



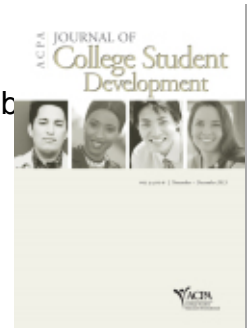
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Experiences and Perceptions of Gay and Bisexual Fraternity Members From 1960 to 2007: A Cohort Analysis

Susan R. Rankin, Grahaeme A. Hesp, Genevieve N. Weber

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Experiences and Perceptions of Gay and Bisexual Fraternity Members From 1960 to 2007: A Cohort Analysis

Susan R. Rankin Grahaeme A. Hesp Genevieve N. Weber

The study included 337 self-identified gay and bisexual fraternity members, with 170 joining their chapters in the year 2000 or after, 99 joining their chapters between the years 1990 and 1999, and 68 joining in the year 1989 or before. Participants who self-identified as gay or bisexual men and who joined in the year 2000 or after reported a more positive experience overall as fraternity members than did the participants who joined at any time prior. Each new cohort showed movement toward a more accepting environment for gay or bisexual individuals. The data suggest that the fraternity environment is increasingly becoming more accepting of gay and bisexual individuals and the LGBT community.

Research indicates that students experience a campus climate based upon their social group membership (Chang, 2002) and students who experience a supportive campus are more likely to consider their college experience as positive (Milem, 2003; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Understanding how students from various social groups experience a campus climate is therefore important to higher education professionals in designing successful out-of-the-classroom experiences.

The literature suggests that college campuses have been and continue to be difficult environments for students who do not identify

as heterosexual (Dilley, 2005; Rankin 2003; Rankin, Weber, Blumenthal, & Frazer, 2010). For the purposes of this article, when referring to the overall “community” we use LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender). In the literature review, we use the sexual identity identifiers used by the authors cited. Bieschke, Eberz, and Wilson (2000) completed a meta-analysis of the experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) students. In the studies the authors reviewed, LGB students reported experiencing high levels of harassment on campus, and in three studies that compared LGB and non-LGB students’ experiences LGB students reported statistically significant higher levels of harassment. Bieschke and her colleagues identified only six studies addressing the experiences of LGB students (and none that addressed the experiences of transgender students).

Bieschke et al. (2000) suggested that the research they reviewed was “sparse” and “methodologically flawed” thus limiting the findings’ generalizability. Bieschke et al. offered that the majority of the research reviewed in their meta-analysis contained research designs that were “atheoretical in both their conceptualization and discussion of results and not based on previous research” (p. 45). With regard to sampling, the studies Bieschke et al. reviewed were mostly single institution

Susan R. Rankin (retired) is a former Associate Professor of Education and Research Associate at the Center for the Study of Higher Education at The Pennsylvania State University. Grahaeme A. Hesp is Senior Faculty and Director of Academics at FIE: Foundation for International Education. Genevieve N. Weber is Associate Professor of Counseling and Mental Health Professions at Hofstra University. Other contributors include Douglas Case, Charles Eberly, George Miller, and William Molasso. Research supported by the Lambda 10 Project (<http://www.lambda10.org>).

projects and used convenience sampling.

Rankin (2003) conducted a study to address some of the issues identified by Bieschke et al. (2000). The project included 14 institutions from geographically dispersed locations and was methodologically sound, thus allowing greater generalizability of the findings. In Rankin's study LGBT students reported that they feared for their physical safety, concealed their sexual orientation to avoid intimidation, and felt that discussing their sexual orientation to those in power could lead to negative consequences. Student-on-student harassment was the most prevalent form, reinforcing the need to educate students about LGBT issues and concerns. Rankin and colleague's (2010) report titled "State of Higher Education for LGBT People," which was based on a national sample of 6,000 students, faculty, and staff, found similar experiences and perceptions for LGBT students as well as for LGBT faculty and staff members.

Although LGBT individuals on college campuses continue to encounter a hostile climate, conditions have improved somewhat over the years (Rankin et al., 2010). These changes can be attributed to affirmative steps taken by campus communities such as including sexual orientation in nondiscrimination policies and providing visible LGBT educational services. Communities such as those comprising fraternity chapter brothers are bound together by common threads entwined by interpersonal exchanges and rituals that continually communicate and construct the concept of the organization's culture and climate (Rhoads, 1994; Woods, 1992). The climate of the college fraternity and its traditions have historically ascribed to a heteronormative culture, resulting in both supportive and hostile experiences for those who do not identify as heterosexual (Capraro, 2000; Case, 1996; Case, Hesp, & Eberly, 2005). The college fraternity, however, has

not taken a back seat to the affirmative changes noted on college campuses across the nation. Several fraternities and sororities have responded by adding sexual orientation to their nondiscrimination language in organizational by-laws, implementing chapter LGBT educational services, and training staff members on LGBT issues.

Despite the recent increase in research on sexual orientation and the collegiate experiences of those who identify as LGBT (Bilodeau & Renn, 2005; Jones, 2009; Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Mueller & Cole, 2009; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Worthington, Dillon, & Becker-Schutte, 2005), few studies have been conducted to examine the experiences of LGBT members of fraternities and sororities. More specifically, there is very little empirical research on the experiences of gay and bisexual men who are involved in fraternities. Therefore, one wonders if the climate for gay and bisexual fraternity members has improved as affirmative steps towards LGBT inclusion have been taken.

Research on communities and subcultures in education has focused primarily on identifying common threads and exploring how these connections function to maintain cohesion and develop the overall concept of climate (Boisnier, 2004). It is unknown, however, how the experiences and perceptions of gay and bisexual fraternity members have been influenced by improving campus climates for LGBT people. As such, the purpose of the current study was to assess the experiences and perceptions of gay and bisexual fraternity members over the last 40 years. In the current project, many of the methodological flaws identified in Bieschke et al.'s (2000) meta-analysis were addressed. First, a thorough review of the extant literature was conducted and the conceptual model and climate construct offered had been used with success in previous projects (Rankin, 2003). Because of the inherent difficulty in sampling

the LGB population, convenience sampling also was used for the current project. However, we followed Bieschke et al.'s recommendations for greater representation in that we cast a wide net for our initial invitation and requested that prospective participants forward the invitation on to other members of the LGB fraternity community who may be less "out" about their sexual identity. We also used national fraternity networks to enable us to have broader representation (e.g., beyond a single institution or single fraternity).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Identity Development

Sexual identity formation generally is recognized as one of many facets of individual development influenced by the experiences and interactions associated with collegiate life (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). In a 2004 study, Antonio found that social groups within college and university communities have a profound impact on student development and socialization and, thus, on satisfaction. According to Antonio, personal interaction strongly influences the development of shared social norms. In the case of LGBT students, whom climate studies indicate often experience discrimination and harassment within the campus community (Brown, Clarke, Gortmaker, & Robinson-Keilig, 2004; Rankin, 2003; Rankin et al., 2010; Sears, 2002), it seems logical that some students choose not to disclose their sexual identity out of fear of such acts and rejection from their social groups. It is also no surprise then that affiliation with student organizations may greatly influence the homo-emotional experiences of students identified as LGBT (Dilley, 2005).

Fraternity and Sorority Culture and Sexual Orientation

Case (1996) shed some light on the experiences of nonheterosexual members of fraternities and

sororities. Based on response to a 32-question survey, Case found that the LGB participants joined fraternities and sororities for reasons similar to those of heterosexual students, namely friendship, social activities, and a sense of belonging. Respondents also noted lasting outcomes of joining fraternities and sororities (often termed "Greek" organizations as most fraternities and sororities have Greek-letter names) including improved social and interpersonal skills, leadership skills, and long-term friendships (Case et al., 2005). The results also found the heterocentric nature of fraternity and sorority social activities, homophobic attitudes within organizations, and perceived need for LGB students to hide their sexual orientation detracted from the Greek experience. Nevertheless, most respondents (85%) reported satisfaction with their overall fraternity/sorority experience.

Case's (1996) results suggest that approximately 6% of fraternity members and 4% of sorority members identified as LGB. Nearly half (40%) of all respondents acknowledged revealing their sexual orientation to one or more members of their chapter while enrolled as students. Additionally, over 70% of respondents indicated having experienced homophobic or heterosexist attitudes within their chapter. This result supports the hypothesis that most students in fraternities and sororities "score higher on measures of homosexual intolerance" (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994, p. 34). Notably, respondents in Case's study suggested that LGB members often voiced no opposition to homophobic behavior for fear that doing so might reveal their own sexual orientation. This reaction (or lack thereof) may also have something to do with the fact that members of fraternities and sororities are encouraged to be loyal to both tradition and fellow members (Owen, 1991) often leaving LGB Greeks no choice but to hide their true opinions and selves from their "brothers" and "sisters." This

likely has a negative impact on the satisfaction with their collegiate experiences. Based on this data, chapters often were reluctant to offer membership to openly LGB pledges, yet were typically supportive when initiated members “came out” to the chapter. As such, it may be presumed that coming out after initiation greatly improved the chances that a fraternity/sorority member would have increased satisfaction as a student (Trump, 2003; Trump & Wallace, 2005). For readers who are not familiar with the “pledge” process, at the end of the formal recruitment period, the various organizations invite the visitors of their choice to “pledge” the fraternity or sorority. If the invitation, or “bid,” is accepted, the student will be admitted to the chapter as a pledge until he is initiated as a full member. Many fraternities and sororities have forgone the term pledge as part of their education process due to the negative association made by many people in the United States, and some organizations have completely eliminated both the term and process.

Case’s (1996) findings support previous research that focused more generally on satisfaction with involvement in student organizations and/or Greek life. In a study on the influence of Greek life on development and the collegiate experience, Pike (2000) found that involvement in Greek social organizations was positively related to self-reported gains in overall abilities. In a later study, Pike (2003) confirmed that Greek students reported higher levels of involvement and gains than did non-Greeks. Upperclassmen and women involved in the Greek community were found to be significantly more involved in positive leadership roles than were first-year members and, therefore, more widely reported the benefits of their Greek experience (Pike, 2003). Johnson (1996) suggested that some gay adolescents follow one option of being the “best little boy on the face of the earth”

(p. 38), whereby the gay youth tries to put all of the nonsexual events of life in perfect order and have them under perfect control. A variation of Johnson’s pattern is the attempt of the gay/lesbian student to blend and appear as much like heterosexual peers as possible. It is therefore no surprise that Case discovered that over 80% of nonheterosexual men and 60% of nonheterosexual women held at least one Greek executive committee position during their collegiate years. Likewise, the majority of participants in a more recent study (Hesp, 2005) held at least one leadership position in their fraternity chapters. Furthermore, of the 30 coming out stories chronicled by Windmeyer and Freeman (1998) and Windmeyer (2005), a strong majority contained references to the authors as officers or leaders. In a similar vein to Johnson’s conclusion, this “tendency toward ‘overachievement,’” Case reasoned, “may reflect a desire for validation and acceptance by the group” (p. 2). Similarly, Logue, Hutchens, and Hector (2005) established that students who held leadership positions found their involvement to be beneficial and an overall positive experience.

In a study of students at 18 colleges and universities, fraternity and sorority membership was negatively associated with students’ openness to diversity (Pascarella et al., 1996). It is no surprise then that Case et al. (2005) described the “familial environment of the college fraternity/sorority” (p. 16) as both supportive and hostile—specifically for those in the minority. In a study investigating the conflict between the belief in the existence of a culturally normative idea of male behavior—known as hegemonic masculinity—as an influence/explanation for extreme drinking within all male groups, Capraro (2000) found that homosexuality often is believed to be a direct challenge to the norms of homosocial “hegemonic masculinities” that undergird daily life within all-male groups. Behavior counter

to this perceived community norm would thus likely have a negative impact on student satisfaction with their membership experience within their fraternity/sorority chapter.

Windmeyer and Freeman's (1998) anthology examining the experiences of gay and bisexual men in fraternities and their 2001 companion anthology for lesbian and bisexual women in sororities support the empirical research findings. Participants offer that the acceptance of LGB fraternity brothers and sorority sisters is relatively greater when members join the fraternity/sorority closeted, establish a close friendship and brotherhood/sisterhood, and then disclose their sexual identity. Participants also suggested that the experiences of LGB members vary greatly depending on the individuals within the chapter, the college climate, and the national fraternity/sorority leadership. Men and women who rush openly as gay, lesbian or bisexual often are denied fraternity/sorority membership. For readers not familiar with "rush" the process of joining a fraternity or sorority commonly begins with "rushing" or recruitment. The term rush refers to the historical practice where students would hurry to join fraternities at the beginning of the school year, in a large part to find housing. Rush usually is followed by pledging, or committing. Both Windmeyer and Freeman (1998, 2001) and Windmeyer (2005) affirmed that some men and women who are openly gay, or who later come out, achieved and maintained membership in fraternity/sorority chapters. In addition, they underscored the progress around these issues over the last few decades.

In the mid to late 1990s, several national fraternities and sororities responded by adding sexual orientation to the nondiscrimination language in organizational by-laws, implementing chapter LGBT educational services, and training staff members on LGBT issues. Currently, there are over a dozen men's fraternities and four

women's sororities who have implemented these initiatives (Campus Pride, n.d.).

To provide an opportunity to be "out" and in a fraternity, Delta Lambda Phi became the first national social fraternity for gay, bisexual, and heterosexual progressive men in 1986. The purpose of the fraternity is not much different than a traditional fraternity. Free of heterosexism and homophobia, their fraternal environment provides a safe, comfortable space for men to develop a strong sense of friendship and a balanced sexual identity. Heterosexual members do not need to conform to gender norms or be concerned about "proving" their heterosexuality to be accepted by the fraternity brothers. These men are able to gain the promise of fraternity life—friendship, valuable leadership skills, and a positive self-esteem—without homophobia and heterosexism present in many traditional fraternities (Yueng, Stompler, & Wharton, 2006). Delta Lambda Phi currently has over 30 chapters and colonies. Local GBT-focused fraternities have recently been established, including Alpha Lambda Tau (University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1999), Sigma Lambda Beta (Arizona State University, 2004), and Sigma Epsilon Omega (University of California, Berkeley, 2007).

The extant literature describes the heteronormativity of Greek organizations (Capraro, 2000; Case, 1996). In addition, there is sparse empirical data examining the experiences and perceptions of this population. Given the more recent affirmative steps taken by campus communities (including sexual orientation in nondiscrimination policies, providing visible LGBT educational services, developing LGB fraternities and sororities, etc.) to enhance the climate for LGBT people, one wonders if the climate for gay and bisexual fraternity members has improved. Therefore, this project assessed the experiences and perceptions of gay and bisexual fraternity members to identify

how cohorts over time were influenced by improving campus climates for LGBT people. Gay and bisexual fraternity members who joined in the year 2000 or after, between the years of 1990 and 1999, and 1989 or before provided valuable information related to their experiences and perceptions as fraternity members on college campuses.

METHODS

Sampling

The purpose of this project was to assess the experiences and perceptions of gay and bisexual men in the fraternity student subculture across cohorts from 1960–2007. Sampling LGBT individuals can be challenging as the population is often difficult to define conceptually, stigma may prevent individuals from disclosing their sexual orientation to researchers, and individuals may identify with diverse labels or no labels at all (Meyer & Wilson, 2009). Given the difficulty in identifying LGBT people in the Greek community and the researchers' aim to compare cohorts and not estimate population parameters, a nonprobability sample was employed. This approach allowed for us to be better informed about the differences between gay and bisexual men in fraternities across cohorts from 1960–2007 without having to correctly estimate the proportion of gay or bisexual men in fraternities over that time period (Meyer & Wilson, 2009). To this end, in spring 2006 an "invitation to participate" letter was forwarded to organizations (e.g., AFA, ACPA, NASPA, Consortium, NGLTF, ACUI), and media outlets (e.g., G&L Review, PlanetOut, Gay.com, GLBT Regional Newspapers) identified by the researchers. In addition, project information was shared at several conferences including NGLTF, AFA, NASPA Regional Conferences, and Regional Greek Conferences (for a more detailed description of

the marketing and communication plan, please view Appendix A). The invitation provided information about the project, including the purpose of the study, and assured prospective respondents of anonymity. The invitation also directed prospective participants to the Lambda 10 Project website (www.gaygreek.org) where they were directed to the URL for the survey instrument. Snowball sampling also was employed via the invitation letter. Snowball sampling is a technique whereby the self-identified gay and bisexual respondents nominate potential participants from among their social network, who in turn nominate individuals from their own social networks (Meyer & Wilson, 2009). This allowed for the recruitment of participants who were less likely to be contacted through the primary sources of recruitment such as conferences and LGBT venues. Data were collected in March and April 2006.

Survey Instrument

Survey methodology was chosen based on the purpose of the study to identify the experiences and perceptions of gay and bisexual fraternity members across cohorts over time. The design of the project included a desire to sample as many gay or bisexual fraternity members as possible, from different geographic regions, and across cohorts ranging from 1960–2007. The survey was designed to have respondents provide information about their personal experiences in their respective fraternities and their perceptions of the climate in their chapters, their institutions, and in other fraternities with regard to gay and bisexual brothers. We chose to use an on-line survey due to ease of distribution and costs. The survey questions were constructed utilizing primarily the work of Rankin (2003) and Case (1996). The final instrument contained 48 items with an additional space for respondents to provide commentary (see Table 1 for

TABLE 1.
Sample Survey Questions

Survey Section	Sample Questions															
Fraternity Experiences	<p>1. During your time as an undergraduate member of your fraternity/sorority, please rate the climate for your campus chapter in general according to the following scales:</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 35%;"></th> <th style="width: 30%; text-align: center;">Favorable</th> <th style="width: 35%; text-align: center;">Not Favorable</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Non-homophobic</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1.....2.....3.....4.....5</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Homophobic</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Non-racist</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1.....2.....3.....4.....5</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Racist</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Non-sexist</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1.....2.....3.....4.....5</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Sexist</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Positive for bisexual & gay men</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1.....2.....3.....4.....5</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Not positive for bisexual & gay men</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>2. Excluding yourself, during the time you were an undergraduate member of your chapter, how many LGBT chapter members of your chapter were “out” to the majority of the members? <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> More than 5</p>		Favorable	Not Favorable	Non-homophobic	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Homophobic	Non-racist	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Racist	Non-sexist	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Sexist	Positive for bisexual & gay men	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Not positive for bisexual & gay men
	Favorable	Not Favorable														
Non-homophobic	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Homophobic														
Non-racist	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Racist														
Non-sexist	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Sexist														
Positive for bisexual & gay men	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	Not positive for bisexual & gay men														
Personal Experiences	<p>1. Did you ever “come out” to members of your fraternity/sorority as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes (if yes, the respondent was directed to following 3 questions) <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>1a. Was your initial “coming out” voluntary? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>1b. When did you come out? <input type="checkbox"/> During recruitment / rush <input type="checkbox"/> During my new member / pledge period <input type="checkbox"/> While I was an undergraduate member <input type="checkbox"/> After I graduated / left college <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____</p> <p>1c. What was the reaction of the majority of the members? <input type="checkbox"/> Very supportive <input type="checkbox"/> Supportive <input type="checkbox"/> Not supportive <input type="checkbox"/> Don’t know</p>															

sample questions). Participants were asked to reflect on their experiences with regard to their “coming out” as a fraternity member, how likely they were to participate in LGBT activities on campus, sexual behaviors, and the overall climate in their fraternity for gay and bisexual brothers. For the purposes of this study, “climate” was operationalized as “current attitudes, behaviors, and standards of employees and students” concerning “the level of respect for individual needs, abilities, and potential” (Rankin & Reason, 2008, p. 264). This definition was shared with respondents on the survey instrument. The project proposal, including the survey instrument, was reviewed and approved by the Pennsylvania State University Institutional Review Board.

The survey was provided in an on-line format using Perseus software. All surveys were inputted into a secure site database, stripped of their IP addresses, and tabulated for appropriate analysis.

Analysis

The relevant data were the frequencies with which respondents rated their experiences and perceptions as fraternity members. When statistical comparisons are made, chi-square tests of significance are noted. Chi-square tests are appropriate because we compared expected with observed frequencies within response categories (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). Finally, we employed nonparametric data analysis techniques for descriptive rather than inferential purposes. Findings from this analysis should be viewed within the limited purpose of the study.

Limitations

Although the current sample offered some insight into the climate for gay and bisexual men in fraternities, we caution against attempts to generalize from the results. The major limitation is that respondents in this study were “self-

selected” and, therefore, self-selection bias may exist. The bias lies in the fact that respondents’ decisions to participate may be correlated with traits that affect the study, making the group of participants a nonrepresentative sample. In addition, the respondents in the earlier cohorts were requested to respond to questions regarding their time spent in the fraternity. Given the retrospective nature of the inquiry, some of their recollections may have been imprecise and therefore a limitation. Despite these limitations, the results provided here reflect participants’ beliefs and concerns with regard to the campus climate as they experienced it during their time as fraternity member. To date, there has been no examination of the differences in experiences and perceptions among cohorts. Our results therefore add to the knowledge base regarding the experiences and perceptions of gay and bisexual fraternity men. Due to the anonymous nature of the survey, it was possible that one respondent could respond to the survey several times. The software package utilized allowed for surveys with exact demographic information to be flagged. The research team examined these surveys and decided if they would be kept in the final database or deleted from the analysis.

FINDINGS

Sample Demographics

In total, 337 surveys that were completed by male participants in the larger project (Rankin et al., 2007) were included in the current analysis. Half of the participants (50%, $n = 170$) joined their fraternity in the year 2000 or after, whereas 29% ($n = 99$) joined between the years 1990 and 1999 and 20% ($n = 68$) joined in 1989 or before. Responses were analyzed by the cohort year participants joined in order to underscore any themes across cohorts. The majority of participants, regardless of time of membership, identified their sexual orientation as gay. More respondents who

joined in the year 2000 or after were likely to identify as bisexual (15%, $n = 26$).

Experiences with Coming Out

The percentage of respondents who came out to their fraternity brothers was significantly different by cohort groups, $\chi^2(2) = 29.35$, $p < .001$. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after (89%, $n = 151$) and between

the years 1990 and 1999 (84%, $n = 83$) were more likely to be out to fraternity members than were those who joined in the year 1989 or before (59%, $n = 40$). Respondents who joined in the year 1989 or before (22%, $n = 15$) were more likely to describe their coming out as involuntary. The times at which respondents came out also were significantly different by cohort group, $\chi^2(10) = 143.77$,

TABLE 2.
Perceptions of Campus Climate by Cohort Group

	2000 or After		1990 to 1999		1989 or Before		$\chi^2(8)$
	N = 170		N = 99		N = 68		
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Friendliness							109.70**
Friendly	74.1	126	36.3	36	7.3	5	
Neutral	15.9	27	32.3	32	45.6	31	
Hostile	10.0	17	31.3	31	47.1	31	
Communication							77.34**
Communicative	62.3	106	29.3	29	13.2	9	
Neutral	28.2	48	18.2	18	10.3	7	
Reserved	19.4	33	46.4	46	61.8	42	
Concern							37.76**
Concerned	40.6	69	22.3	22	22.1	15	
Neutral	31.8	54	29.3	29	29.4	20	
Indifferent	25.9	44	47.5	47	47.1	32	
Respect							83.44**
Respectful	68.2	116	33.3	33	14.7	10	
Neutral	18.2	31	33.3	33	30.9	21	
Disrespectful	13.5	23	33.3	33	54.4	37	
Cooperation							101.30**
Cooperative	74.1	126	36.3	36	11.7	8	
Neutral	15.3	26	32.3	32	39.7	27	
Uncooperative	10.6	18	30.3	30	48.5	33	
Progress							57.30**
Improving	78.2	133	51.5	51	35.3	24	
Neutral	15.9	27	37.4	37	48.5	33	
Worsening	4.2	7	11.2	11	16.2	11	

** $p < .001$.

$p < .001$. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were more likely to have come out during college, whereas the majority of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before or between the years 1990 and 1999 came out after they graduated/left college. Further, the percentage of respondents who reported whether the majority of their members were supportive of their coming out also differed by cohort group, $\chi^2(8) = 20.15$, $p < .05$. Respondents who joined in the year 2000 or after were most likely to report their fraternity members were supportive of their coming out when compared to their earlier cohort counterparts.

Experiences with LGBT Venues and Events

Participants were asked to rate the likelihood of attending a diversity of events relevant to the LGBT community. Significant differences among cohort groups emerged. The results indicated that participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were most likely to go to a local GLB bar/club (65%, $n = 110$), $\chi^2(4) = 34.39$, $p < .001$, or GLB bar/club away from campus (66%, $n = 112$), $\chi^2(4) = 26.08$, $p < .001$; participate in campus LGBT events (54%, $n = 92$), $\chi^2(4) = 47.40$, $p < .001$; access an online gay/lesbian chat room (70%, $n = 118$), $\chi^2(4) = 72.78$, $p < .001$; access gay websites (89%, $n = 152$), $\chi^2(4) = 135.57$, $p < .001$; seek out other GLB fraternity members on campus (61%, $n = 94$), $\chi^2(4) = 36.47$, $p < .001$; and seek out other GLB members of their fraternity at national/regional events (50%, $n = 85$), $\chi^2(4) = 34.39$, $p < .001$, than were participants who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 and those who joined in the year 1989 and before.

Engagement in Sexual Activity

Same-gender sexual activity differed significantly across cohort groups, $\chi^2(4) = 46.66$,

$p < .001$. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after (91%, $n = 155$) were most likely to engage in same-gender sexual activity as undergraduate students, whereas participants who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 (33%, $n = 33$) and the year 1989 or before (34%, $n = 23$) were equally least likely to engage in same-gender sexual activity as undergraduate students. The majority of participants, regardless of cohort, reported that it was unlikely or very unlikely that they engaged in same-gender sexual activity with members of their own fraternity chapter.

Perceptions of Fraternity Climate

Respondents were asked to rate the climate of their fraternity chapter for LGBT people along six dimensions, and statistically significant differences across cohort groups were found for all dimensions. Respondents who joined their fraternities in the year 2000 or after were more likely to describe the climate of their fraternities as friendly, communicative, concerned, respectful, cooperative, and improving than were participants who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 and in the year 1989 or before. Specific differences in perceived climates by cohort group are listed in Table 2.

Identifying as Gay or Bisexual (Entering College, During College, Postcollege)

More than 80% of participants identified their sexual orientation as gay at the time of the study. The percentage of respondents who identified as gay when they started college differed significantly across cohort group, $\chi^2(10) = 74.20$, $p < .001$. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after (48%, $n = 82$) were three times more likely to identify as gay when they started college than were participants who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 (15%, $n = 15$) and in the year 1989 or before (15%, $n = 10$).

TABLE 3.
Outness to Friends, Nuclear Family, and Extended Family

	2000 or After		1990 to 1999		1989 or Before		$\chi^2(8)$
	N = 170		N = 99		N = 68		
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
<i>Outness to Friends</i>							
Currently							17.22
Out to all	56.5	96	65.7	65	64.7	44	
Out to most	20.0	34	29.3	29	19.1	13	
Totally closeted	5.9	10	1.0	1	4.4	3	
Start of College							49.31
Out to all	17.6	30	4.0	4	2.9	2	
Out to most	7.1	12	1.0	1	4.4	3	
Totally closeted	48.2	82	78.8	78	83.8	57	
Rush/Recruitment/Intake							79.01**
Out to all	26.5	45	5.1	5	2.9	2	
Out to most	12.4	21	1.0	1	4.4	3	
Totally closeted	33.5	57	74.7	74	82.4	56	
Initiation							74.92**
Out to all	32.4	55	7.1	7	2.9	2	
Out to most	9.4	16	4.0	4	4.4	3	
Totally closeted	29.4	50	69.7	69	76.5	52	
Graduation / After College							125.77**
Out to all	50.6	86	25.3	25	5.9	4	
Out to most	17.1	29	12.1	12	11.8	8	
Totally closeted	7.6	13	26.3	26	58.8	40	
<i>Outness to Nuclear Family</i>							
Currently							30.95*
Out to all	47.1	80	68.7	68	64.7	44	
Out to most	5.9	10	13.1	13	8.8	6	
Totally closeted	28.2	48	6.1	6	16.2	11	
Start of College							31.78**
Out to all	18.8	32	5.1	5	4.4	3	
Out to most	4.7	8	1.0	1	0	0	
Totally closeted	66.5	113	87.9	87	92.6	63	

table continues

TABLE 3. *continued*

	2000 or After		1990 to 1999		1989 or Before		$\chi^2(8)$
	N = 170		N = 99		N = 68		
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Rush/Recruitment/Intake							40.48**
Out to all	24.7	42	7.1	7	4.4	3	
Out to most	4.1	7	1.0	1	0	0	
Totally closeted	57.1	97	81.8	81	91.2	62	
Initiation							38.16**
Out to all	25.9	44	7.1	7	4.4	3	
Out to most	5.3	9	2.0	2	0	0	
Totally closeted	55.9	95	79.8	79	86.8	59	
Graduation / After College							67.05**
Out to all	40.6	69	21.2	21	10.3	7	
Out to most	5.3	9	6.1	6	5.9	4	
Totally closeted	28.8	49	57.6	57	76.5	52	
<i>Outness to Extended Family</i>							
Currently							44.25**
Out to all	14.7	25	25.3	25	44.1	30	
Out to most	14.1	24	25.3	25	11.8	8	
Totally closeted	44.7	76	19.2	19	23.5	16	
Start of College							25.52*
Out to all	7.6	13	5.1	5	2.9	2	
Out to most	8.2	14	0	0	1.5	1	
Totally closeted	74.7	127	91.9	91	94.1	64	
Rush/Recruitment/Intake							28.76*
Out to all	11.8	20	6.1	6	2.9	2	
Out to most	10.6	18	0	0	1.5	1	
Totally closeted	67.6	115	85.9	85	92.6	63	
Initiation							29.12*
Out to all	10.6	18	6.1	6	2.9	2	
Out to most	9.4	16	1	1.0	1.5	1	
Totally closeted	67.1	114	86.9	86	89.7	61	
Graduation / After College							45.28**
Out to all	14.7	25	11.1	11	10.3	7	
Out to most	10.6	18	5.1	5	2.9	2	
Totally closeted	42.4	72	68.7	68	79.4	54	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

Similar findings were discovered across cohort groups for the identification of sexual orientation during recruitment/rush/intake process, $\chi^2(10) = 88.82, p < .001$, and initiation, $\chi^2(10) = 101.34, p < .001$. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were most likely to identify as gay when they participated in the recruitment/rush/intake process (60%, $n = 100$) and were initiated into their fraternity (64%, $n = 108$).

The percentages of participants who reported their sexual orientation as gay when they graduated/left college also were significant across cohort groups, $\chi^2(10) = 108.42, p < .001$. Participants who joined their fraternity in the year 2000 or after (69%, $n = 188$) and between the years 1990 and 1999 (64%, $n = 63$) were most likely to be out as gay when they graduated/left college. Forty percent ($n = 27$) of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before questioned their sexual orientation upon graduating/leaving college.

Levels of Outness Across Cohorts (Friends, Nuclear Family, Extended Family)

Out to friends. Eighty-four percent ($n = 57$) of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before and 79% ($n = 78$) of participants who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 reported that they were totally closeted to friends when they started college. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were the least likely to be totally closeted to their friends when they started college. These findings were statistically significant, $\chi^2(10) = 49.31, p < .001$. This theme continued as participants participated in recruitment/rush/intake, when they were initiated, and when they graduate/left college, and all differences in percentages across cohort groups were statistically significant (see Table 3).

Out to nuclear family. The majority of participants, regardless of time of membership,

were totally closeted to their nuclear families when they started college, participated in recruitment/rush/intake, and were initiated into their fraternity. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were least likely to be totally closeted to nuclear family members during these periods in their lives, whereas 77% ($n = 52$) of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before and 58% ($n = 57$) of participants who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 remained totally closeted. These differences in percentages across cohort groups were statistically significant (see Table 3).

Out to extended family. The majority of participants, regardless of time of membership, were totally closeted to their extended family when they started college, participated in recruitment/rush/intake, and were initiated into their fraternity. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were least likely to be totally closeted to all their extended family members during these periods in their lives. Participants who joined in the year 1989 or before were least likely to be totally closeted to all extended family members at the time of this study. The aforementioned findings were all statistically significant (see Table 3).

Comfort Disclosing Sexual Orientation Across Cohorts

Participants who joined their fraternity in the year 2000 or after were significantly more likely to feel very comfortable or comfortable with disclosing their sexual orientation to roommates, $\chi^2(10) = 85.64, p < .001$; big brothers, $\chi^2(10) = 67.14, p < .001$; another chapter member, $\chi^2(10) = 101.98, p < .001$; entire chapter, $\chi^2(10) = 77.96, p < .001$; members of another fraternity, $\chi^2(10) = 62.64, p < .001$; another undergraduate student, $\chi^2(10) = 79.28, p < .001$; administrator, $\chi^2(10) = 47.01, p < .001$; faculty member, $\chi^2(10) = 44.51, p < .001$; staff member, $\chi^2(10) = 45.60, p < .001$; academic advisor.

$\chi^2(10) = 38.75, p < .001$; teaching assistant, $\chi^2(10) = 40.55, p < .001$; alumnus member, $\chi^2(10) = 35.15, p < .001$; chapter advisor, $\chi^2(10) = 49.96, p < .001$; or another chapter advisor, $\chi^2(10) = 48.70, p < .001$, whereas participants who joined in the year 1989 or before were least likely to disclose to the aforementioned individuals.

Experiences with Climate

Overall campus climate. Participants who joined their fraternity in the year 2000 or after (67%, $n = 114$) were least likely to fear for their physical safety based on their sexual orientation, $\chi^2(10) = 32.35, p < .001$. More than half (54%, $n = 37$) of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before and 48% ($n = 47$) who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 reported that they often concealed their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression to avoid intimidation, which was significantly greater than participants who joined in the year 2000 or after, $\chi^2(10) = 52.35, p < .001$. Approximately two-thirds of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before (65%, $n = 44$) and between the years 1990 and 1999 (61%, $n = 60$) reported that they often avoided disclosing their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression due to a fear of negative consequences, significantly more than their counterparts who joined in the year 2000 or after, $\chi^2(10) = 69.50, p < .001$.

Fraternity climate. Participants who joined their fraternity in the year 1989 or before (43%, $n = 29$) received less satisfaction from chapter social activities because they were heterosexually focused than were participants who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 (33%, $n = 29$) and in the year 2000 or after (35%, $n = 59$). Although many participants, regardless of time of membership, found it difficult to get close to other members of their fraternity because they were not out,

participants who joined in the year 1989 or before found it most difficult.

More than half of participants who joined in the year 1989 and before (53%, $n = 36$) and between the years 1990 and 1999 (51%, $n = 51$) felt intimidated by anti-LGBT attitudes and remarks, whereas participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were significantly less likely to feel intimidated, $\chi^2(8) = 30.08, p < .001$. More than half of participants (57%, $n = 97$) who joined in the year 2000 or after reported that they were able to meet and form close friendships with other LGBT students on campus. This was not the case for participants who joined in the year 1989 or before and between the years 1990 and 1999, as they found it more difficult. This difference was statistically significant, $\chi^2(8) = 53.03, p < .001$.

Of the participants who joined in the year 2000 or after, 55% ($n = 93$) were significantly more likely to feel comfortable being involved in LGBT campus activities and clubs, whereas 72% ($n = 49$) of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before and 57% ($n = 56$) who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 felt uncomfortable, $\chi^2(8) = 78.25, p < .001$. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after (47%, $n = 84$) were most likely to feel that they were able to bring a same-gender date to fraternity functions, whereas 68% of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before ($n = 46$) and between the years 1990 and 1999 ($n = 67$) did not feel they were able. This finding also was statistically significant, $\chi^2(8) = 79.57, p < .001$.

Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were most likely to strongly agree or agree (62%, $n = 105$) that they were able to bring "out" gay or bisexual men to prospective recruitment/rush/intake activities, whereas 66% ($n = 45$) of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before and 44% ($n = 44$) who joined between the years 1990 and 1999

strongly disagreed. These differences across cohort groups were statistically significant, $\chi^2(8) = 91.47, p < .001$.

Summary of Findings

There was an evident theme that emerged throughout the analysis of the data. Respondents who identified as gay or bisexual and who had joined in the year 2000 or after reported more positive experiences overall as fraternity members than did participants who had joined in the year 1989 or before, or between the years 1990 and 1999. A more in-depth analysis of this theme underscored increased outness, comfort, and satisfaction for the most recent cohort group. The current findings support those of Windmeyer and Freeman (1998, 2001) and Windmeyer (2005) who also noted the progress for LGBT members of fraternities and sororities over the last few decades.

Participants who joined their fraternity in the year 2000 or after were more likely to be out as undergraduate students and participate in LGBT events and attend LGBT venues and with other out LGBT fraternity members. They were more likely to participate in same-gender sexual activity and less likely to participate in opposite-gender sexual activity. They rated the climate of their fraternity more positively (i.e., friendly, communicative, concerned, respectful, cooperative, and improving), were more likely to identify as gay or bisexual at the start of college and throughout their college/fraternity experiences, and were less likely to question their sexual orientation. They reported knowing more fraternity members who were out as gay or bisexual but not those who were closeted. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were more likely to be out to friends, nuclear family, and extended family during their college experiences. They were less likely to fear for their physical safety, conceal

their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression to avoid discrimination, and disclose their sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression due to a fear of negative consequences. They reported feeling more comfortable with disclosing their sexual orientation to various individuals throughout their fraternity experience. They reported receiving more satisfaction from chapter social activities, found it less difficult to get close to other members of their fraternity because they were not out, felt less intimidated by anti-LGBT attitudes and remarks, had greater ability to meet and form close friendships with other LGBT students on campus, and felt more comfortable being involved in LGBT campus activities.

Although participants who joined their fraternity in the year 2000 or after reported the most positive experience as fraternity members, each new cohort showed movement toward a more accepting environment for LGBT individuals. In particular, participants who joined their fraternity between the years 1990 and 1999 reported more positive experiences than did those who joined in the year 1989 or before. In addition, participants who joined in the year 2000 or after reported more positive experiences than did participants who joined between the years 1990 and 1999 and participants who joined in the year 1989 or before. To this end, one may draw a conclusion that the fraternity subculture is increasingly becoming more accepting of LGBT individuals and the LGBT community, and thus the lives of gay or bisexual fraternity members are positively impacted. Due to the limited research that examines cohort groups' experiences with fraternity climates; it was not possible to compare our findings to other studies. Rather, our findings should serve as the basis for future studies where comparisons can be made.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this project was to examine the experiences and perceptions of gay and bisexual fraternity members to identify how cohorts over time were influenced by generally improving campus climates for LGBT people. It was our intent that fraternity advisors (professionals and volunteers) use the results to identify specific strategies to support positive initiatives as catalysts for change in fraternities. These recommendations provide a starting point for administrators, fraternities and national organizations, local chapters, and LGBT campus community members to maximize educational outreach efforts and to create more inclusive, LGB-welcoming fraternities. Our foremost recommendation is that practitioners create a written plan inclusive of the following suggested actions, including timelines, resources (both human and fiscal), details for the individuals responsible for the implementation of the recommendations, and a system of accountability. Change requires committed leadership in both policy and goal articulation.

Recommendations for College and University Administrators and Advisors

As the literature suggests (see Antonio, 2004, Case et al., 2005; Rankin, 2003), coming of age on a college campus can be a confusing and lonely time, especially for members of fraternities and sororities. Many campuses have coming out groups for LGBT students, but few have support networks specifically for LGBT fraternity members, and we believe these students have unique needs. In particular, as the results of the present study indicate, most of today's fraternity members choose to come out to their brothers at some point during their collegiate experience, which can be a very stressful event. Participants who joined fraternities in 2000 or after and between 1990

and 1999 were more likely to be out to other fraternity members than were those who joined in 1989 or before. Respondents who joined in the year 1989 or before were more likely to describe their coming out as involuntary, and the times at which respondents came out were also significantly different by cohort group. Offering such support programs can provide LGBT chapter members a forum to share experiences and advice and provide mutual support. In addition, many campuses have established "Safe Zone" programs so that LGBT students and students who are questioning or exploring their sexual orientation or gender identity can identify empathetic and accepting faculty, staff, and student allies who can provide support and affirmation. The present research shows that participants who joined Greek-letter organizations in the year 2000 or after were significantly likely to agree that they felt comfortable being involved in LGBT campus activities and clubs, including those with supportive heterosexual allies. As such, practitioners should expand existing programs to include leaders and other members of fraternities and sororities so that LGBT and questioning students can meet fraternity/sorority community members and both can collectively benefit from the experiences of each of these cohorts that have historically been segregated. The inclusion of peer allies would further demonstrate a concern about and intention toward continuing to improve the overall campus and also the fraternity/sorority community climates

As the results from the current study clearly state, the past four decades have demonstrated a transformation with regard to greater LGBT visibility and acceptability within fraternities/sororities. Respondents who joined their fraternities in the year 2000 or after were more likely to describe the climate of their fraternities as friendly, communicative, concerned, respectful, cooperative, and

improving. Although historically most alumni seldom or never had to address LGBT issues during their collegiate experience, it is almost inevitable today that chapters will address LGBT issues. To this end, it is essential that volunteer alumni be trained to provide appropriate guidance to the chapters they advise. Advisors and practitioners should confront all hostile comments and actions, as incidents of insensitivity can provide opportunities for education. Practitioners should refer incidences involving harassment or violence to their institution's student conduct process. Finally, advisors and practitioners should take proactive steps to work with fraternity programs (e.g., Greek Week, etc.) to ensure such programs do not have an unnecessary heterosexist frame.

Recommendations for Inter/National Fraternity Organizations

As previously noted, older alumni in particular may not be comfortable addressing LGBT issues, as 75% of participants of the present study who joined in the year 2000 and after described their fraternity climate as friendly compared with only 7% of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before. Training programs should involve all levels of staff and volunteers, and staff should include educational sessions on LGBT issues during regional leadership conferences and national conventions. Headquarters' staff should develop guidelines for volunteer alumni and undergraduate chapter leaders on how to best support LGBT members in the coming out process and/or who are closeted or questioning.

The majority of participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were out as gay when they were initiated into their fraternity, compared with only 16% of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before and 23% who joined between the years 1990 and 1999. Forty percent of participants who joined between

the years of 1990 and 1999 questioned their sexual orientation during initiation, whereas 35% of participants who joined in the year 1989 or before also questioned. Staff should adopt and promote nondiscrimination and nonharassment clauses; sexual orientation should be specifically included in such policies so the intent is clear. All nondiscrimination and diversity statements need to be widely and prominently disseminated and proximately displayed, along with instructions on how to deal with circumstances in which members appear to have engaged in acts of discrimination, harassment, or intolerance.

Umbrella organizations, such as the North-American Interfraternity Conference (NIC), National Panhellenic Conference (NPC), National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC), and the National Association of Latino Fraternal Organization (NALFO), and professional associations, such as the Association Fraternity Advisors (AFA) and Fraternity Executives Association (FEA), should have an active, visible role in LGBT fraternity issues. These organizations should assist with research on sexual orientation and gender identity/expression within the fraternity community as well as provide LGBT resources to members.

Recommendations for Chapters

The findings from our study, buttressed by Case (1996), show chapter members increasingly include gay and bisexual students. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were most likely to strongly agree or agree that they were able to bring "out" gay or bisexual men to prospective recruitment/rush/intake activities. As such, chapters should sponsor and support LGBT events that contribute to the understanding of sexual orientation and gender identity/expression issues. This might take the form of the local chapter participating in educational sessions sponsored by the LGBT campus community

or sponsoring/cosponsoring such events. Not only does this break down stereotypes of the fraternity communities, but it also creates valuable awareness for LGBT fraternity member needs (closeted or out) and builds valuable relationships on campus.

In order to be inclusive of all members, chapter leaders should develop policies and practices that are inclusive of sexual orientation and gender identity/expression. One third of participants who joined their fraternity in the year 2000 or after still feared for their physical safety because of their sexual orientation. Although this is a considerable improvement across time, nearly half of participants who joined in the year 2000 or after reported that they sometimes concealed their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression. Such policies should go beyond the mere policy of nondiscrimination and instead should consider how the organization actually practices LGBT inclusiveness. Examples of topics to consider are how a local chapter treats a prospective member who rushes as an openly LGBT student, best supports a brother/sister coming out, affirms members who bring same-gender dates to chapter functions, and assists a brother/sister going through a period of transition in his/her life as a current or alumni member.

Because the literature and current data reference homophobic actions by chapter brothers and sisters, local chapter members should implement a zero tolerance policy for jokes, name-calling, and the display of demeaning images or messages in the fraternity regarding sexual orientation or gender identity/expression. The atmosphere of the fraternity should be inclusive whereby chapter members are committed to learning about LGBT issues. The topic of LGBT people should not be considered taboo or limited to quiet discussions; rather, it should be another celebrated aspect of the fraternity community.

In a similar vein, chapters should develop procedures for addressing harassing behaviors, including those directed at people based on their sexual orientation or gender identity/gender expression, and should participate in climate assessment programs that measure whether the local fraternity chapter is accepting of LGBT members and exploring the attitudes and perceptions of others. The Lambda 10 Project offers a checklist of a climate of acceptance and many campus communities conduct similar assessments to understand LGBT attitudes and perceptions.

All these chapter-based and inter/national organization-based proposals should apply equally to alumni and guests, as well as to undergraduate chapter members. Chapters and inter/national headquarters staff must clearly communicate that it is not acceptable to use demeaning language or harass members based on sexual orientation or gender identity/expression.

Recommendations for LGBT Campus Community

Because members of a campus LGBT community may exhibit a form of internalized homophobia toward LGBT fraternity members they should examine opportunities to provide outreach and education to the fraternity community. Oftentimes, stereotypes or bad past relations keep members of the LGBT campus community from attempting outreach and education programs for the fraternity community. Participants who joined in the year 2000 or after were significantly likely to strongly agree or agree that they felt comfortable being involved in LGBT campus activities and clubs. One such outreach effort could involve fraternity alumni who are LGBT and allies designing a fraternity-specific component of LGBT campus speaker panels to include LGBT fraternity members and alumni.

Campus LGBT leaders should recognize

the value in working with the fraternity community despite stereotypes/prejudice that may alienate one another. Often, as indicative of this research, fraternity communities are the ones who need influence, support, and direction to become more LGBT friendly.

AREAS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

There is a need in higher education for continued research into fraternity life and the other types of student organizations that play an educational role outside of the classroom on college campuses. This study was among the first to examine gay and bisexual fraternity brothers and their effects on the college fraternity subculture and, as such, there are multiple areas of future research that still need to be explored. We recommend that future researchers build upon this study with the following variances to contribute to the literature.

1. In order to allow a comparative analysis, a future study should look at the experiences of a heterosexual student, a blended student (i.e., openly gay), and a passing/covering student (i.e., when a gay male is able to camouflage himself in such a way that others are unsuspecting of his homosexuality) as they each go through the rush process to compare and contrast their interactions with particular fraternity chapters.
2. Acknowledging variances between individual chapters on a single campus, an in-depth qualitative case study of one chapter should be undertaken to assess the values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of the chapter brothers. Likewise, a qualitative case study of one individual should be undertaken.
3. To attempt to limit possible variables, further studies should investigate the extent

of prior exposure to GLB individuals by all participants to see if such exposure affects attitudes toward GLB individuals.

4. The rich traditions of non-historically-White fraternity chapters, such as the historically African American National Pan-Hellenic Council's "Divine Nine," and the increasing number of fraternities grounded in member cultures, such as Latino and Asian American groups, warrant specific focused exploration as to the experiences of gay fraternity men with multiple identity status.

CONCLUSION

This research supports the contention that there have been "Brokeback Brothers" (see Proulx, 1997) in fraternities for many years and that their levels of openness and satisfaction with their Greek experiences have improved over the last 40 years. Each new cohort showed movement toward a more accepting environment for gay or bisexual individuals, and the data suggest that the fraternity environment is increasingly becoming more accepting of gay and bisexual individuals and the LGBT community.

If the role of higher education is to create the most educationally powerful learning environments for all students, it is necessary to address sexual identity differences and how they are affected by membership in a variety of social groups, such as fraternities and sororities. By examining the positive educational and societal outcomes of acceptance of all types of identity, we can learn more about how to effectively serve all our students.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Susan Rankin, The Pennsylvania State University, 410B Rackley Building, University Park, PA 16802; sxr2@psu.edu

APPENDIX A. Marketing/Communication Plan

Following is a list of the organizations and media outlets that offered to forward the invitation to participate to their respective constituent groups

Organizational Targets: *The following organizations were sent the press release to announce the project's call for participation:*

Lambda 10 (L10); North American Interfraternity Conference (NIC), National PanHellenic Conference (NPC), College Student Educators International(ACPA), Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education (NASPA), National Association of Student Affairs Professionals (NASPA), Association of College Unions International (ACUI), National Gay & Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF), Human Rights Campaign (HRC), Association of College Fraternity Advisors (AFA), AFA Foundation, Fraternity Executive Association (FEA), National Association of Latino Fraternal Organizations (NALFO), National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC), Consortium of Higher Education Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Resource Professionals (CONSORTIUM), Inter/national Fraternity/Sorority Headquarters, Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), Anti-Defamation League (ADL), Delta Lambda Phi National Social Fraternity (DLP), Alpha Lambda Tau (ALT), Sigma Phi Beta (SPB)

Media Targets: *The following media outlets were sent the press release to announce the project's call for participation:*

Chronicle of Higher Education, Gay & Lesbian Review, Gay.com, PlanetOut, Advocate, OUT, Instinct, Genre, UMagazine, Black Issues in Higher Education, GLBT Regional Newspapers, Equality Magazine

Conference Targets: *The proposed project was announced at the following conferences*

Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors (AFA) Annual Meeting

National Association of Student Affairs Professionals (NASPA) Regional Conferences

National Association of Student Affairs Professionals (NASPA) Annual Conference

National Gay & Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) Creating Change Annual Conference

Regional Greek Conferences

Regional LGBT Conferences

Main Web Page Target: <http://www.GayGreek.org>

Main Page with basic information/invitation and mechanism to submit contact information with a tell a friend feature; The page also included timeline, promotional resources, press release, print ads, promotional flyer, and other devices to make it easy to download any of this information as an Adobe document.

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