song and dance talent show that was hosted solely by the incoming members of the organization. Even if an individual did not want to participate in Quest, they would not be barred from membership in the organization. Instead, Q3 only required that interested members submit an application by the appropriate deadline each spring in order to be considered for membership. Braden, a Q3 member noted that, "the good thing about Q3 [is that] they don't turn anybody down" and James, a Q3 executive member noted that Q3 also had "guys from [the community college]," and from, "the technical school" in the area that were also involved in Q3. Although there was another secret initiation about which Q3 members were reluctant to provide details, they noted that initiation was, "the most fun you will never want to have again" (Braden) but substance free, and voluntary. Jacob, a Q3 member specifically stated that, "it was by no means required, like if you didn't go through initiation night [the leaders] weren't going to be like, 'oh you can't be in Q3.' It was completely optional. At any point in the night you could go home". Jacob also noted that he was "glad" he didn't go home because of "all of that…bonding with the guys." Although participants did not explicitly speak about a fear of missing out prior to participating in initiation they did indicate that they were happy to have chosen to participate because of the bonds forged throughout the evening.

The application to become a member of Q3 itself was described as a "joke" (Braden) and was used to get to know people and have fun rather than to consider each person for membership selection. Braden and James, both Q3 members spoke about the

rush process for the organization and the application process candidly to shed light on how individuals prepare to become members:

> …it's not rushing and that's the joke: "Oh yeah you are rushing Q3 well it's not a frat so you can't rush it." The whole thing about Q3 it's like you don't have to do anything….and so (pause) it's kinda of like a fine line between we want you to be committed and we want there to be some sort of official join process but at the same time. – Braden

> …there is one line, one question, [on the application] that asked…would you be okay with us picking an upper classman to disciple you? And that was like, yeah, like that's what I need like this has been my first semester, and I haven't had any discipleship or mentorship, and not that I was like falling back on it or anything it was just kinda like, I need that - James

Despite the voluntary nature of the application, there was still an aspect of the application that was tied to the mission and values of the organization. The application to become a member of Q3 was a symbol of the rituals that Q3 engaged in; it is fun, quirky, and is explicitly Christian. These elements were all indicative of the Q3 overall experience. Although the application process was not a ritual event per se, the symbols and values of the organization are communicated through the application to ensure that hopeful members were aware of the type of organization that they were joining.

Following the application phase, the newest members of Q3 were invited to participate in Quest, which required them to interact with one another for 3-4 nights per week, during Quest practices. These practices took place outside during the winter, often in cold weather, for 2-3 hours at a time. It was during these cold and late Quest practices that the newest members of Q3 bonded with one another and felt a duty to their Quest performance group. James stated that because he had a key role in his group's performance he continued to attend practice even though he sometimes did not want to go:

> ….I mean at first it was like I felt like I had a duty to show up, cause I was the lightest kid in my group so I was the one getting thrown really high and caught during the performance. And I was like, if I leave, then they have to find someone else and so it was kinda like, alright, I'll just keep coming back cause I can't let these guys down.

It was because of the interactions and affiliations built during Quest practice that James decided to continue to participate with Q3. Other members also mentioned distinct relationships that were formed with older members of Q3 at these practices that kept them participating even amidst freezing temperatures and long nights. Once again, James, who was also a member of ROTC during his time of Quest participation recalled his relationship with older members of Q3 who made an effort to talk to him at each practice:

> I went [into Quest] knowing one other person…but I was put in a different group than him and I just remember like the first night, being like, I'm not doing this again, I don't know anyone, its freezing, I have ROTC in the morning, just never gonna work. And then just having a few like juniors and seniors in the organization to make an effort to have a relationship with me that night. Like I think I was asked to lunch like three different times that night and I don't know if it seemed I was timid, or if, I mean I think they were incredible people, but that kinda started me in those relationships in that group, and just something that I was a part of.

The interactions with the newest Q3's as well as the older members of the organization helped to solidify a student's place in the organization as a legitimate Q3 member. It was in these continued interactions with new members and older members that the newest class of Q3 had their individual identity and group memberships affirmed and shaped. As noted in Figure 6, the new members of Q3 entered the organization with their own identities and group memberships. Many of these individuals expected to become members of Greek life and had even begun the pledging process of fraternities, but instead chose Q3. This decision is illustrated by Luke, an executive officer of Q3 when talking about his experiences with organizational involvement throughout college:

> …the whole reason I dropped the fraternity that I was involved in was because it wasn't the community that I wanted to surround myself with. Q3 was the community I was looking for. So, it's definitely provided the sense of community and the aspect of community that I was looking for. What that consists of is guys pouring into me, reaching out, but at the same time, providing the opportunity to pour out into them, providing countless accountability partners, and just guys that aren't afraid to come up and just see how I'm doing. In return, I can do the same for them.

This change in membership from Greek life to Q3 was often characterized by a student's decision to join an organization that aligned with their personal values rather than change them in order to get a bid from a Greek organization. The two different cultures that surrounded fraternities and Q3 permeated their organizations and their memberships, but also shaped the events they host for themselves and for guests. These distinct cultures (Greek life and Q3) indicated that the socialization process that students experience is impacted by their individual values as well as the values espoused by the organizations they are involved with. In this case, the Greek rituals that supported ideals of *brotherhood* were exchanged for a Christian discipleship and mentorship ideology that draws students into the Q3 organization. In order to draw these students in, Q3 relied largely on their large events, coupled with personal interactions and relationships with other students to both invite students to join, and to help keep members invested throughout the joining process.

It was through the continued interactions with other Q3 members, in concordance with the rituals of incorporation, that the interactions themselves become characteristically ritualized. Goffman (1967) and Collins (2004) both describe interaction rituals and the ways in which interactions create meaning and build relationships amongst individuals. Collins (2004) specifically notes that it is the repeated interactions ("chains" of rituals) with other members that create a sense of shared identities and socialize

individuals into particular groups. The interaction rituals, casual chains, and rituals of incorporation that occur during Quest practices, and the recruitment process of Q3, were what bound the students to one another in the shared identity of Q3. It is in the multiple levels of ritual that occurred in the Q3 recruitment process that made the organization so potent and influential for their members. By continually participating and engaging with other members of Q3, the newest members had their individual identity affected by these informal interaction rituals, as well as the formal ceremony rituals that occurred at parties.

The rituals of incorporation were also an important factor for the students who attended the Q3 events, most notably Holla Homecoming. Many students described this event as the first event in which they really felt like a college student. After attending a Q3 event, Debby, a first-year student described how she felt about attending and how her continued participation in attending Q3 parties has affected her college experience:

> I definitely say that going to the [Q3] event made me feel like more of a college kid 'cause it was like crazy like dance party…it was just like "Okay, yeah!" It was like a party, and it was a lot of fun and like, that's college.

Debby clearly stated that by attending Q3 events she felt that her ideals about being a college student were affirmed by participating in a Q3 event. Although other students may have attended the event, Holla Homecoming was the first *big party* that Q3 hosted to welcome students to the institution and to welcome them to the college party scene as they specifically targeted the first-year student population. That participants identified more fully as a college student following their attendance at a Q3 event is indicative of a ritual of incorporation, especially for first-year students. Therefore, while seeking to host a party for the benefit of other students, Q3 also provided an experience that promotes the

alignment of students' own expectations, identities, and definitions of being a college student. Just as Quest is a ritual of incorporation for the students who join Q3 and socializes students with the values of the organization, so too did Q3 reinforced their student attendees' notions of being a college student through the Q3 hosted events. James a Q3 executive member who helped to plan and host parties throughout the year reflected on his experiences planning Holla Homecoming and what Q3 hoped to accomplish by hosting these parties for the first-year students:

> And so [Holla Homecoming] is so cool and just so fun cause there are people that are just like crazy here, that are having the time of their lives. There are some people who have never been to a party before, there's some people that partied in high school but like love this atmosphere, cause it feels the same but you don't ever, like, not remember part of it.…It's really cool to just like see all the people there, and like just pray over them, as an organization….it's just cool to show these people like hey, like we're these upperclassmen that love y'all as 18 year olds that may be scared, maybe don't know what's happening. But we want what's best for you.

James's statement reflected how Q3 made an effort to welcome the incoming freshman class at Applewood University. By hosting Holla Homecoming and providing this event for students, Q3 sought to fulfill their own vision of what a successful college experience was. Although Q3 noted that their intention was to provide this kind of environment for the first-year students, a positive experience likely ingratiates students to Q3 as well. Therefore, the event also promoted the organization and its values, whether Q3 intended to do so or not.

Q3 Rituals of Reification

Off-campus parties were the Q3 events that were rituals of reification. Reification rituals are often seen in convocation ceremonies where institutions commend their newest students on their decision to attend college (Manning, 2000). Q3 commended its

participants for attending their events by welcoming attendees and stopping the party to pray over the attendees and wish them well in the upcoming academic year. Q3 members noted that the organization did not want to try and make students choose between participating in a Greek party, an on-campus event, or their event, but they knew that this choice was being made by students, regardless of when Q3 decided to host a party. Instead of focusing on encouraging students to make the choice between Q3, Greek life, and on-campus event, Q3 sought to provide an alternative party environment if students wanted to seek out the event for themselves. Noah, a Q3 officer articulated the intentions behind hosting these events for the first-year students.

> …we (Q3) don't want to view it as a competition, but we're both fighting for the same point of freshman to come in, want a comfortable environment, an alternative to whatever would be a binge drinking party, I suppose.

Noah stated that Q3 did not host their events with the expressed purpose of drawing students away from other events, though they acknowledged this might be a consequence. Q3 appeared to be uncomfortable with characterizing themselves as a competing organization. Instead, they tried to identify themselves as an alternative organization. Q3 attempted to market themselves and their events as a basis for giving students options for their weekend frivolity that might align more closely with student values and desires for their collegiate experience. Therefore, when students chose to attend their events, especially large events like Holla Homecoming, which competed with sanctioned university events and unsanctioned Greek events, Q3 was cognizant of the fact that students chose to participate with them instead of elsewhere. This cognizance then, in turn, was reflected in specific Q3 practices: welcoming each student that attends their event, shaking hands and saying thank you when entering the events, and stopping the events halfway through to say thank you and a prayer over all of the attendees. James, a

Q3 officer noted that, "they always like pray during the middle of [a party], they stop and pray for the freshman." Further, Braden, another Q3 member stated that the first order of business at a party was, "being a good host and making people feel welcome."

Q3 Rituals of Resistance

Lastly, rituals of resistance were the most prevalent ritual type in Q3 events. As an unaffiliated organization that hosted unsanctioned events, in a sense everything that Q3 did was a ritual of resistance. That is, due to their lack of affiliation with AU, every Q3 event, interaction, or symbol potentially served as a message to students that AU was not the only option for their time and that better options may exist outside the institution. By extension, the control and normativity of AU and of Greek life was challenged. Although wearing a Q3 t-shirt on campus was not as reflective of resistance as hosting a 3,000-person party, off-campus, on a school night, there were elements of a "rebellious attitude" (Liam) that went hand in hand with Q3. Luke, a Q3 officer helped to explain the ways in which Q3 as an organization operated outside of the institutional culture and maintained their separation from the university.

> Q3 has decided to remain separate because I think if we were to become an official extension of Applewood, and….everything that we do would have to be approved by Applewood. Every party we throw. Every service event we want to do. Everything, basically, that Q3 does would have to go through Applewood, would have to be approved by Applewood, and therefore Applewood would be controlling us…

It was in the separation between the organization and the institution that the rituals of resistance were formed and through the rituals of resistance that separation was reinforced. These resistance rituals ranged from the largest formal parties, to the smallest interactions between members on campus, or the symbolism of wearing a Q3 t-shirt

across the quad. The rituals of Q3 were layered, diverse, and powerful for members, nonmembers, and Applewood University.

Q3 Events and Deviance

Dubin (1959) created an extensive typology that showcased the various ways that groups and individuals use deviance to adapt to varying situations so that they can accept, reject, or substitute cultural goals, and institutional means and norms. Dubin (1959) called these strategic adjustments "deviant adaptations". These adaptations were various forms of deviant behavior classified based on the ways in which another individual or group accepts, rejects, or substitutes various cultural standards in response. Q3's events fit Dubin's (1959) typology, highlighting the nature of socialization taking place. By utilizing Dubin's (1959) typology, Q3's socialization process can be further understood. The primary deviant adaptations that apply to Q3 events are the institutional inventions and social movements. The primary deviant adaptations that apply to individual Q3 members was the role of the institutional moralist.

Q3 Events as Institutional Inventions

Institutional inventions occur when norms and means that were previously considered illegitimate become legitimate through activities that both rejected previous norms and means and substitute new norms and means. In this study, institutional inventions occurred when a new standard of legitimacy (e.g., seeing Q3 as a legitimate organization and event option for students) came to be accepted as normative (as evidenced through increased attendance at events). These "deviant" and unsanctioned events were categorized as behaviors that actively rejected the previous norms and means

of another institution (Applewood and Greek life), making them an institutional invention. The institutional inventions of Q3 were primarily seen in its large events. During a Q3 party, the members and attendees created new behaviors and boundaries of behavior that were seen as legitimate by the student body. Attendance at these events began to be seen as normative and expected, especially for freshman. Bobby, a first-year student, recounted his experience with *not* attending a Q3 event and the effects his lack of participation had in the weeks following the events.

> When I didn't go to [Holla Homecoming] I was very bummed out 'cause it looked like a ton of fun, and for like the next like week and half, two weeks, that was like all people talked about, "like oh my gosh, like [Holla Homecoming] was so cool, it was a lot of fun!" So, I was definitely bummed out that I didn't go, just cause [the other event I attended] was more of like guys that are wanting to rush [that frat] and like current [fraternity] guys, not a ton of people…I was a little jealous, like ugh, man, [Holla Homecoming] looked like a ton of fun.

The continued discussion of the event throughout campus, and Bobby's feelings of missing out by not attending, suggested that Q3 events, to the extent that such reactions are widespread, reflect a campus-wide expectation among many freshmen that they will see this event as desirable and will attend. Not only was attendance at large events like Holla Homecoming desirable and expected of the freshman class, but so too was continued participation in Q3 events. Bobby also noted that he, "…definitely want[s] to go to [a party] again…".

Holla Homecoming was a deviant event through which Q3 rejected the norms and means of Applewood University because they chose not to abide by the norms, means, policies, and traditional activities that were central to Applewood's culture. Although the event itself was deviant as an alternative event, the level of student participation in the event indicated that Q3 was hosting events that students themselves were supporting.

Institutional inventions were seen in Q3 events in the ways that the student body accepted such events as a legitimate option for socializing with their peers by attending. Further, these events served as an active rejection of the institutional options provided by Greek life or Applewood hosted events. As Q3 continued to utilize many forms of Greek life events and practices, but with their own "goofy element" (Caleb), Q3 was, in some ways, de-legitimating the rituals of the Greek system by making light of their symbols (i.e. Greek letters) and rituals (i.e. parties, rush/recruitment). This de-legitimation was accomplished by removing the veil on the seriousness and secrecy of Greek organizations and adding the "goofy element". By undermining the rituals of Greek life, Q3 indirectly undermined the legitimacy of the university that supports the Greek system, as well.

Q3 Events as Social Movements

Deviant adaptations that are *social movements* include an active search for new goals by modifying the current institutional means. In social movements, there is an attachment that remains to the existing social system (Applewood) when the participants (Q3 and other students) in the social movement accept the institutional norms and do no wholly separate from those norms. (Dubin, 1959). The social movements, or lingering attachments to institutional (Applewood) norms and values, that occurred at Q3 events were characterized by the ways in which Q3 remained connected to Applewood University because of the members of Q3's role as students of Applewood. Q3 accepted that they were students of Applewood and understood that their membership in Q3 could be divisive to their relationship with the university. Noah, a Q3 officer, provided his opinion on the separation between Q3 and Applewood.

> …I think a lot of people have a little side of anti-establishment and just wanting the freedom to do whatever they want….I think Applewood restricts [pause] ... Just the policies and processes that are put in place, it just kind of doesn't allow a group to flow freely. All to say, I don't think it's Q3's intention to…upset Applewood. And Q3 has stepped on Applewood's toes a few times, and "sorry", but at the end of the day, [Q3 is] just trying to create a group of guys that wants to have fun.

This "anti-establishment" sentiment and the possible "toe stepping" of Q3 suggested a strained relationship between Applewood and Q3. Although both Applewood and Q3 had similar aims of serving students, these aims were being accomplished through very different avenues. Q3 continued to operate outside of some of the norms and means of the institution but did not fully separate from them, especially when their events were focused primarily on the first-year student population at Applewood. Q3's events operated as deviant social movements because Q3 accepted that off campus parties are a normal way to draw students to events, but Q3 did not offer the same type of environment that other organizations did, nor did they succumb to the oversight and control that other affiliated student organizations were subject to.

Q3 Members as Institutional Moralists

The deviant adaptation that applied to individual Q3 members is the *institutional moralist role*. The role of the institutional moralist is characterized by overconforming behavior that constantly reiterates institutional norms; this individual is often a person of power that helps to continually reinforce the norms they believe are right (Dubin, 1959). In Q3's case, the organization supported the mission and vision of Applewood and of the Q3 organization but their support was publicly seen through the means of partying off-campus, which, at the surface, doesn't look anything like a Christian centered

organization. The institutional moralist role characterized Q3 members because many members sought to reinforce the norms of Q3 and of Applewood to their own members, even as other aspects of their events and behaviors reflected organizational deviance, the overall goal of Q3 was always to glorify God. The ways in which Q3 sought to accomplish this goal was through providing a welcoming and accepting atmosphere in parties and in personal interactions, as well as to display their faith and love for others in everyday life. This faith and love in Q3 is the same type of Christian community that Applewood sought to implement as well. Luke, a Q3 officer expanded on these norms by describing his definition on the mission of Q3.

> …The mission of Q3 is to provide students…or college kids, with an atmosphere where they can have community that has a foundation in Jesus and in His Word, and to glorify and to lift His name higher in everything that we do, whether it's through service [events] or whether it's through our parties.

The mission statement provided by Luke was not the word for word mission of the organization as stated on their social media accounts, but, Luke's description helped to illuminate the norms and cultural values that Q3 held and that permeated the organization, its members, Applewood. The deviant adaptations that Q3 utilized to host their events, and to govern their membership, as well as the behaviors of the group helped the organization to be successful in their mission and purpose of socializing students through a Christian centered method.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

Institutional and Organizational Culture

Findings suggest that Q3 events, especially their off-campus parties, are key socialization mechanisms for establishing collegiate identity and sub-group membership. The socialization processes that occurred during Q3 events are important to understand within the context of Applewood University, since many of these occasions, as discussed in Chapter Four, are symbolic or functional acts of resistance to institutional oversight. The type and influence of contextual factors and their influence on student socialization are evident through Schein's (1992) levels of culture, which highlight the similarities and differences between Q3, Greek life, and Applewood University. Schein (1992) holds that there are three levels of culture: (1) artifacts, (2) espoused values, and (3) basic underlying assumptions. The artifacts are what individuals not involved in the organization see from the outside looking in. Espoused values are the ideals and principles that govern the organization. And lastly, basic underlying assumptions are the foundation of the culture that is central to the behaviors of the organization. In short, the culture of the organization drives the behavior of the organization (Schein, 1992).

In Figure 6 Schein's (1992) three levels of culture articulate the various principles of the Greek community, Q3 and Applewood. The artifacts of each of these organizations are what others see from the outside: the social media updates, or *bragging rights* that are associated with the organization. The espoused values are the mission statements,

principles and ideals of the organization. The basic underlying assumptions are the true core of the organization and are the foundation upon which all other activities are governed.

Levels of Culture: Q3 and Greek Life

The levels of culture that are represented in each organization illustrate the different ways that each organization operated, and illustrates how the culture of the organization drives the behavior of the organization. The atmosphere of a Greek life party and the atmosphere of a Q3 party clearly contrasted, despite some similarities. Parties were often the events most attended for both types of organizations. Such events affirmed and reinforced the overall culture of the organization that hosts it. According to Q3's perceptions, Greek life parties seemed to require keeping on your guard, watching your drink, and being forced to fit in with the crowd. By contrast, Q3 members believe their parties create a sense of being carefree, accepted, and included, no matter your dancing ability or lack of alcohol in your cup.

Using Schein's (1992) model (Figure 6), the underlying assumptions of Greek life, which were exclusive, serious, and at times risky, and the underlying assumptions of Q3, which were inclusive, lighthearted, and infrequently risky, created two nearly opposite student-led environments. Although Q3 can be seen as a pseudo-Greek organization, it is in the pseudo-isms of Q3 that the organization is able to provide a niche experience for first-year students. Q3's self-described "goofy" personality and accepting attitude ensured that members and guests feel welcomed and appreciated. By attempting to make everyone feel included at parties and through a low-stakes application process that accepts any male student that turns the application in on time, Q3 is utilizing

Greek organization structures and adapting them to fit their cultural values. Figure 6 showcases the ways in which these cultures are related.

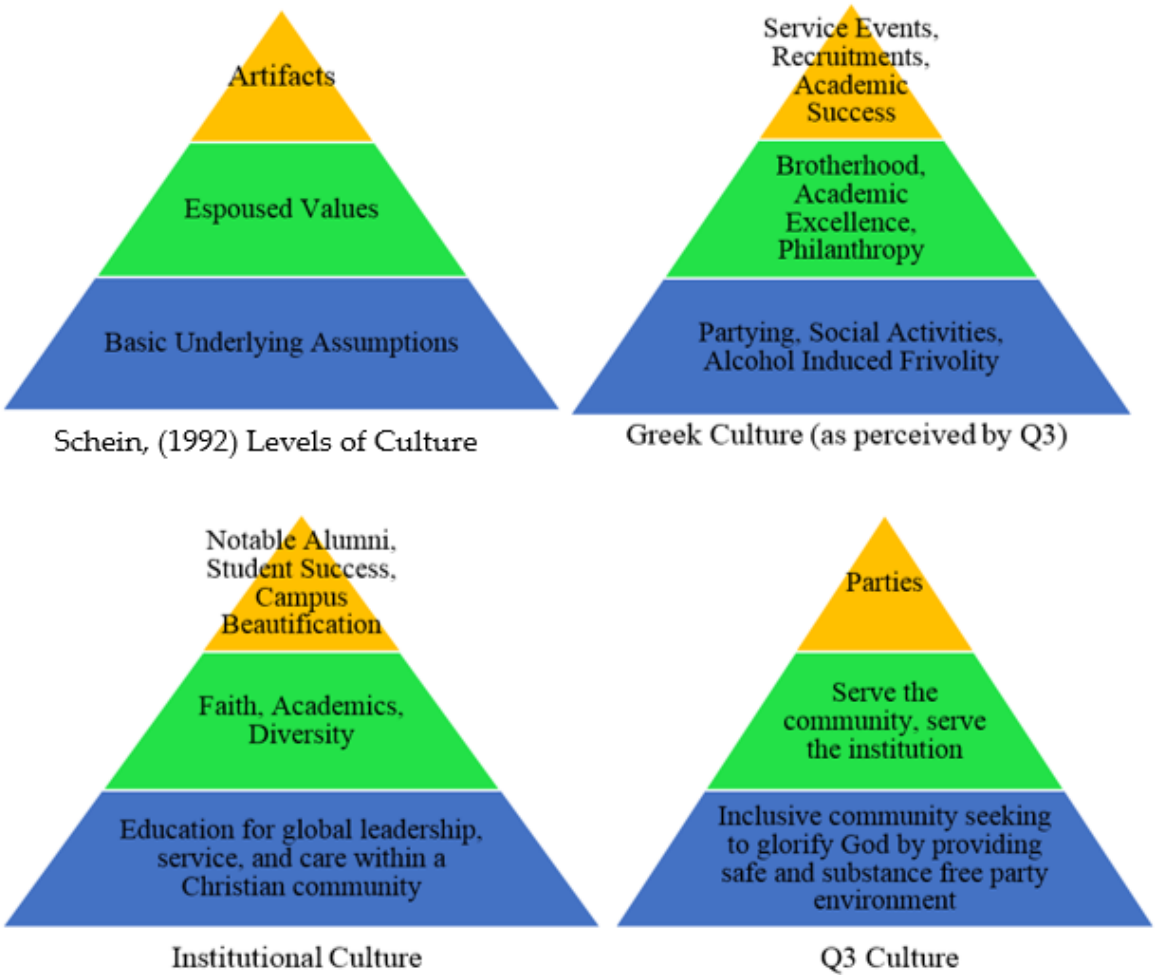

Figure 6. Institutional and Organizational Culture.

Levels of Culture: Q3 and Applewood

As seen in Figure 6 Greek life, Q3, and Applewood share some similarities through their artifacts and espoused values, but it is the basic underlying assumptions that truly govern the ways in the organizations operate. The relationship between Q3 and

Greek life is similar to Q3's relationship with Applewood, as Q3 often adapts the structures of the university for the benefit of the organization.

Q3 utilized existing Applewood university structures and morphed them for their own use to act as a student organization. Because Q3 was not an official student organization they were barred from many privileges of a student organization. Most noted by participants was their inability to advertise on campus. Q3 was aware that they are not supposed to be advertising on campus, but they did so anyway. Clandestine and surreptitious distribution happened in a variety of ways, including passing out handbills at institutional events or running through dormitories pushing advertisements under doors. When Q3 circumvented the systems through which Greek life and AU operated by offering Greek-style events, advertising on campus, or in any way behaving in ways that a registered and approved student organization would, the organization functionally and symbolically challenged the artifacts, espoused values, and basic underlying assumptions that guide those groups.

The differences in the ways Q3 and Greek life operated were founded upon their basic underlying assumptions: mentorship versus brotherhood or inclusivity versus exclusivity. The differences between Q3 and Greek life were exacerbated by the institution's Christian mission (Figure 6). Although Q3 events dovetailed nicely with university values, the organization itself was not officially affiliated with the institution and was therefore unsupported. On the other hand, Greek organizations, notably fraternities, which were affiliated with the institution, hosted events and engaged in practices that sometimes ran counter to the institutional mission.

The tension between the values and behaviors of various student groups is not unique to Q3 and Greek organizations. The battle between student organizations and their various activities have been recorded throughout history. Jackson (2000) discusses the riotous students during the 1800's at Harvard and the Phi Beta Kappa secret society that was born out of students creating an alternate collegiate organization where their legitimacy did not depend on recognition by the administrators of Harvard. The areas of values congruence between Phi Beta Kappa and the institution increased the group's perceived legitimacy, even as Harvard administrators were suspicious of PBK as a secret organization (Jackson, 2000). PBK's rejection of other factions' violent ways (and occasional snitching of their activities) increased distrust with other students, even though both groups of students shared the desire to be respected and treated like men. Similarly, Q3 also provided a legitimate means for student involvement through the de-legitimization of Applewood and the Greek system.

This de-legitimization was evident in the ways that Q3 and Greek organizations presented themselves to other students and to Applewood. Q3 can be considered a pseudo-Greek organization and often competed with Greek events that de-legitimized the Greek system and Applewood. When Q3 operated as a pseudo-Greek organization they appeared to offer similar benefits to Greek involvement but were not subject to the rules and regulations from Applewood or a national governing board. Therefore, Q3 provided an alternative involvement opportunity that both legitimized student participation in an organization but de-legitimized the power of the Greek system and of Applewood.

Figure 7 illustrates the ways in which Q3 and Greek life compare to one another. Beginning at the center with the most similarities, both organizations operate as a Greek

or pseudo-Greek framework, even though Q3 referred to themselves as “anti-fraternity” (Jacob). Both organizations had similar interactions with other members on the basis of brotherhood or mentorship and both organizations participated in volunteer and service work, in various ways. As the figure continues outward into their differences it is known that fraternities have various academic requirements for their members, but Q3 ensures that there are no requirements for membership, especially in academia.

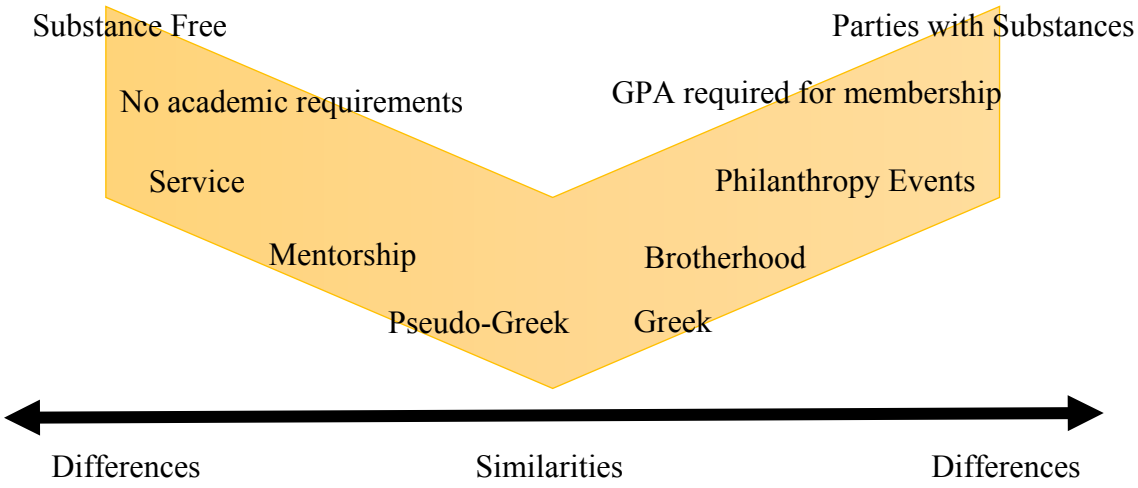

Figure 7. Q3 and Greek Life Comparison.

This is not to say that many students in Q3 did not boast stellar grades, as many participants pointed out; but it was noted that GPA, major of study, or even enrollment at the institution did not bar a student from being able to join the organization. Students from different institutions in the area or recent graduates were still very much involved in the organization. The only membership requirement that was constant for both fraternities and Q3 is the requirement of being male. Although Q3 did not explicitly state that women were barred from participating there was not an effort made to include them in any way either. And although it is unlikely that women would be allowed to participate in the

organization, there were a large proportion of women who attended Q3 parties. Lastly, the farthest factor between both groups were their activities that occur off campus and into the late hours of the night, the parties. Q3 parties were always substance free and include minimal fees, all of which are donated to charity after costs are recovered. The parties were described as a place of "welcome", "acceptance", and being "carefree". Conversely fraternity parties were considered "awkward", as well as fake or inauthentic, that guys are there to impress one another instead of to make friends. The different cultures that drive the behavior of these organizations also drives the ways in which their events, which can be considered rituals, socialize the student body.

Value Congruence in Rituals

The cultures of organizations and institutions are important for this research because the cultures and subsequent behaviors of Applewood, Q3, and Greek life shaped the ways in which these organizations seek to socialize students. This socialization often occurred as a determinate of the degree to which individual and organizational value, beliefs, and ideals were congruent or incongruent. Figure 8 locates the rituals of each of the three organizations within overlapping values of individual students.

Each circle (Figure 8) represents the beliefs and ideals held by Q3, Greek Life, Applewood, and any particular student. The "individual student" circle is particularly important because each student will hold different beliefs and ideals that align to various degrees with Greek life, Q3, and Applewood. The degree of congruence between an organization and each student is related to the beliefs, values, and ideals of the student. The overlap of any two circles indicate the ways in which beliefs and ideals align with one another in different groups or individuals. The overlap of three circles is the point of

congruency of values where ritual events are created. These types of events, (labeled in circles 1, 2, and 3) act as ritual events because they affect the individual identity of the student and are therefore socializing the individuals who attend them. Ritual events are characterized by the physical co-presence of other members, mutual entrainment (or collective focus on and involvement in an activity), the creation of an emotional response and accompanying sense of moral rightness, and reinforcement of group membership: who is in (participants) and who is out (non-participants). By participating in these events and experiencing the rituals an individual will have their individual identity and group identity memberships intensified. Further, ritual events, such as those hosted by Q3 will reinforce the culture of the organization through their symbols and values, as well as produce a sense of moral rightness in participating. In short, rituals beget rituals.

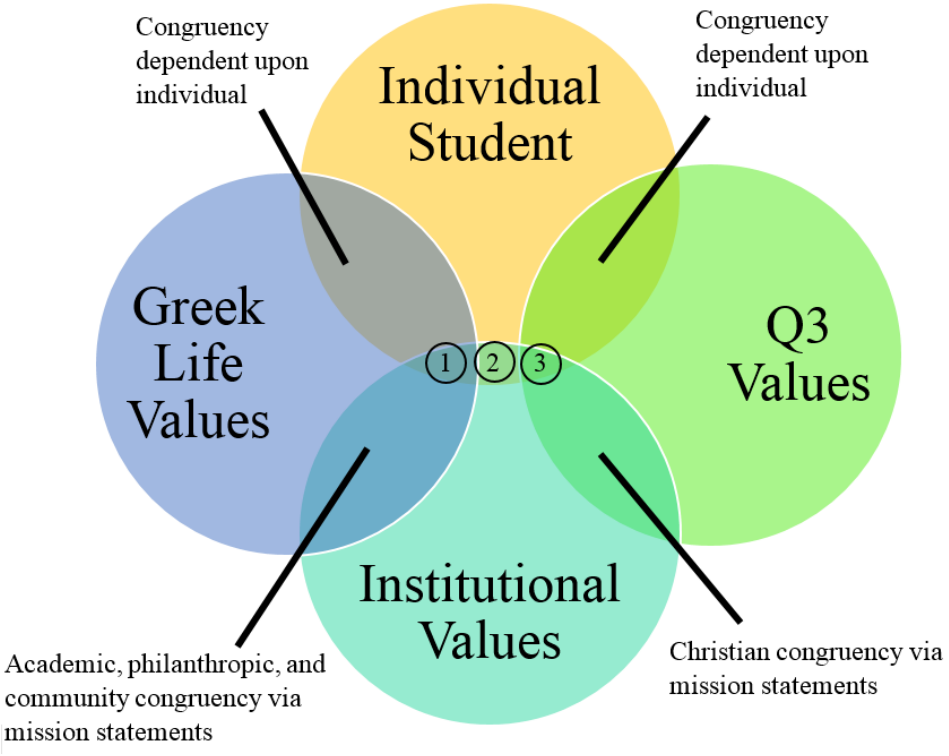

Figure 8. Values Congruency.

In Figure 8, Values Congruency, the smallest circles in the middle are indicative of events that each organization or institution may host that will align with values of individuals and organizations, and therefore, might be of the greatest interest (attraction) and potency (effect). The degree of congruency between individuals and different organizations and institutions will always vary based on that particular individuals' values. On the other hand, organizational cultures and values are typically more stable (that is, consistent over time) and the overlap of values between organization and institutions is likely to remain fairly constant. Because organization values remain consistent it is the individual students that have their values formed by participating with different groups Students may or may not participate in various events hosted by these groups in accordance with whether or not their personal values are congruently reflected by the hosting group or the event itself. Further, students who may believe they have little in common with Q3 may find that by attending a ritual event, their individual identity and group memberships are altered and they feel themselves align more with Q3, even though they may not have expected to find themselves align with this type of group.

The levels of congruency with each organization, institution, and individual was reflective of Hurtado and Carter's (1997) discussion of Latino students and the ways in which their persistent connection to their affiliated values connected to group memberships outside of the college world were paramount in a student finding their place in college. This study parallels the findings of Hurtado and Carter (1997) when considering the congruency of values for individuals and sub-communities. Members in Q3 often chose to participate because Q3 served their current identities and values better than the Greek community did. Therefore, students chose to join Q3, an unsanctioned

organization, and maintain their identity affiliations rather than seek a bid from a Greek organization and risk severing ties with other affiliations.

Socialization through Unsanctioned Ritual Events

Socialization is often defined in terms that highlight how an individual learns to identify with the values and norms of various subgroups (Chapin, El Ouardani, & Barlow, 2016; Kaufman & Feldman, 2004; Sell, Chapman, & Rothenberg, 2012; Rhys, 1983). Through attending Q3 events, the attendees were socialized into the norms and values of Q3, Applewood, and the general felt identity of being a college student (Kaufman & Feldman, 2004). This socialization occurred for members of Q3 and first year students in relation to their individual identity and their group memberships.

Membership Socialization

The members of Q3 were socialized via the ritual ceremonies and large parties that they host and attend, as well as the personal relationships and interactions that were built with other members of Q3 and in their members-only events. The socialization of members of Q3 was influenced by the extent to which individual members participated and believed in the mission, values, and ideals of Q3. The intersection of the individual student identity, Q3's group purpose, and the context of the institution was where socialization occurred. It was through congruence with members' pre-existing values and by both challenging and supporting Applewood through the organizational activities of Q3 that their socialization took root and form. In Q3's case, their unaffiliated status as a student organization posed risks for members and for Applewood. However, Q3 members determined that there was more reward in operating unofficially than there was

reward for becoming officially affiliated with Applewood. It was Q3's operation outside the bounds of Applewood that makes it both attractive for students and concerning for administrators as a socializing force. Q3 provides an environment for legitimate involvement that was congruent with the values of many students and of Applewood, but because their unaffiliated status, Q3 could operate without the control and oversight of Applewood's policies and procedures.

First Year Student Socialization

Q3 did not explicitly state that it sought to socialize students through participation in Q3 events. Instead, Q3 characterized their efforts in terms of wanting to provide an environment where students could be themselves and experience a college party that they could remember and drive home safely from. By providing this environment for students Q3 also, inadvertently, reinforced the seemingly conflicted social values, norms, and ideals of Q3, Applewood, and the college party scene among the freshman class. Q3's parties looked like raves that typically reflect social and religious norms divergent from those of a Christian university. However, Q3's concern for hosting a substance free event, specifically targeting freshmen, illustrates their desire to aid freshman in their collegiate transition had the outcome of helping the newest Applewood students find their place on campus.

Individual Identity Formation

Members and freshmen attendees noted that the welcoming atmosphere of Q3 events helped them individually to feel accepted, and as if they could be uniquely themselves when participating with Q3. The ability of students to feel that they *fit* with

peer groups and with their institution are critical components of persistence in higher education (Alleman, Robinson, Leslie, & Glanzer, 2016). Q3 provides this critical component through the peer interactions that occur during their events. These events and their interactions aid the first-year students in finding their *fit.* By providing these off-campus events, focused on the freshman class, Q3 provided an outlet for students to meet and bond with one another in ways that the institution and other organizations cannot or had not. Therefore, Q3's unsanctioned events sufficiently paralleled the culture and mission of Applewood that student participation in the events continued to grow and supported the values and beliefs of individual students, Q3, and Applewood. Throughout the socialization process the bonding of peers also occurred.

The significance of finding an accepting peer group on campus varies in the degree of importance for senior students in comparison to freshman students. Senior students display a much lower need to affiliate with groups than do freshman populations (Feldman & Newcomb, 1994). Q3 utilized its lack of affiliation with Applewood to help first-year students find their individual identity outside of the bounds of the institution. It was Q3's separation from Applewood that allows the organization to be deliberately student led, and student focused in ways that allow first-year students to connect with one another and find themselves and see themselves as a *real college student*.

The individual identity of students was affected by Q3 in the ways that they hosted events, the intentions behind them, and the symbols and values that were reinforced during them. The ritual experiences of a Q3 party exhibit the goofy culture that was also congruent with Q3's mission to glorify God. Although goofiness and glorifying God could be contrasting values, Q3 utilizes their informal personality and college normative

parties to help students feel welcomed, appreciated, and safe to be themselves at a Q3 event. The environment and activities that Q3 provided both reinforced pre-college expectations of collegiate life and informed the values, behaviors, expectations, and standards that were expected of a college student by utilizes the distinct and different party methods that were characteristic of Q3. The felt identity (Kaufman & Feldman, 2004) of being a *real college student,* after attending a Q3 event, suggests that Q3 created an event environment that mirrors the collegiate ideal students imagine. On the other hand, Q3 also took great care to ensure that their events specifically align with their Christian mission (i.e. stopping the party to pray), as well as giving students a place to come and have a good time without having to worry about the complications that alcohol brings to an event. The resulting felt identity (Kaufman & Feldman, 2004) of identifying oneself as a college student was a direct result of participating with Q3. Therefore, first year students were socialized by Q3 in ways that were congruent with pre-existing socially normative definitions of what a college student is, to which students were already committed.

Group Membership Formation

Although Q3 was not an Applewood-approved student organization, Q3 still reinforced the values and beliefs of Applewood by creating in-groups and out-groups in the events that they hosted. These two groups are defined by the social and symbolic boundaries that the organization enforces (Lamont & Molnar, 2002). The boundaries that confine the Q3 events included the inclusive nature of the organization, but also the exclusion of substances that might be expected at a college party. In this inclusion and exclusion Q3 reinforces the caring Christian community that Applewood boasts, but does

so in a way that allows more members of the community to participate in the party. This contrasts the Greek party experience in which events may not support the mission of Applewood, nor were they inclusive of all members of the community. The students that support the inclusion of individuals, but exclusion of substances become the in-group that participates with Q3. This can include students, community members, families, or other Greek students because of the inclusive nature of Q3, anyone who chooses to be *in* can be in. Individuals who have an out-group experience with Q3 were those who do not support Q3's beliefs and event atmosphere, which again, could be any individual whose values and beliefs do not align with Q3. In Q3's case, the language and self-described purposes of being rebellious, goofy, and seeking to glorify God were key symbols that create the symbolic boundaries around their group. The social boundaries were built on the inclusive nature of the Q3's organization but the exclusion of substances at events. Further, they symbolic boundaries of the organization were built upon the Christ-centered focus of the organization and the reinforcement of being welcoming and accepting of all students. Q3 itself strives to be an inclusive group in their membership practices, but Q3 was also quite careful to ensure that no illicit substances were brought into their events and that if any individual does attempt to attend the party with these substances in hand, they were turned away, in order to protect the sanctity of the *safe* party with no alcohol or drugs, and thus to protect the symbolic and social boundaries of the ritual event.

By establishing these boundaries Q3 presented itself as a fun and inclusive organization with the express mission of serving others and serving God. But, because Q3 was not affiliated with the Applewood and because many of their events were parodies of Greek rituals or university rituals, Q3 also described themselves as rebellious

and sometimes trouble-makers. The sometimes conflicting relationships between Q3 and Greek organizations, as well as with Applewood, were a small price to pay for the autonomy that Q3 enjoys by being an unaffiliated organization. The unaffiliated status of Q3 allows the organization freedom in their events, membership, and activities but presents risk in their interactions with university administrators. It was in the risk of the organization that members and students find the organization an attractive and legitimate option for student involvement opportunities. Whether seen as troublemakers or liberating party hosts, Q3's unsanctioned events provided an opportunity through which students assimilated to the college student identity and were formed by the values of Q3 and the events they hosted.

Influence of Layered Rituals

Events like Holla Homecoming can be described as ceremonial rituals of incorporation, reification, and resistance (Manning, 2000). In addition to these various ritual ceremonies, the interactions that occur outside of the ritual ceremonies increase the influence of the socialization factors that occur during the ritual. The layers of ritual in ceremonies and addition to outside interactions that occur within the Q3 organization were what makes membership in Q3 so potent. Not only was Holla Homecoming a ritual of incorporation because it was the first big party of the year, but so too was it a ritual of reification because Q3 acknowledges that students make a choice to participate with Q3 instead of other on campus organizations, on campus events, or no organizations and events at all. The overlap of ritual types coupled with outside interactions were also evident in the membership joining process and in Quest. Quest, and its necessary practices operate as rituals of incorporation as well. Not only did this process integrate

new members into the organization, but Q3 also reached out to members through personal relationships that encouraged continued participation in Q3. The layers of the incorporation ritual, in addition to the interaction rituals that occur outside of ceremonies (Goffman, 1967; Collins, 2004) further socializes the newest Q3 members to the values, ideals, and beliefs of the overall Q3 organization.

Positive Deviance

Deviance has often been described as going against societal norms, which typically includes a negative implication. But an emerging field of research on positive deviance shines light on the ways in which deviant behaviors can benefit individuals and societies. Positive deviance research first emerged in medical communities in understanding how individuals given the same resources, utilized them differently and had better outcomes in health and wellness (Marsh, Schroeder, Dearden, Sternin, & Sternin, 2004). Positive deviance is defined as a departure from the normative behaviors of a group that results in positive outcomes for the individuals that deviate (Sternin, 2002). Positive deviance describes the approach of Q3 because they operate as a pseudo-Greek organization but were more successful in their membership and event hosting than the Greek organizations. There was more success in the socialization provided by Q3 events because of Q3's inclusive membership and event policies. Positive deviance was exemplified by Q3 in the ways that they host parties off campus for first-year students. Q3 draws from the same population as the Greek events, as well as Applewood's on-campus events, but the attendance at Q3 parties consistently exceeds the attendance at both Greek parties and on-campus events.

Q3 departs from the normative behaviors of Applewood University (whether Greek or institutionally focused) but have still had positive experiences and outcomes for their members and the individuals that attend their parties. The organizational growth and event attendance growth was indicative of this success. Further the perceptions of Q3 from the first-year student population were also indicative of success because freshman view Q3 and their events as a legitimate method of involvement for membership and weekend frivolity. Q3's success as an organization that was positively deviant helps to legitimize the organization and its ideals that were espoused through their events.

Conclusions

This study has shown the ways in which an unofficial student organization socializes a first-year student population through unsanctioned ritual events. Q3 operated outside of the control of Applewood since 2008 and sought to influence the student body by hosting off-campus parties that were substance free and Christ-centered. Previous studies on ritual in higher education has been focused on the ways in which the institution itself offers ritual events. This study shows how students lead the socialization process of their peers through operating in an unaffiliated and unsanctioned manner.

The off-campus party was a normative event that students may expect to attend in their collegiate career. Q3's unaffiliated status provides a new nuance to expectations of the unsanctioned off campus party. Any organization can host an unsanctioned event by creating an event that was not approved by the institution. Q3 events were developed by an organization that has no formal relationship with the college/university, making those events and their founding institution deviant. However, because Q3 offered an alternative party environment that had successful attendance and promoted the values of the

institution where most attendees were enrolled, the organization was positively deviant. From that position of positive deviance, Q3 operates from a pseudo-Greek model that both utilizes and critiques the sanctity of the Greek system and institutional control of a university. By hosting safe and fun off campus events the organization was positively deviant in its presentation to others through the events.

The unsanctioned events and unaffiliated organizational status gave Q3 the power to operate independently, but also created an element of risk when interacting with Applewood and its policies and procedures. Even though there was risk involved in Q3's operation, there was a greater reward in providing a safe, welcoming, and inclusive environment specifically for freshman to become acclimated to the college social scene without the influence of alcohol or drugs. The events that Q3 hosted socialize first-year students into a somewhat generic, party-centric *college student* identity using familiar Greek life conventions, but in a way, that was supportive of Applewood's Christian values. In this way, Q3 operated through a set of rituals and practices that simultaneously affirmed and critiqued the existing university-student organization relationship. It was in the affirmations and critiques of existing structures that Q3 leveraged the degrees of value congruency for their members and attendees. Members became involved with Q3 because their individual values aligned better with Q3 than with Greek life, in many cases. On the other hand, student chose to participate in Q3 because their events align with the values of individuals and of Applewood. The congruency of values between Applewood and Q3 provided students with a place to have fun, fulfill their conceptualization of the ideal college experience, and do so without threatening their Christian values.

In considering the history of higher education institutions in the United States the beginnings of higher education was influenced by the reign of *in loco parentis* in which institutions acted as parental authorities over students (Theilin, 2011). As the men of Harvard rioted against this practice, others formed alternative student organizations such as Phi Beta Kappa (Jackson, 2000). Throughout history individual student agency and participation in extracurricular events has increased. Today, there appears to be a movement back towards a revised *in loco parentis* model in which students seek institutions that can provided them with country club-like amenities during their four years of study (McGrath & Schifrin, 2014). Students and families operate from a consumerist view of what college should provide for students, including the protection of continuous oversight to ensure student safety. It is in the new consumeristic model of *in loco parentis* that students may be treated as children rather than as adults (Lewis, 2006). Many institutions embrace this new model because it protects the institutional brand and the individual students (Parks & Spencer, 2013). However, this new consumerism model of *in loco parentis* stands in contrast with Q3. Whereas many students seek out institutionally-affiliated organizations for involvement opportunities, Q3 members opted to remove themselves from the institutional control and oversight that other student organizations were subject to. Q3 chose autonomy in their operations so that they would not be subject to any institutional governance of their organization, therefore rejecting the consumeristic in loco parentis model that universities have come to adopt and students have come to accept.

There are risks for institutions that allow organizations to operate outside of their control, but, as long as the organizations are offering positive and important socialization

experiences there is no need for an institution to attempt to exert control over the organization. This can be a difficult relationship to maintain for administrator and for students. Unaffiliated organizations that both support and challenge the institution, like Q3, provide students with autonomy and development that cannot be provided by the university. In the same instance, continuing to allow the organization to operate could be a threat to the institutional reputation. The unaffiliated organization is a double-edged sword that con provide great benefits but also risks to students and to administrators. Student affairs professionals should be cognizant of these organizations and their activities but support the student led initiatives that are borne out of the organizations.

Implications for Practice

This study illuminates the processes and outcomes through which an unsanctioned student organization socializes the first-year student population. In this case, Q3 plays a role in helping first-year students become acquainted with the social scene in college and provides a space for freshmen to feel welcome and accepted. Further, Q3 espouses its own mission and values through their events and interactions with others, most notably their "goofy" demeanor and welcoming spirit. For institutions across the nation, it will be important for them to understand their own institutional values and how their own unaffiliated organizations may align, or not align, with those values.

The relationship between unaffiliated organization and institutes of higher education is an important factor in student affairs that has gone overlooked. In comparison to an affiliated student organization, there are certainly less unaffiliated organizations that any particular institution deals with. However, if an institution has an unaffiliated organization that is creating popular events and rituals that students find

attractive, considering the nature of the attraction (the type of ritual and type of deviance) and socialization effects (ritual outputs, symbols, and values) an important first step in response to these events and organizations is for an institution to be aware of the ways in which socialization is occurring on and off their campuses.

Unaffiliated organizations becoming affiliated with their institution or institutions reaching out to an unaffiliated organization to try and persuade them to affiliate is not recommended. Rather, institutions should be aware of how their student body is being socialized. Just as Harvard was aware of Phi Beta Kappa and their activities on the Harvard campus (Jackson, 2000), so too should today's institutions be cognizant of the ways in which student leaders of unofficial student organizations are socializing their peers. There may be an instance, one day in the future, when an institution is required to step in to a relationship with an unaffiliated organization in order to protect students or the institution, but until that day, student affairs professionals should appreciate the determination, fortitude, and purpose of these organization as they can provide events and environments that support positive student socialization that a university cannot.

Instead of reverting back to the *in loco parentis* model (Thelin, 2011) in which institutions seeks to provide excessive resources for their students, institutions today should consider the benefits of student led and student governed organizations that act as a socializing factor for the student body; especially those organizations that are unaffiliated. The unaffiliated organization can provide an outlet for involvement that the institution may be unable to provide. Further, the unaffiliated nature of the organization helps to support the involvement and development of students without having to be controlled by the institution itself.

Q3 offers a similar student organization experience to the original undertakings of the YMCA Student Associations in the early 20th century. Across the nation, the Y men made it their responsibility to help enforce the cultural norms and standards of a particular institution to the incoming classes of students (Alleman & Finnegan, 2009). Whereas the YMCA utilized receptions, handbooks, and orientation camps to influence students, Q3 utilized rave-type parties to impart the values of their organization and the institution to its attendees. As the world of student affairs has grown, many of the undertakings of the YMCA are now governed by the institution through new student programming, student conduct offices, and student activities centers. Therefore, Q3 utilizes one of the only remaining student led, student governed, and student hosted methods of socialization for first-year students: the off-campus party.

Implications for Theory

The theories of ritual, socialization, deviance/positive deviance, unsanctioned events, and values congruency have all been explored in this study. This research has provided new ways of examining these theories via the unaffiliated organization and their subsequent unsanctioned events. In this study, these topics were explored within an organization that lies outside the formal boundaries of a particular university, rather than within the bounds of any particular institution. In this case the organization leveraged the congruence and incongruence of individuals and of organizations in order to successfully recruit members and host events for first-year students.

The unsanctioned events, such as those hosted by Q3, have been explored in various arenas in higher education but have most often focused on risky behaviors such as hazing (Alvarez, 2015; Mangan, 2015; Parks & Spencer, 2013), and binge drinking

(Buckner, Henslee, & Jeffries, 2015; Neighbors et al., 2011). Approaches to combatting such behaviors have also been extensively researched via risk avoidance and risk management models (Lee & Bichard, 2006; Moore, Soderquist, & Werch, 2005; Weitzman & Nelson, 2004). Instead of focusing this research on risk and harm avoidance this study focused on the socialization aspect of these events rather than risk. Although risk is a factor in the attractiveness and effectiveness of the events and of the organization, in the case of this research, the risk is not inherently bad, or deviant. Instead the organization and its events were positively deviant because of the mission and values that were espoused by Q3 and their ability to succeed as a pseudo-Greek organization. Further research should take into account the different ways in which the culture and context of organizations and institutions influence the socializing practices of student organization, both affiliated and unaffiliated. Further, the events that occur outside of the control of institutions should also be examined for their socializing ability rather than for their possibility of harm.

Limitations

The limitations of this study are related to my position as a student affairs professional as well as in the number and type of participants interviewed. As a professional staff member, it was difficult to get some of the Q3 member participants to speak openly about their organization experiences, and it was increasingly difficult to get in touch with their executive officer board to try and obtain greater information on the structure and organization of Q3. Further time to complete the study could have led to a larger participant pool size that was more inclusive of different Q3 members. Further, due

to the limited time frame of the study I was unable to recruit as many freshman participants as I would have liked for this study. Recruitment of freshman students occurred during the same time as fall finals and tests, projects, and papers were a key reason many students cited for not participating in the study. Further, the lack of Greek, especially fraternity, and Applewood administrator perspective in this study limits the research. All of the data was gleaned from Q3 members and students who supported there events, therefore, there is a lack of secondary opinions and perspectives of Q3 from the Greek system and from Applewood. Insight from these two groups would have been beneficial for the study, but ultimately may have compromised the confidentiality of the participants and the organization and was therefore not pursued.

Future Research

Further research on unaffiliated student organizations, unsanctioned events and their effects on student population should be conducted as more institutions, with more organizations, and within varying contexts of collegiate cultures. Faith based schools, public schools, community colleges, and research universities should all make an effort to understand their students that the experiences that are had by the student population. A case study is an excellent example to begin this research with, but further progressions in research should also include comparisons between types of institutions, types of groups, and types of socializing factors that occur. It will also be imperative to consider the context of the constitution and the culture of the organization when conducting further research as it will be this context and culture that determines the nature of socialization for the student body.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Researcher Positionality Statement

In consideration of researching the possible socialization effects of ritual unsanctioned events on first year students, I am keenly aware of my own biases and experiences with unsanctioned events in my undergraduate career; some that were ritualized and others that were not. Even as a current graduate student and staff member of the Student Involvement office, I am more than aware of the events that our students host on and off campus, that can be deemed sanctioned and unsanctioned, depending upon the level of university involvement.

On one hand, the college student in me appreciates the unsanctioned event and wants to ensure its survival. It is during these events that I found my place at my undergraduate institution, and where I built my community of friends, especially in regards to the ritualized unsanctioned events that I attended. On the other hand, as a student affairs professional, I know that leaving students to their own devices can be potentially detrimental to themselves, to others, and to the university overall. What I want to find is a balance between these two personal identities and how the unsanctioned event fits within them.

As student affairs professionals, I believe that we like to *know* what's going on with our students, not to be big brother-esque, but in order to protect our students if needed. Because at the end of the day, student affairs professionals are doing what they do, because they care and want to see students flourish. Due to the fact that I am still so chronologically close to my undergraduate experiences I have reflected on my belief that

many things I learned about life, and about myself, were not necessarily borne out of an event, program, or required course hosted by the university, but rather, the events that occurred after hours, and outside the control of any authority.

My research is based on the hopes that I find something developmental and *good* about the unsanctioned event on a larger scale than just my personal opinions and experiences. Of course, I know that going into this research I may find just the opposite, a construct I am open to finding; although I do admit I would be a little disappointed to find such information. But I want to complete this research to see how students experience the unsanctioned event and what roles such events play in their feelings of community and the aspect of socialization to the larger campus culture. I do not want to lead students to telling me that their unsanctioned event attendance and participation are beneficial to their identity as being a college student or an Applewood student. Rather, I want students to be able to reflect on their involvement with unsanctioned events and determine, for themselves, whether or not such involvement was reflective of any type of socialization that aided in the development of their collegiate community.

Further my intent to study a pseudo-Greek organization that operates less than 10 miles from campus and is not an officially registered student organization may also present instances of bias. As a Greek woman I have a natural affiliation to the Greek system and even a pseudo-Greek organization such as Q3 and may therefore look more favorably upon their activities than I would another organization. I must also consider my current employment and my bias towards officially registered student organizations that abide by the policies and procedures set forth by the institution. As noted in my personal and professional identities, there is possible conflict and bias between my Greek identity

and my professional identity. As I reflect on this I believe the biases may negate one another as my affinity for Greek life and the unsanctioned event is paralleled with my responsibilities and duties as a student affairs professional. Nonetheless, I must be aware of the ways in which my various identities may influence my research from the earliest points of the literature review, down to the data analysis and discussion. I believe this will become intensely important during data collection when I observe and interview members and participants of Q3 unsanctioned events. I must take extra care to neither show support for their organization structure and the event itself, but also not show disdain for the organization's lack of regard for the policies of the institution.

I know that as a qualitative researcher I will not be able to completely remove myself and my biases from the interviews with my participants. What I can do is be aware of my biases that note an inherit goodness in the unsanctioned event, solely based on my own experience, an affinity for organization similar to Q3, as well as my responsibility and respect for the policies and procedure that would normally govern a sanctioned event. A constant awareness of this bias will be necessary in order to ensure that I reflect and process the ways in which such biases can influence my participants and their interviewing experience As I go into this research with hopes and expectations of what I may find, I know that those hopes and expectations are a product of my biases towards the topic. Therefore, I must consider all the ways in which socialization may or may not occur throughout the ritual unsanctioned event and reflect on the ways in which my biases towards and against my research topic will affect my research process as a whole.

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