

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

**Hazed and Confused: Hazing Experiences versus Anti-Hazing Policies: Case Studies of
Two Southern Ontario Universities**

By

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A Master's Thesis

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

Although there is little research which focuses specifically on the initiation practices of sport teams in Canada reports suggest that abuses, both physical and sexual, do occur. These include acts of degradation, humiliation, intimidation, nudity and forced alcohol consumption (Bryshun, 1997; The Fifth Estate, 1996; Holman, 1997; Price & Curtis, 1996; The Toronto Star, January 31, 1997). In the United States, Alfred University has recently published the results and findings of a national survey, which examined the initiation rites of National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) sports teams. The study, which applies to over 325,000 athletes from 1,000 NCAA universities, determined that 80% of these athletes went through an initiation. Of this group, two-thirds were required to endure a humiliating, degrading hazing experience. Only 20% of these athletes participated in positive initiation experiences such as ropes courses and canoe trips.

There are also media accounts of initiations which extend beyond the sporting world into fraternities, universities and colleges, the military and schools, which describe similar experiences of the participants (The New Yorker, January, 1997; The Toronto Star, January 31, August 7, 1997, August 9, 1997; The Toronto Sun, February 28, 1997).

In the past three years we have witnessed an increase in public awareness of initiation and hazing practices. The media, responding to injuries or deaths, or receiving photographs or video of incidents, has been a catalyst in exposing the once very private events which surrounded initiation ceremonies in the military, fraternities and sports teams. The wave of individuals coming forward with harrowing tales of enduring pain, abuse and humiliation continues to grow. Popularized accounts of hazing rituals have

emerged in a multitude of media sources including documentaries such as “Frat House”, (the Grand Jury prize winner at the Sundance Film Festival) which chronicled “Hell Week”, examining the brutishness of fraternity hazing (The New York Times, January 26, 1998). In April, 1998, five students at the University of Maryland were beaten so severely with wooden paddles by their fraternity initiators that they required hospitalization (The New York Times, January 26, 1998). No arrests were made following the incident.

The initiation practices of the Canadian Airborne Regiment were broadcast around the world, when a video copy of the initiation was obtained by the CBC. The brutalities included eating feces and drinking urine, undergoing shock-testing while consuming alcohol, as well as being forced to display racially derogatory graffiti which covered their bodies. An investigation was launched and the regiment was subsequently disbanded (Macleans, February 20, 1995). Similarly, in the United States, a video was released which highlighted the violent initiation rite of the Marine Corps airborne unit called “blood winging”, this involves exposing the chests of new members and pounding pins of achievement into their flesh until they are supported on their own, or when blood is drawn (Dateline NBC, January 31, 1997).

In sport, the Canadian documentary “Thin Ice”, (The Fifth Estate, CBC, 1996) reported abuses within the Canadian Junior and university hockey systems, including an interview with a former University of Guelph varsity hockey player; one of three who were forced to leave the team as a result of their refusal to take part in the team’s initiation activities. These allegedly included drinking through funnels, and nude games, which had the participants passing eggs from mouth to mouth and eating marshmallows

that had been inserted in each other's anuses. The coach of the Guelph Gryphons hockey team, Marlin Muylaert, was subsequently suspended for the duration of one game and was required to write letters of acknowledgment to the three players as well as the university's Athletic Director (Toronto Sun, February 28, 1996).

There was extensive coverage in the Windsor Star (also detailed in Laura Robinson's 1998 book, Crossing the Line), of the two month investigation which took place examining events at a hazing party for the Kingsville Comets Great Lakes Junior C hockey team where the new members were forced to strip naked and run a gauntlet of their teammates. No charges were laid (Windsor Star, May 5, 1998). This complaint came two years after the former Tilbury Hawks hockey team was disbanded as a result of a hazing incident which ended in two convictions, a trainer and a team captain, for committing indecent acts on the players (Windsor Star, December 11, 1997).

In 1998, two universities in Ontario were forced to address the issue of initiations on their varsity teams. The University of Western Ontario's football team was sanctioned for a hazing related incident. The terms of the sanctions were: the voluntary withdrawal of head coach, Larry Haylor, (a period of two games); all upper year players were ineligible for athletic awards for 1998-1999 season; and, all football players are now required to take part in seminars designed to educate about initiation activities. The football team was placed on a two year probationary period, where any further infractions could lead to further sanctions and/or suspensions (London Free Press, October 26, 1998).

McMaster University sanctioned two varsity teams, Men's rugby and Men's volleyball, for initiation activities that violated both the Athletics and Student Codes of

Conduct. Both teams were penalized with a one-game suspension from OUA competition, resulting in the forfeiture of the two points for that competition in their overall league standing. The teams were also required to perform community service, designing welcoming activities which would assist both themselves and incoming high school student athletes (Hamilton Spectator, October 16, 1998, October 19, 1998, November 2, 1998; McMaster University Press Release, October 15, 1998; Toronto Sun, October 15, 1998).

“Hazing is defined as any action taken or situation created by an individual or group, intentionally or unintentionally, whether on or off college or university premises, to produce mental or physical discomfort, embarrassment, harassment, ridicule, or in any way demeans the dignity of another human being. Initiations, however explained, or activities that imply, encourage, condone, or allow students to misuse alcohol or other drugs, violate the law, or commit unethical, immoral or inappropriate behaviour are explicitly forbidden” (University of Western Ontario p.18, Appendix C). This definition was selected as a model as it elaborates on the breadth of abusive possibilities inherent in the initiation ceremony, both intended and unintended. It was selected from the list of prospective definitions as it is the most encompassing model which incorporates both a definition and an outline of situations which are identified as unacceptable.

Purpose of the Study

The previous Canadian studies of sport team hazing (Bryshun, 1997; Holman, 1997) took place before the introduction of specific regulations on the practices. The purpose of this study is to describe the initiation and hazing experiences of varsity athletes, during a period of transition. This research was conducted after hazing was

defined as a social problem, following a minor moral panic about such practices¹ which saw more ongoing distress for the squeegee kid situation than for the continued concern for sport and student life. As a consequence, universities have started to implement policies and procedures to curb and control the excesses in these practices.

Despite the introduction of such policies and procedures, anecdotal evidence and newspaper reports indicate that such practices are continuing. This research was conducted during a period of changing practices. For example, educational policies are now in place where student athletes are warned about the dangers of alcohol abuse, degrading practices, and their right to opt out of any activity in which they do not feel comfortable (University of Toronto, 1999). Coaches and administrators are aware that such practices are now prohibited and that they carry responsibility for the safe and appropriate induction, orientation and facilitation into the athletic and university culture of each new team member.

This current state of flux had an impact on how the study proceeded. There was some reticence on the part of athletes to talk about initiation ceremonies (Holman, 1997). Some coaches have adopted a “don’t ask, don’t tell” attitude towards hazing, or have attempted to abolish completely any form of initiation practice.

¹ Society appears to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. (Cohen, 1987, p.9)

So, this is a study of:

- a) current hazing practices at two Southern Ontario universities;
- b) efforts to transform such practices, through the implementation of regulations;
- c) the relationships and interactions between a) and b) in terms of the effects of new regulations on actual hazing practices.

Significance of the Study

The sporting community has been studied in terms of funding, equity, competition, violence and its varying fitness components, but less is known about the internal mechanisms and drives that create the social order of teams. Socio-cultural examination of team dynamics is crucial, to gain some insight into how, why, or even if the community that is created has any accountability for the apparent social, personal and legal violations that can occur during the initiation process. Interviewing individuals who participate in the hazing rituals and initiation ceremonies on varsity teams in the OUA, was an active attempt to explore this phenomenon.

Although the nature of initiations are not universal, the most thorough evidence has been available from anthropological sources. Although some brief work examining initiations in a sport context was done by Sabo and Panepinto (1990) drawing some parallels between sport and cultural initiations, there has not been enough socio-cultural exploration to definitively describe these phenomena. However there are exceptions and alternatives to the evidence and examples presented in the anthropological literature, most notably among female groups and the sport specific nature of initiations. Western initiations have often been cloaked in a code of silence—hence little useful historical data

is available. Thus the thesis is to be limited to the context of Southern Ontario universities at this (approximately five year) period of time.

There are strong historical ties between student involvement in sport and attempts by university administrators and civil authorities to control their actions. Originally, university students had autonomous control over the creation and organization of sports teams and activities (Kidd, 1996). In 1905, in response to abuses and deaths, (specifically the deaths of 18 football players), universities, acting in “loco parentes’ were forced to assume control over student activities in the area of varsity sports. This establishes a long history of mistrust and secrecy between the two acting groups which might help in explaining the tension, conflict and rebelliousness of this issue.

With the allegedly high rate of sexual assaults, physical abuse and alcohol consumption present in our varsity and sporting communities, and little or no actual research addressing these issues (Alfred University, 1999; Bryshun, 1997; Holman, 1997), it is appropriate to try to gain some insight into these practices in an attempt to establish a greater understanding of this aspect of sport culture, and to develop appropriate policies and procedures to eliminate the harmful effects of such practices. This study is designed to evaluate the effects of current policies on hazing practices, and with a view to developing policy to improve the transitional experiences of varsity athletes.

Operational Definitions

OUA:

Ontario University Athletics is the governing and supervisory body of the eighteen Ontario University athletics departments, responsible for male and female interuniversity sports.

Rookie/Neophyte:

A first year player on a sports team is referred to as a rookie who, at the varsity level, can be any age.

Initiator:

An individual or group responsible for carrying out the initiation ceremony.

Initiand:

The individual being initiated into the group.

Initiation or Hazing:

“The initiation or hazing is the actual process involving the initiators and those being initiated. It is the ceremony where the individuals being initiated into the society perform the act.” (Cohen, 1964, p,32)

“Any activity expected of someone joining a group that humiliates, degrades, abuses or endangers, regardless of the person’s willingness to participate. This does not include activities such as rookies carrying the balls, team parties with community games, or going out with your teammates, unless an atmosphere of humiliation, degradation, abuse or danger arises.” (Alfred University, National Survey, 1999, Appendix 111)

“Hazing is defined as any action taken or situation created by an individual or group, intentionally or unintentionally, whether on or off college or university premises, to produce mental or physical discomfort, embarrassment, harassment, ridicule, or in any way demeans the dignity of another human being. Initiations, however explained, or activities that imply, encourage, condone, or allow students to misuse alcohol or other drugs, violate the law, or commit unethical, immoral or inappropriate behaviour are explicitly forbidden.” (University of Western Ontario p.18, Appendix C)

“The diminishing of other human beings through the use of insults, inferiorizing, and subservience are intended as a form of intimidation that coerces others to accept the autocracy and inequality of the structure, in this case, sport.” (Holman, 1997, p.2)

“Hazing and all unofficial types of punishment are forbidden. Hazing includes any initiation practices which are not recognized as traditional acceptable military practices.” (Royal Military College of Canada p.7-3/9, Appendix C)

“Traditional rites of passage were based in the hard knowledge that the sanctity of life and the making of a meaningful death must be struggled for by each person and that the entire drama must be recast for each generation. Participating in ordeals of finding meaning was both an inheritance and a requirement that made each child a central figure in his or her own dream and in the life of the tribe.” (Meade, 1996, p. 28)

“Initiation means acceptance, a certified spot in the group, a promise of a haughty seniority, and a tight, intricate web of relationships.” (Tiger, 1997, p.2)

Rites of Passage:

The "Rite of Passage" of adolescence is "the willful and voluntary acceptance of cruelties of initiation rites which sustain society"(van Gennep, 1960, p.10)

Ritual:

"Rituals involve sets of formally patterned behavior, which are repeated at intervals of varying length, depending on the type of occasion. When people in a particular group engage in ritual behavior they transmit information to themselves and to each other about their current state of being. The information that people communicate in rituals is often a symbolic duplication and restatement of beliefs and social relationships within the group" (Nixon, 1987, P.6)

Transition Process:

Is the period described by Arnold Van Gennep during which the initiate moves from a position of non-membership to membership within the group via an initiation ceremony.

Period of Transition:

This explains the phase of time during which the study took place. A time when universities were beginning to address the issues of hazing at the policy level.

Delimitations

Participants for this study were limited to junior and senior varsity athletes as well as coaches, and athletic directors within the OUA. The research included twelve male and female athletes, two athletic directors and three coaches from the following varsity teams; football, ice hockey, soccer, rugby and swimming, waterpolo, field hockey, basketball and volleyball.

Limitations

The research groups were limited to the University of Toronto and McMaster University. Initially, there was concern over the reliability and accuracy of the interviewees' accounts of their hazing experiences. It was possible that inaccurate or edited versions of their initiations might have been given in part due to embarrassment, secrecy and/or feelings of guilt. However, this was not the case. I felt that all of the interviews conducted were straightforward and honest in their reporting, and this was confirmed when results are compared with other Canadian research on this topic (Bryshun, 1997; Holman, 1997) and an American report (Alfred University, 1999). The impression that I had during the interview process was that the participants were eager to share their tales, memories and thoughts about initiation. The data were rich with many insights into these phenomena. There was also the potential that the participants' versions of their hazing experiences might have been "pumped up" or exaggerated to give the impression that they survived a serious ordeal. While it is true that some did indeed describe and survive some harrowing initiations, to the best of my abilities, it appeared as though the participants gave accurate versions of the events. One aspect of varsity athletics that became apparent during this process is how closed the culture really is. There is a sense of connectedness that ties the athletes to one another. Stories of initiations are discussed among the athletes themselves and at times they are invited to be either passive or active participants. This co-operative nature of the athletic community became a built-in method of verifying and cross-checking the validity of the data.

Chapter 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Although academic literature in the specific area of initiations and hazing rituals in team sports is very limited, both Jamie Bryshun's 1997 Master's thesis (University of Calgary), and Margery Holman's research (University of Windsor) were on the topic of sport initiations. As well, Alfred University in the United States recently released a report, which examined occurrence rates, types and knowledge of initiations on N.C.A.A. teams. There also exist a number of media accounts of both hazings, and related behaviour in other fields such as military, gangs fraternities and sororities. Also, there is a large body of anthropological and sociological research on rites of passage and initiation practices of world cultures, which describes some similarities with the research on sports initiations which serve to illustrate how the ceremonies act as cultural rituals for the reproduction of masculinities and group cohesion. The following then is an outline of three bodies of related literature that are reviewed for the purposes of this study: a) cultural initiation rites; b) masculinity and men in groups; and c) sport communities.

Cultural Initiation Rites

Rites of passage accompanying the transformation from adolescence to adulthood are found in many societies. Many of these rituals include ceremonies which in ordinary life would be considered barbaric and abusive, but through the transformative function of the ceremonies, the trials and sufferings become the means for full membership into the society (Rakoff, 1993). Being welcomed into the community at the end of the traumatic component of the ritual is an integral part of the rite, and the pain suffered is followed by a celebratory recognition of a change in status (Rakoff, 1993, p.6). Membership is then achieved in the contemporary context of the peer group, the whole community, and the

continuing historical identity of the community. The secret knowledge that is supposed to have been imparted during the rituals is the knowledge of belonging; the individual's life has been given meaning, continuity and pattern (Turner, 1986 p.56).

Van Gennep (1960) suggests that the following characteristics are the key elements of the initiation ceremony:

- 1) that the rite must be presided over by elders;
- 2) that it involve a process of indoctrination into the customary practices of the group; and,
- 3) the initiands subject themselves to physical ordeals, such as circumcision or some other form of genital mutilation or scarification. While there has been no specific case in sport where the neophyte has had to endure circumcision or sub-incision, there are reports and known practices of scarification (such as tattooing, branding and physical beatings) that are integral to an initiands' rite of passage.

The evolution of initiation rites has been neither accidental nor haphazard. Throughout human history, cultures from around the world have devised all sorts of rituals to facilitate and celebrate the (predominantly male)¹ coming-of-age. Although these rituals display a great deal of local variation, their underlying structure remains remarkably constant from one culture to the next.

Since rites of passage have been scrutinized most closely with respect to so-called "primitive" cultures, and not quite so thoroughly in modern society, this would seem to be the logical beginning point when faced with the task of investigating sport initiation ceremonies. With little literature examining initiation phenomena in modern day sport, it is not an easy undertaking to decipher, compare and analyze the differing

theories and approaches towards the subject. However, the following illustrates elements of historically similar models of initiations, or rites of passage practiced by a variety of world cultures which appear to be present in initiation ceremonies utilized by sports teams in Canadian varsity culture as cultural rituals for the reproduction of masculinities and femininities.

One of the most prominent and often cited works on the study of initiation rituals is Arnold van Gennep's classic study, The Rites of Passage (1960). The central

theme of initiation rites, according to Van Gennep, is a change in identity: the death of the boy, the resurrection of the man. Speaking of some of the Australian aborigines, Van Gennep notes that "the novice is considered dead, and he remains dead for the duration of his novitiate". During the rite of passage "he is resurrected and taught how to live, but differently than in childhood" (Van Gennep, 1960, p.75).

In another example:

For the Ojibway initiation, the child is attached to a board and during the entire ceremony behaves as if he had lost all personality; the participants are dressed, painted, etc; there is a general procession to the interior of the hut; the chiefs; magicians-priests ceremonially kill all the participants and resurrect them one after the other (Van Gennep, 1960, p.77).

¹ It is important to note that these initial anthropological studies were focused exclusively on the male experiences of the cultural group. At times the role of women in the society was described surrounding the ceremony but rarely were the initiation rites of the female members of the group detailed.

Van Gennep claimed that the theme of death and rebirth is played out in three phases: separation, transition, and incorporation. During the separation phase, the boy must be severed from all ties with his past. Sometimes his hair is cut, sometimes he is given new clothes, and always he is removed from his home, from the comfort and security of familiar surroundings and from the nurturing world of women. The transition phase is marked by the symbolic “death” of the initiate. Their former identity is shed, the group mourns for the loss of the former self and it is during this time that the youths must undergo the hazing and tests of endurance that we often equate with initiation rituals. The wide variety of ordeals that they must undergo at this point at times, displays a sadistic side of the human imagination, as the initiate undergoes some type of physical ordeal or initiation (Turner, 1986).

Once the initiation is negotiated successfully by the neophyte, the community prepares to welcome their “new” member into the society with a celebration, incorporation and transmission of all of the cultural elements which accompany the newly acquired identity.

No aspect of world initiations is more dramatic than the various forms of genital mutilation: circumcision, subincision (the cutting of the underside of the penis to expose the urethra), and superincision (the cutting of the overside of the penis), and female circumcision, (the removal of the clitoris). Societies throughout the world have practiced one or another of these operations as an integral part of initiation rites. Genital mutilation often constitutes an important part of a rite of passage because they cause lasting and visible results that function as diplomas, or marks of distinction that signify that youths have in fact gone through the required ordeal (Eliade, 1975). Any

form of scarification-tattoos, the raising of permanent welts, the cutting of ear lobes, will likewise function as a diploma, these are frequently used, in both contemporary and historical examples (Eliade, 1975, p.104).

Another mark of distinction accompanying the initiation rite is the changing of a person's name. An individual's name is equivalent to his or her true existence as a primitive being (Cohen, 1964, p.87). A change in name therefore constitutes a change in identity, so it is little wonder that a new name is often bestowed upon a youth during their rite of passage. This new name is commonly regarded as sacred, and uninitiated persons are often not allowed to use it (Cohen, 1964).

By using any or all of these techniques, hazing, tests of fortitude, scarification, genital mutilation, the changing of names, an initiation ritual during the transition phase redefines the physical, social, and spiritual existence of its participants (Cohen, 1964, Turner, 1986, Van Gennep, 1960). When the designated period of transition is over, the young men are ready to be initiated formally into their society as adult males (Van Gennep, 1960). This, in Van Gennep's terminology, is the "incorporation phase" of a rite of passage. It is a time of ceremonial splendor, often marked by new clothes, fancy ornamentation and a spirit of celebration. The boys are now officially men, welcomed with open arms into the community, awarded all the distinctions and privileges that their new identities bestow upon them.

Masculinity and Men in Groups

Masculinity is a socially constructed, ideologically driven behaviour. When a male athlete goes into the arena of sport, his identity is continually being challenged and redesigned. Some literature focuses on the interconnections of organized sport and

hegemonic masculinity (Dunning, 1986; Kidd, 1987; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990). It is argued that the institution of organized sport was created by men, for men, as an arena for the reproduction and re-affirmation of the traditional hegemonic masculine identity (Sabo & Panepinto, 1990). Central to this masculine ideal is the patriarchal relations which support the existence of the male-female gender dichotomy (Kidd, 1987). The male-female gender dichotomy, which reinforces and maintains the unequal power relations between men and women, typically favours men, (Holman, 1997; Robinson, 1997).

When men begin to feel the challenge from women to their dominant position within the “institution of organized sport”, they feel the need to increase the masculinizing power of sport in order to recharge and reestablish their dominant position (Messner, 1992). This reclaiming of sport as a male preserve also reestablishes the beliefs and values inherent within the masculine ideal in order to support patriarchal relations and the male-female gender dichotomy which seems central to hegemonic power (Dunning, 1986). This mirrors some of the observations of inherent, initiation characteristics, which serve as a site to perpetuate and replicate the masculine identity. Men use the institution of organized sport as an arena where they can reaffirm the differences between what it is to be masculine or feminine. The institution of sport was used by the dominant male group as an all male preserve where they took pride in emphasizing the fact that females were actively discouraged from participating (Kidd, 1987, p.253). This is a conscious attempt by the male ruling groups within society to reinforce patriarchal relations. It would seem to follow that the initiation ceremony, cloaked in secrecy and homosociality would be an active forum where males may actively express their masculinity without the disruption seemingly caused by the feminine presence.

Obeying the rules and structure handed down seem crucial in the successful construction of this identity. It effectively establishes a power hierarchy where those at the top maintain the most power and the initiate is the less powerful, subordinate member within the hierarchy (Holman, 1997; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990). Other components of which the hegemonic masculine identity is composed include the devaluation of women, the sanctioned use of aggression, the use of social isolation, the tolerance of pain, and the marginalization of homosexuals (Dunning, 1986; Kidd, 1987; Messner, 1992; Pronger, 1990; Sabo & Panepinto 1990; Young, White & McTeer, 1994).

Masculinity is viewed as superior to femininity as men possess the strength and courage which effectively establishes their manliness (Dunning, 1986, p.82). Females are commonly viewed as timid, weak, and dependent, all characteristics which contradict masculine ideologies. Men will often devalue women to maintain this identity. Pronger (1990), states that “ the masculine development and display of physical strength by men, in conjunction with its lack in women, embody the perception of power” (p.144). Pronger is inferring that hegemonic masculinity is a power based relationship between men and women which can be seen by the dominant and subordinate positions of each within organized sport. Therefore hegemonic masculinity is in fact a meaning of patriarchy. This patriarchal relationship is based on the premise that men should act masculine and women should act feminine (Pronger, 1990, p.144). By consciously devaluing women, men and boys can bond “symbolically” as a separate and superior group to women as a result of its importance as an integral component of hegemonic masculinity (Messner, 1992). Men view themselves as superior in an athletic sense in an attempt to establish superiority within the institution of organized sports. Therefore it has become more socially acceptable for a

woman to be masculine than for a man to be feminine because it is more tolerable to take power than it is to relinquish it (Pronger, 1990, p.58).

To be a “man” in contemporary North American society is to be homophobic, that is to maintain an irrational fear or intolerance of homosexuality or homosexual persons (Connell, 1990, p.94). Homophobia, or “heterosexual masculinity” as it is sometimes referred to, is characteristic of the hegemonic ideal of masculinity which attempts to marginalize or ignore the presence of homosexuals within society. This is also a relevant example of how masculinity is not relegated solely to male-female relationships. It also occurs between men, where homosexuals are seen as a subordinate subculture, which should be marginalized within the institution of organized sports.

Homosexuals are perceived as deviating from the masculine ideal, and portrayed as exhibiting feminine characteristics (Connell, 1990, p.91). These men are seen as similar to rather than different from the subordinate female group within society. They are perceived as lacking the desirable characteristics which are representative of the masculine ideal supported within the institution of organized sport.

Masculinity is usually linked to physical skills and prowess, as well as the sanctioned use of aggression and violence within organized sport. Certain sports are more centrally located in the maintenance of hegemony than others (Young, White & McTeer, 1994), expressing the aggression and violence characteristics of the ideal hegemonic masculine identity. For example, football, rugby, hockey, basketball and soccer which place an emphasis on aggressive and sometimes violent behaviour. The most intense form of masculinity is represented by power which commonly surfaces as aggression, of which the most radical expression is violence (Pronger, 1990, p.131). Therefore as an

expression and exercise of masculine power, organized sports have become forms of aggression where more violent, aggressive team sports are viewed as masculine. In order to conform to the masculine image, young boys must be competent at reproducing aggressive and violent behaviour, which is accepted within the realm of sport but not in society at large. It should be no surprise that in sporting activities where physical strength and force are highly valued, men naturally admire aggressiveness and endorse violent behaviour as desirable masculine conduct (Messner, 1992).

Aggressive and violent sports such as football and rugby are often used by the dominant group in sport as a means of further supporting male female differences. Men support and maintain the ideology that they are bigger and stronger, more suited to these types of combative sports than women are (Dunning, 1986, p.80). This is an attempt by men to reinforce their position of power over women by effectively reducing or marginalizing female participation in a male defined institution.

Likewise, athletes who demonstrate pain or remove themselves from competition due to injury run the risk of being stigmatized by peers as less than fully masculine, particularly if the injury is not perceived as serious (Young, White & McTeer, 1994, p.174). An athlete's masculinity routinely comes into question when he does not conform to the tolerance of pain principle.

Initiation and Men in groups

Initiation rites exemplify the ritualistic elements of hegemonic masculinity, mediated by the "officiant", which young "initiates" internalize in order to develop the desired characteristics which constitute the preferred hegemonic masculine identity endorsed by the institution (Sabo & Panepinto, 1990, p.116). The man-boy relationship and

deference to male authority are examples of "initiation rites" used to emphasize the male-female gender dichotomy which is integral to the patriarchal relations inherent in hegemonic masculinity (Sabo & Panepinto, 1990, p.117). The other members of the group emphasize conformity to these types of behaviours, which become embedded in the social construction of the masculine identity.

Hazing practices have historically involved males in groups, reflected in the literature that addresses the specific and sometimes unusual dynamics of male-only groups. Lionel Tiger (1984), originally 1969, is usually credited with first focusing on this phenomenon. However, subsequent work has been much more critical in focusing on the sexual and violent misbehavior that can occur in all-male groups (e.g., Crosset & Benedict, 1994; Messner & Sabo, 1990). This literature has important connections to hazing practices in terms of the structures that are created that allow for such behaviors. These sets of circumstances which come together and create an arena within which men "behave badly" occur during initiation and hazing ceremonies (Loy, 1995).

Lionel Tiger focuses upon the all-male groups fostered by initiations, and he sees these groups as genetically based: "male bonding as a biological propensity....is the very cause of the formation of those various male groups observable around us." Male bonding, he argues, is "a biologically transmitted and socially learned component of the male life cycle" (Tiger, 1984, p.57-58). The need to establish all-male groups and to initiate young males into these groups-apparently stems from the evolution of men as hunters.

Specialization for hunting favored those "genetic packages", which arranged matters so that males hunted cooperatively in groups, while females engaged in

maternal and gathering activity. Not only were there organic changes in perception, brain size, posture, hand formation, locomotion, etc, but there were also social structure changes. Tiger (1984) suggests that the male-male link for hunting purposes became programmed.

Loy (1995), examined the universal parallels between men in groups, gang rape, and performative masculinities; distinctly masculine phenomena not only with regard to male culture (Pronger, 1990; Remy, 1990), but also to team sports. Fratriarchies, or rule of brotherhoods are “modes of male domination based simply on the self-interest of the association of men itself and reflects the demand of a group of lads to have the freedom to do as they please and to have a good time” (Remy, 1990, p.45, as cited in Loy, 1995). The fratriarchies to which Loy refers include fraternities, sports teams, youth gangs, and military combat teams, all of which are the subject of well documented accounts of sexual assaults and gang rapes (Crosset, et al, 1994; Goldschmidt, 1992; Loy, 1995; Robinson, 1998; Tiger 1984).

The act of rape, or gang rape is not a function of sexual gratification by the perpetrators, but rather a brutally violent act which is utilized to establish dominance, control and status. According to Loy, many of the cited reasons given by participants for group sexual assault include, “dominance, punishment and revenge, excitement and belonging, recreation and adventure, camaraderie, rapport, fellowship, cooperation, the challenge of performing in a group situation, and indebtedness to or emotional dependency on the leader” (Loy, 1995, p.16).

There are four common characteristics identified by Loy (1995, p.8) which link fraternal groups including sports teams:

- 1) They are competitive, peer based, age graded, segmentally bonded, male dominated groups that emphasize the pursuit of prestige through physical prowess
- 2) They have established codes of honour and violent performative masculine styles
- 3) They represent “where the action is”, (e.g. character contests, special kinds of moral games, testing moral attributes such as composure, courage, gameness and integrity and subjected to social evaluation
- 4) They are in large measure modern tribal groups.

Many of these modern tribal cultures and groups continue with the anthropological traditions of traditional tribal cultures such as feats of strength and courage, initiations, rituals as well as rites of passage which serve to not only establish a membership secluded from females, but one which actively promotes the supremacy of males by actively debasing and discrediting women in the form of sexist jokes, songs and initiation ceremonies (Bryshun, 1997; Curry, 1991; Dunning, 1986; Holman, 1997; Kidd, 1987; Loy, 1995; Messner, 1992). The established historically described patterns of men coming together in groups and utilizing violence to establish fraternal and patriarchal bonds in order to establish a gender order and to perpetuate and reinforce masculine identity, extends beyond traditional all male preserves such as military, gangs and fraternities into the community of organized team sports. A crucial component of this structure is the initiation ceremony, a common characteristic of all of these orders.

According to British structural-functionalists, the primary function of male rites of passage is to place the youths within the framework of adult society. The young men are taught their social obligations and then required to assume them (Cohen, 1964). The genital operations, hazings, and other forms of abuse to which the youths are commonly subjected, create a sense of vulnerability and a consequent dependence upon the larger group. The initiation rite is then seen as a crucial stage in the process of socialization (Cohen, 1964, p.33). In this view, the suppression of individual freedom during the rituals is critical, the new members must learn to pay full respect to tradition.

As Cohen (1964, p.62) notes:

In ordinary life you can obey or disobey; at initiation you must submit, during the initiation, the initiand is taken in hand by his elders, treated by them as an object, carried about, gripped in strong arms, and forced to undergo an unenviable operation, submission is taken for granted, and it would be strange if at this time he did not become aware of the power of traditional procedure.

The prior dependence upon the nuclear family must be entirely forgotten or unsocialized, for the initiand must be reduced to a state of vulnerability, which will eventually lead to submission:

Almost any child in any culture, and most adults too, would feel abandoned, rejected, vulnerable, and emotionally hurt under these circumstances. There is no more effective way to deflect a child's emotional dependence away from his nuclear family than to traumatize him and at the same time forbid him to

turn to the well-established security and comfort of his family for protection (Cohen, 1964, p.104).

A variation of this approach is offered by the symbolic interactionists, who claim the function of an initiation is to stabilize the male sex role by transmitting, through the dramatic manipulation of symbols, the “specific clusters of social meaning” required for a complete identification with the adult male group (Young, 1962, p.103). Since the loyalty of all grown males is critical in these societies, it is essential that all boys participate in a rite of passage (Young, 1962). Initiation ceremonies are viewed as the mechanisms for maintaining the consensus of the males, and if the boys did not undergo initiation or if some were allowed to avoid it, the male definition of the situation might be lost. The ceremony ensures conformity by involving the candidate in an intense co-operation with men in the symbolic process (Young, 1962, p.112).

The primary role of an initiation is to dramatize the change from the weakness and vulnerability of adolescence to that of an adult, with strength and self-esteem, and thereby facilitate it. “A rite of passage places a difficult problem of social growth into a social context; it gives a public dimension to private problems; it calls upon the combined force of a culture and all its traditions to help the individual get through this time of crisis” (Turner, 1986, p.48).

The notable feature of initiations, and the reason they continue to hold such appeal, simply put, is that they seem to work. An individual who goes through an initiation comes out the other side with a heightened feeling of self-worth, for his manly status has been affirmed both to themselves and to their group (Rakoff, 1993,

p.13). The individual confirmation goes hand in hand with social recognition: they see themselves as men, the group treats them as men, and this public support reinforces a personal sense of their own self worth (Turner, 1986). At the most fundamental level this is what initiations are all about, making adolescents into adults. However, Rakoff describes the resurrection into adulthood and membership in the community, as not only the physical survival of the initiation ceremony, but the transferal of the sacred lore and knowledge of the rituals of the community (Rakoff, 1993).

The function of hazing, in this context, is to provide a threat of potential failure while simultaneously insisting that the initiate must actually succeed (Cohen, 1964). If and when the youth emerges in the end, alive and intact, he gains a profound appreciation for his own self-worth, a feeling which is enhanced by the honors with which he is bestowed. The entire process is both intensely personal and genuinely social; society has in fact helped the individual to become the man he wants to be, and they want him to be.

The basic requirement that cultural initiations must succeed, although not often mentioned in the literature, is assumed. No accounts or reports were found of individuals who actually failed the initiation ritual required by their society. Sometimes there are apparently deaths due to infection from genital operations, but rarely it seems does anyone who lives through the ordeals not emerge with the appropriate status of manhood. Failure is reduced to the realm of mythology. There are dire tales of what happens to boys who did not follow the rules, or did not make the grade, but the tales generally refer to prior times. A Thonga youth "is frightened into submission by being told that in former times boys who had tried to escape or had

revealed the secrets to women or to the uninitiated were hanged and their bodies burnt to ashes" (Van Gennep, 1960). The boys entering the Poro Bush Society are shown a tray of fingers and toes that were supposedly cut off from errant members of a previous initiation (Van Gennep, 1960). With tales such as these, the novices have no choice but to comply and to succeed.

Perhaps the greatest deterrent to failure, even greater than the fear tactics used by the Poro and the Thonga, is the sheer force of ridicule:

The older a boy gets, the more acute does his position become; he is always liable to be the subject of jokes so long as he remains unincised. A person on whom the operation has not been performed is said by a jesting metaphor to be a "mata seni", blind eyed, and with this title he is apt to be taunted, openly by the boys of his own age, and covertly by the girls. If he passes by a group of these and hears their laughter directed at him, then he guesses the matter of their amusement and he feels much ashamed. The great reason that they give for compliance with the custom is "ruma", the notoriety that is entailed by its omission, and one cannot judge of the force of this directly as far as the adult males of the island are concerned, for every one of them has been superincised. (Van Gennep, 1960, p.105)

In homogeneous tribal cultures, it was unthinkable not to go through with the initiation procedure. There are simply no alternatives, for there is no place in society for an uninitiated male, there existed no such person (Turner, 1986). The expectations of manhood are so strong that it must become the reality. Individual effort is assured through the overpowering weight of social demands. And so with the appropriate

initiation rituals, the boys are forced to turn into men. Manhood becomes a basic fact of life, almost as inescapable as birth or death.

Sporting Communities

A part of the large body of work on sport subcultures (e.g., Donnelly, 1985) involves socialization into subcultures. Such socialization often involves establishing an identity as a member of a particular subculture, and having that identity confirmed by established members (Donnelly & Young, 1988). One of the ways in which team sport athletes have frequently had their identities confirmed are by successfully negotiating the rigors of the “Rookie Night” hazing ceremonies. The stereotypically gendered nature of such ceremonies also provides insights into the gendered nature of many team sport communities. The boys who choose to take part in the initiation ceremony do so of their own volition, or so it would seem. However, the necessity of choice is in direct correlation with their desire to belong to a new group. The adoptive nucleus substitutes for the one recently vacated by the neophyte’s flight from the confines of their blood relations. The neophyte exists suspended between two planes of existence as it were, a temporary purgatory to which we are relegated until that time when we are baptized into a communal fold.

Donnelly and Young (1988) define subcultures as “small social structures within the larger dominant culture” (p.223-225). In this domain, the group communes with shared values, clothing, attitudes, language, practices and ceremonies, it is these shared attributes which separate the subculture from culture (Donnelly & Young, 1988). Although the authors acknowledge overlap between existing subcultures, as well as

conventional culture, Donnelly (1985) narrowed the scope of examination of subcultures into three categories; avocational, occupational and deviant.

When discussing subcultures, it is possible to categorize for example, one as being a member of a rugby subculture, differentiated from the greater culture in that they develop and share common goals, equipment, language, use of the body, values, beliefs and rituals (Donnelly, 1985), yet within that subculture there can exist further slight or gross divisions between teams. This study proposes to examine the elements of individual teams, which fall under the subcultural umbrella of sport to shed light on initiation practices within this contextual framework.

Membership within the team community extends beyond physical ability and athletic prowess (Young, 1993; Donnelly & Young, 1988). An athlete's acceptance within this culture can be facilitated or hindered by social factors stemming from his or her willingness to demonstrate loyalty and commitment to teammates as well as the team. The greater the resistance to the desires of the team, the greater the transition will be into the community.

Many members within team sport culture share the belief that membership equates cohesion which in turn fosters success. As Donnelly and Young describe above, acceptance is contingent on various conditions, many of which are in place to create a sense of cohesion. Group cohesion is described as "the dynamic process which is reflected in the tendency for a group to stick together and remain united in the pursuit of goals and objectives" (Carron, 1982, p.124). The basis of group cohesion stems from the idea that a group of individuals working together is far more effective than the same individuals working independently, and it has also been established that members of

cohesive teams enjoy a certain attraction to one another (Fitchett, 1995). While the literature on cohesion does not deal specifically with the role of initiation into the team unit itself as a means of developing group cohesion, Widmeyer and Martens (1993) determined that cohesiveness is actively promoted by coaches through such practices as establishing athletic dormitories, common clothing that identifies the players as members of the team, social activities, communal goal setting and ritualistic activities, which would clearly include initiation ceremonies.

Based on the literature reviewed for the purposes of this analysis, it would appear that coaches need to promote cohesiveness and seek group-oriented players for male teams, as this is not actively being promoted on male teams. Coaches of female teams seem to have certain mechanisms already in place for the development of cohesion (e.g., group orientation) and are seemingly more receptive to alternate methods of forging these types of relationships (Cox, 1994). Since cohesion is an actively pursued characteristic by both players and coaches and often cited as an excuse for the continuation of initiation and hazing ceremonies, it is an important category of investigation for the purposes of this study.

Research on Sport Hazing

The most comprehensive study to date regarding initiation and hazing in U.S. University sport was released August 30th, 1999 by Alfred University. The study was sponsored by the NCAA, and the report consisted of data collected from surveys of NCAA athletes, coaches and Athletic Directors across the United States of America. A summary of their findings based on a survey sample size of 2,027 is as follows:

Over 325,000 athletes at more than 1,000 National Collegiate Athletic Association universities participated in intercollegiate sports during 1998-1999. Of those athletes:

- More than 250,000 experienced some form of hazing to join a college athletic team. (projections from a weighted sample size of 2,027 respondents by gender and division)
- One in five was subjected to unacceptable and potentially illegal hazing, including kidnapping, beatings, being tied up or abandoned. They were also forced to commit crimes, destroy property, make prank phone calls or harass others.
- Half were required to participate in drinking contests or alcohol related games.
- Two-thirds were subjected to humiliating hazing, such as being yelled at, sworn at, or forced to wear embarrassing clothing or forced to deprive themselves of sleep, food or personal hygiene.
- Only one in five participated exclusively in positive initiations, such as trips or ropes courses.
- Athletes deemed to be most at risk for any kind of hazing for university sports were men; non-fraternity members, either swimmers, divers, soccer players or lacrosse players.
- The campuses where hazings were most likely to occur were primarily in eastern or southern states with no anti-hazing laws. The campuses were rural and residential.
- Women were more likely to be involved in alcohol related initiations than other forms of hazing.

- **Football players were most at risk for dangerous and potentially harmful hazing.**
- **Non-fraternity members were most at risk of being hazed for athletics, though a Greek system on campus is a significant predictor of hazing.**
- **Eastern and western campuses had the most alcohol related hazing.**
- **Southern and midwestern campuses had the greatest incidence of dangerous and potentially illegal hazing.**

Coaches reported that they were aware of the positive initiations, but unaware of the prevalence of hazing and alcohol use. Only ten percent of coaches and administrators reported that they knew of hazing on their campuses or of the use of alcohol during the initiation ceremony. In fact, a number of these individuals denied the need to discuss the issue of hazing and its prevention. However, there was agreement on strategies to prevent hazing by athletes, coaches and administrators who did acknowledge the problem:

- **Send a clear anti-hazing message in policy, education and enforcement.**
- **Expect responsibility, integrity, and civility on the part of the athletes, team captains, coaches and administrators.**
- **Offer team building initiation rites facilitated by trained coaches and adults.**

(http://www.alfred.edu/news/html/how_many_hazed.html)

It must be acknowledged that although there exists overlap between the NCAA and CIAU systems in terms of age, class, gender and sport which might describe similar behaviours exhibited during initiation ceremonies, the motivation for membership may be different for athlete participation. There exist significant differences in team composition between the two systems. In the United States, many of the athletes have a financial stake

and interest in participating in university athletics in the form of scholarships. They do not volunteer to play on the team, they are brought there with specific expectations by students, families and administrations, they are willingly eager to establish their place on the team regardless of the outcomes. In Canada there are no sport scholarships as of yet, for athletes sport participation is an extracurricular activity.

In Canada, Jamie Bryshun conducted a study involving the semi-structured interviews of sixteen male and fourteen female participants from amateur and professional teams in Vancouver, Calgary and Saskatoon. The goal of the research was to acquire a broader understanding of the nature and the extent of hazing in sport and to gain an understanding of the meanings that athletes attribute to initiation events in Canadian sport subcultures. Bryshun (1997) concluded that athletes did react to social controls placed upon the initiation ceremony, however, not to the point that the process was abolished completely. The initiation ceremony is an active site of socialization, linked to both gender and power relations in sport, adopting identities that reflect the still predominantly male dominated arena of sport (Bryshun, 1997; Holman, 1997).

Margery Holman at the University of Windsor, examined the issue of hazing in athletics and presented a paper at the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport Conference (NASSS) held in Toronto in 1997. The study which involved the interviews of two athletes hypothesized that the initiation ceremony was primarily a site of violence and power. Veteran players will coerce and taunt the rookie group until they either acquiesce to their demands or choose to opt out, at which point they are ostracized from the team. The initiation serves to establish a hierarchical order where the rookies have no power and the veterans have the balance of control and power (Holman, 1997). The belief

that the more violent sports such as rugby, hockey and basketball initiate their new members in a more aggressive abusive fashion did not achieve unequivocal support in Bryshun's study. Although such abuse was evident in aggressive sports other sports also had risky initiations (e.g., the women, synchronized swim team forced it's membership to consume large volumes of alcohol and then proceed to jump off the ten meter diving platform). Although Bryshun and Holman's studies examined athletic teams beyond the parameters of the university, many of the findings will be consistent with this study, as the cultures established within the teams are similar.

Conclusions

Although specific academic literature relating to initiation and hazing in a sport context is limited, the Canadian studies of Bryshun and Holman, as well as the U.S. report from Alfred University, support the supposition that hazing is taking place within the institution of sport. Cultural initiations have been widely examined from both an anthropological and social context, describing theory, practice and significance to the participants and to the culture. The sport community is an active site of identity formation and subcultures (Donnelly & Young, 1988) as well as masculinity and power relationships, integral components of the initiation ceremony.

Chapter 3 METHODOLOGY

The research for the first part of this study was conducted via a qualitative, open-ended, in-depth interview study with twelve male and female, university athletes. These athletes were members of various athletic teams including, ice hockey, football, soccer, basketball, volleyball, field hockey, swimming, waterpolo, and rugby. There is little empirical data on this subject so the study aspires to broaden our scope and understanding of the topic through the experiences of those who have participated in these type of rituals. Data for the second part involves a content analysis of university and OUA policies on hazing in athletics coupled with qualitative, in-depth interviews with three coaches, and two athletic directors. This policy study involves a historical consideration of hazing and transitional experiences, in tandem with the interviews regarding policy implication and how the current situation compares with the past. The study also examines the effects of the policies that have been implemented.

Participants

The participants selected for this study were six male and six female, OUA varsity team players. The players ranged in age between 19 to 24 years. Ten of the participants were at the undergraduate level and two were at the graduate level. All of the participants were at least in their second year with their respective teams. This ensured that they had assumed the roles of both initiator and initiator. The OUA was chosen as the study group because of access in terms of local proximity and travel costs, and because of the concentrated sample population. The sports teams from which the participants were drawn were, football (one), ice hockey (two), soccer (one), rugby (two), swimming (two), waterpolo (one), basketball (one), volleyball (one), field hockey (one), as these have been

previously documented as sports in which initiations occur (Bryshun, 1997). The overlapping seasons are lengthy, all falling between September and May, which ensured that the participants were in a fixed location for a considerable amount of time and they were all, as mentioned above, selected from the University of Toronto and McMaster University-- two universities that have developed policies to regulate initiation practices.

The participants were selected randomly from the list provided to the investigator and contacted via telephone as per the criteria noted previously. The telephone numbers were obtained from the athletic directors who passed on the names and numbers of the entire varsity roster, as well as their coaching staff. The participants were informed of the research purpose, assured of confidentiality, and that their names would not be used, and asked to participate. Scheduled appointments were established based on the availability of those players, coaches and athletic directors who chose to participate in the study. All interviews were tape recorded, and consent was signed on a written copy (see Appendix A) prior to the commencement of the interview.

It must be further noted that due to possibility of the communication of accounts of illegal behaviour (e.g., vandalism, theft, sexual assault and/or abuse), ethical considerations were involved. The highly personalized views of the initiations could have presented the researcher with a moral and ethical dilemma. I ensured that all research remained confidential, names were altered and data kept in a secured cabinet. For this reason I anticipated that some potential participants might have been discouraged from participating in the study. So, due to the sensitive nature of the expected material, I decided against organizing focus groups and chose instead to conduct personal in-depth interviews in an attempt to create an open environment where the participant would feel

comfortable enough to relay their most honest and accurate accounts of their hazing experiences. I feel that this was achieved, and although I was prepared to offer contact numbers for support organizations, none of the participants were reticent about sharing personal stories of initiations, nor did anyone ask for assistance or express need for support. All were quite willing and eager to explore the topic and to contribute valuable insights and personal observations. At no time during any of the interviews did I sense that any of the interviewees were holding back or uncomfortable about the subject matter. None of the participants demonstrated closed body language, signs of discomfort, or made any comments which expressed nor conveyed anything but forthrightness in their responses. To the best of my knowledge, the participants appeared to be telling truthful accounts of their experiences. They did not leave me with the impression that their interpretations had been pumped up or exaggerated, however, it is necessary to acknowledge that this could have been the case, especially involving events where the circumstances had been passed from one individual to another.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data sources were threefold. The bulk of the research originating from the open-ended interviews; with additional research coming from secondary and media sources, and from university policy statements and background papers.

The in-depth interviews were conducted using the interview guide approach described by Patton (1987). The interview guide, (see appendix B), allows researchers to elicit systematic and comprehensive information from a number or group of subjects while having the freedom to explore and probe topics addressed by the participant (Patton, 1987, p.43). Two practice interviews were conducted using the guide prior to the

commencement of the research project, and this testing was done with two varsity athletes to familiarize myself with the process prior to conducting the study. The practice interviews were useful to familiarize myself with establishing a comfortable environment for the participants as well as testing the interview guide. The questions seemed to lead to solid responses, which spawned many tangential avenues to explore. During these practice sessions I learned that a period of adjustment and familiarization is needed to ease into the topic. This was done using discussions of related topics followed by more personal ones which touched on the participants' experiences, and then a discussion outlined in the guide. It was important to turn on the tape recorder at the start of the introductions. Most people seemed to be conscious of it being on for the first five minutes and then they appeared to forget that it was there.

The interviews took place in a convenient and comfortable place for the participant, usually away from the athletic facility where they might have been observed by their teammates, to eliminate any risk of being stigmatized. This led to a multitude of settings, including the participant's home, the researcher's home, the researcher's office, closed staff rooms, and a classroom. The choice of location was always left to the participant so that they would be in a surrounding which they deemed to be comfortable. The participant first signed the consent form and then the interview proceeded. The interviews varied in length from 35 to 130 minutes. The average time spent during most of the interviews was approximately 75 minutes. The questions were designed to draw upon the participants' feelings and observations about the initiation experience.

The tape-recorded interviews were transcribed and cleaned up, eliminating "uhmms" and "ahhs" so that the transcript flowed more smoothly. Then the data were

tagged, coded and assimilated into the analysis to compare against other instances for similarities and differences.

Coding

The coding process was a threefold process utilizing open, axial and selective coding, as described by Corbin and Strauss (1990). In the open coding stage the events described in the interviews were compared for similarities and differences. At this stage of coding, the events are given conceptual labels or tags. The “conceptually” similar events are then grouped into categories and sub-categories.

The final process of the data analysis was selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This involves the clustering of all categories around a central category. Here a method termed “hurricane thinking” was employed, whereby categories were placed around the question and compared, cross-referenced and analyzed for their proximity and relationship to the central theme.

Within the data I observed the following categories:

- 1) Male or Female Similarities/Differences
- 2) Characteristics of Initiations
- 3) Awareness of university initiation and transition policies
- 4) Purpose of Initiation
- 5) Effect of the University Policy
- 6) Contradictory feelings about hazing practices
- 7) Team Cohesion
- 8) Power
- 9) Gender

10) Role of the Coach

The interview guide, see Appendix B, was developed based on some of the preliminary data from the existing literature. The first questions were to relax and ease the participant into the subject matter. These questions centered around their experiences within sport, duration, levels, and types. The questions then focused on specific initiation or hazing experiences they had had, described to them, or which they had been a party to in another context, either in high school or on club teams. This was to elicit descriptions of the culture and the pervasiveness of the practice of initiating in a variety of settings. This also established history and familiarity with the topic. The subsequent question was an exploration of how the participants felt prior to their initiation in university, what had they heard, how were they being “socialized” onto their team via the veterans. They were then asked to describe their actual university initiation experience, and to elaborate on their feelings about becoming initiators and being a member of their team. This allowed for participants to discuss the cyclical, power based structure of the process. They were then asked to reflect on the purpose and function of the initiation ceremony, commenting on many of the perceived “social” functions of the event. A question pertaining to knowledge of their university policy regarding hazing was posed, this was to describe current practice and any changes that had taken place as a result of the introduction of new policies. They were asked how comfortable they would have felt in opting out of the ceremony, and about the role of the coach in the proceedings. Finally, they were asked if they had recommendations for future practices, to understand whether their goals and objectives were being met, or whether, from their perspective, the current practices needed to be reformed.

The Athletic Directors of the two universities were contacted and asked to participate in the study. Both were informed that the interviews would be tape recorded and transcribed as per the above criteria. They were also made aware that the contents of the interview could be published and both consented to this possibility. One interview was conducted over the telephone and the other in the Athletic Director's office. The questions, coding and analysis were conducted according to the criteria and procedures listed previously for all participant interviews.

Three coaches were also approached and asked to participate in the study. One interview was conducted via the telephone, and the other two were conducted in the offices of the respective coaches. All were informed that the interviews would be tape recorded and transcribed as previously mentioned. All were informed of strict confidentiality, however one coach did acknowledge that the events surrounding his team had been made public in a media release from his university.

Policy Analysis

An email list containing all of the addresses of university Athletic Directors in Ontario and anglophone universities in Quebec was obtained from an Athletic Department. As well, the email addresses of all Ontario university Offices of Student Affairs was obtained. On two separate occasions, all of the Athletic Departments in Ontario and Quebec, as well as the Ontario universities Offices of Student Affairs were emailed requests for any documents they had containing policy which specifically addressed the topic of initiation, and hazing within their university and varsity community. Nineteen universities in total were contacted on two separate occasions via email requests with thirteen forwarding their university's policy concerning initiations.

Those that did not forward any documentation include, York University, the University of Ottawa, Bishop's University, the University of Waterloo, Wilfred Laurier University, and Ryerson Polytechnic University. The Universities which did respond by sending their policies include (see Appendix C), Concordia University, the University of Guelph, Lakehead University, Laurentian University, Carleton University, Queen's University, the University of Western Ontario, the Royal Military College of Canada, McMaster University, Brock University, the University of Windsor, McGill University, and the University of Toronto. The policies were then compared and grouped according to department, (whether they originated from the Office of Student Affairs or the Athletic Department), and whether or not they specifically addressed the issue of hazing or initiation in sport, or whether the policy was concerned with student behaviour in general context.

Informed Consent

Informed consent was obtained from all the participants being interviewed for this study. It was stressed that participation was voluntary and that those who chose not to participate would in no way be penalized. The consent form also states that they had the option to withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice. The participant signed two copies of the consent form, one for the researcher's records and one for the participant's personal file, both of which were also signed by a witness in the presence of the researcher and the participant.

Confidentiality of Data

All information obtained was in confidence and only those excerpts that are approved by the individual were utilized in the analysis. Pseudonyms were used to ensure

anonymity. All records and data were password protected on my personal home computer and secured in the home. The records, tapes and data will be destroyed immediately following publication of the study. The participants were provided with an adequate amount of time in which to review and edit their verbatim transcripts for verification and ethical concerns. None chose to edit any of the transcripts.

Risks/Benefits

There was no physical risk to those who consented to participate in the study. Anonymity, using pseudonyms and confidentiality ensures that the individual is protected. If at any time a participant felt uncomfortable with participating in this study they could have withdrawn, although none undertook this course of action. There were potential risks for participants who may have been revealing information that could have caused them emotional distress. If this had occurred, the interview would have been terminated if the participant was unable or unwilling to continue. However, this was never an issue as none of the participants showed any desire to stop the interview due to apprehension about discussing certain issues. The participants would have also at that time been given a list of referral numbers for the following support groups:

	University of Toronto	McMaster University
Sexual Harassment Office	(416) 978-3908	(905) 525-9140 xt.23641
Health Services	(416) 978-8030	xt. 27700
Psychiatric Services	(416) 978-8070	xt. 27700
Counselling Learning Skills	(416) 978-7970	xt. 24711
Sexual Education and Peer Center	(416) 591-7949	xt. 22041

Participants also had access to all of their data at any point during the study, and had both my office and home telephone number. Although they were contacted twice, none chose to review any of the data. The participants were given the opportunity during the study to share their personal experiences of being initiated or hazed as a part of their transitional experience into their sporting community. This thesis, on the strength of the data collected, aspires to be instrumental in the development of new policy that will help guide and facilitate future participants through their transition time.

Chapter 4 INITIATION EXPERIENCES

This chapter is organized into eight sections, each section an analysis of the interviews as they pertain to the initiation ceremony. The first section is a description of the subjects' former experiences with initiation and hazing prior to university, followed by an examination of the components which form the initiation event. The third section presents the subjects' descriptions of their university initiation experiences which lead into an analysis of the use of the initiation as a tool for the construction of a power-based structure which is reproduced and reinforced each time new members are initiated into the community. The fifth section describes the integral parts of the initiation ceremony, which perpetuate the power structure on the team, followed by a description of the cultural beliefs and ideologies, which comprise the central structure of a team's initiation practices, (including an examination of the function and elements of team cohesion). Section seven illustrates the topic of gender as it relates to the initiation ceremony, and the final section highlights the differences between male and female initiation.

1. Pre-University Initiation Experiences

Prior Initiation Experience

With the exception of one subject, all had been through initiation experiences before coming to university. The exception simply managed to avoid the rigors of the ceremony, even though it was an accepted part of his high school experience. Although the content of the other initiations varied, there were some constant elements. Prior initiations fall into two categories; either the participants were initiated in the first week of transition into Grade 9, or the initiation occurred on a sport team, either the high school or a community based team.

The severity of the Grade 9 high school initiations varied from the tolerable to the humiliating public experience:

We had this assembly where we were organized by homeroom up on stage. We had to stick our heads in a bucket of dirty water and pull out prizes. We had to play games on the stage like popping balloons with our butts and feeding each other blindfolded, it wasn't too bad really. (Yvonne)

There were also some painful violent rituals:

High school was the gotchie period. Basically what they do is they yank your underwear, similar to a wedgy. They hang you by it until it rips, so it can be pretty painful, one guy they even hung up on a hook. I avoided it as much as possible, but four or five of them finally got me. There was a bunch of us that got it really bad, Some guys were in tears, I don't know whether it was out of pain or embarrassment, probably a little bit of both. When they got me they yanked up the back of my briefs and pulled the band up around my neck. I was curled up in this fetal position, in a ball. There was a tree in the front rotunda that they would hang all of the underwear that came off, sort of like trophies. That could really rip your nuts off, I am sure that it could have caused some kind of damage, I am lucky that I had quick release underwear. (Sean)

The long-standing traditions of official Grade 9 initiations are being phased out (Hamilton Spectator, September 8, 1999). Such school community activities are now being banned by school administrators, in part as a response to the escalating public condemnation of initiation practices, and subjects explained how their high school initiations are no longer acceptable practice, effectively halted by school authorities.

Everybody got it, boys and girls; it lasted the entire day. It was banned when guys got carried away and started pouring corn syrup and egg in people's hair.

(Jonathan)

Our high school initiation lasted a week at the beginning of the school year with a variety of activities planned. They don't do it anymore; a new principal came to the school and thought that it interfered with the image of the school. (Jenn)

Now the practice of hazing in high schools is no longer an accepted or tolerate practice.

Knowledge of Other Initiations

Again, except for one respondent, who had no first or second hand knowledge of initiations at the university level, all of the participants were able to give graphic accounts of hazings that had occurred in several social settings. Despite this insider knowledge into the potential of their own university team initiation, the participants proceeded with their desire to participate in varsity athletics. In terms of media information about hazing, four of the interviewees described initiation related scenarios they had seen reported in a televised documentary produced by the CBC's the Fifth Estate. Titled Thin Ice, the program was a one hour examination of the predatory sexual culture that surrounds hockey in Canada.

I didn't know the extent of hockey initiations until I saw the documentary on CBC. The games that they play and the fact that they are always nude really blew me away. (Winnie)

Another participant commented about hearing initiation accounts that affected his choice not to attend one specific university.

I had heard terrible things coming out of high school into university. I had heard of an initiation at (..... University) that was pretty horrendous. So this particular university was immediately eliminated from my choice. (Sean)

One interviewee was even able to quote fairly accurate statistical data on the number of hazing related deaths in the United States.

There are tons of examples out there, they are not acceptable to everyone. I was just reading this somewhere, the deaths are usually alcohol related; the stats say that there are something like 20 hazing related deaths that have occurred since 1985 or 1983. You know, that is really substantial, well one is too many let alone 20. (Jason)

Jason's observations were accurate. Between 1984 and 1994, 23 people did in fact die as a result of hazing related incidences (Macleans, February 20, 1995). Some participants also expressed knowledge of fraternity, military and societal initiations obtained through media sources, word of mouth or first hand experience.

Most evident were secondary accounts of initiations that took place within their own varsity sporting community.

I had heard of other team initiations that have gone on and they scare me. I heard one where they took the guys clothes off and put them in various parts of the campus and they had to go and find them and return within fifteen minutes. This is kind of disturbing. (Jonathan)

The women's volleyball team cut the back of the shorts out (of the rookies) and they had to walk around with their asses hanging out. I personally would not do something like that. (Mary)

Most respondents seemed to have stories pertaining to initiation ceremonies which they could not see themselves enduring, but which other athletes had, thus mimicking the reaction of those who criticize their initiation experiences.

Intent of Initiation

When contemplating the intent of the initiation ceremony, responses centered on four main themes: 1) tradition, 2) the establishment of team hierarchy, 3) solidarity and social gathering and 4) the rookie's night for attention.

1) All commented on the importance of the traditional aspect of the ritual as being paramount for team validation (Van Gennep, 1960).

The purpose of the initiation is tradition. Some traditions are good, like instilling a tradition helps a team live beyond the one year that it exists. I have played on four different teams at my university. Some with the same players, same jerseys. When I return as alumni next year, I will still feel a part of the bigger picture. Each individual picture is different, that to me is the purpose that it serves. (Tanja)

This need for the perpetuation of a "team initiation tradition" is so crucial according to Tanja, that its potential demise would in her opinion, compromise the conceptual integrity of the team.

You would have to create a tradition to fill its place. There would be a void and the team would be something less than it was before. (Tanja)

2) Some of the respondents spoke about the initiation being a vehicle to construct the team hierarchy, to socialize the new team members about the intricate social fabric of the team community, and to convey to the neophytes exactly what their roles and responsibilities are going to be with regard to the team (Bryshun, 1997, Holman, 1997).

The initiation serves to set the hierarchy on the team. To put the players in their place, you know, you are a Rookie. You are a first year player, you have to make our team and our approval or you won't be accepted. (Jonathan)

The directness of this statement is clear in its intent as to the purpose of the ceremony, the facility with which the rookie's eases into the community is solely dependent on the total acceptance of the veterans' terms and conditions, whatever they may be.

3) In addition to both tradition and team hierarchy, there is the sense of solidarity that the initiation can induce. The rite was expressed as a time when all of the membership was brought together. For some teams this is quite a feat considering that some team rosters have 60 members. For Sean, it was a simple a function of getting to know each other's names. For the most part it was a coming together of team members united under the auspices of celebrating and having a good time. Yet, for some, there was still a sense of separation.

My definition of initiation is different, it is a chance for the whole team to get together, but there is still that division between vets and rookies, but it can still be a good time, that is what initiation is to me. (Karen)

There also exists a sense among the athletes that the initiation acts as a medium for welcoming into the team community, where the ceremony serves as the transitional common ground for the neophyte's acceptance by the elders (Turner, 1986).

It is easier to be accepted, and I think with us, it is not so much we are there to embarrass you, it is more to have you become a part of the team; it is a welcoming thing, to be a part of the group and it is almost like there is a line or a barrier that you go through to be with the veterans. (Jason)

This sense of party and celebration is a pervasive element of the initiation ceremony, one that participants look forward to in terms of the social ingredients: However it must be noted that this was only expressed by individuals who had now assumed the role of initiator.

It comes down to really a gathering, a great way to get the team together, let the young guys meet the old guys, that sort of thing, laugh it off and to make a joke of it. (Peter)

4) The intent of the initiation ceremony was also expressed in terms of an opportunity for the rookies to be on center stage: to assume some of the glory and attention that is not generally awarded first year players. "Rookie Night" is viewed by some rookies as a time for them to be the "stars".

The initiation is a chance for the rookies to unwind; it is really more of a special night for them to be the center of attention. It is a special night for them. A focus on the rookies. (Yvonne)

The multidimensional nature of the initiation ceremony is clearly demonstrated through the varied responses offered from the participants. Tradition was the most commonly cited aspect, but there was a clear incorporation of other purposes for holding initiation ceremonies.

2. The Construction of University Initiations

Prior to the initiation event, an elaborately constructed framework is established that shapes and guides not only the ceremony itself, but also the participants' state of mind and apprehension towards the rite. The veterans and team captains are responsible for the organization of the events, the delegation of tasks and functions for the athletes to complete to ensure that the ceremony can take place. They are charged with the task of selecting a time which best suits the entire team to ensure attendance. Selecting a location where the initiation can take place is also one of their prerogatives, as well as creating tension and anxiety within the rookie contingency, in an attempt to "pump-up" the events of the ceremony using fear as the main motivating tool. Finally, the veterans must weigh the benefits and/or disadvantages of having their coach and coaching staff present during the ceremony.

Initiation Organization

There were three main sections that came to light in terms of the organizational process of the initiation; 1) veteran planning, 2) number of athletes being initiated, and 3) monetary contributions.

1) With respect to organizing "rookie night", the planning fell exclusively to the team veterans. In most cases, the team captain would assume leadership in the design and delegation of tasks and the remainder of the veterans would act as marshals, or the contingent responsible for ensuring that the tasks were being completed.

It is the veterans, actually the captain and the veterans that organize the initiation.

The captains run the show. They say what they want to run and what they want to do, the veterans just basically have to follow. (Mark)

This system of organization was consistent on all teams regardless of the sport, a system which is established according to the hierarchical team structure, not one centered around democracy but rather one which is composed of power and capitulation (Messner & Sabo, 1990). Much of the planning involved creating the activities, selecting a venue, making sure that props were purchased and that there would be enough alcohol for the initiation.

2) The number of rookies being initiated varied in the group being studied in 1998, with anywhere from four to fifteen first year players, and most teams initiating about seven during their respective rookie nights.

3) Rookies are required to contribute monetarily, usually for the purchase of alcohol and occasionally for props such as, condoms, magazines, dildos, food, and in one case a stripper.

We can see them planning ahead of time. They collect money ahead of time, they write up a list for the rookies as to what they are required to bring. A case of beer, and 20 dollars. That was 10 cases of beer, and about 200 dollars, for some other things that that they would use that night. (Winnie)

In most initiation ceremonies, it was the rookies who paid for the event.

The Timing of the Initiation

The timing of the initiation is crucial on many levels with respect to the team. Every team, with only one exception was initiated at the beginning of the season. For most this occurred in the month of September, usually after their first competition.

The exception held their rookie night at the end of the regular season, contrary to the patterns of most other teams.

We don't actually have our initiation until the end of the season, which is opposite to what most teams do. Most teams initiate during the season. We had played all of our games, done Canadian Intercollegiate's and then we wait about one or two weeks after and then we have the party. We do this because we are not allowed to drink during the regular season according to our coach. (Yvonne)

Yvonne expressed the need to initiate at the beginning of the season rather than the latter part of it, primarily for social reasons, to provide a forum where the team can interact and become familiar with each other beyond the playing field. For this team however it was crucial that the initiation activity be delayed until a time when the consumption of alcohol was no longer prohibited by their coach.

The duration of all of the initiations, again with one exception, was one evening. The team whose structure deviated from this pattern had established a method of initiating only one or two rookies at a time, always on separate occasions. No prior notice was given, nor was any agenda broadcast:

The rookies were left in a constant state of apprehension throughout the season until their time came due. (Jason)

Most initiations were incorporated as a predetermined evening where all candidates had prior knowledge of the date and the meeting place. The captains would usually pick a time when most would be able to attend and one that did not conflict with tests, games or practices.

Pre-Initiation Hype

Prior to the actual initiation, there is a period of time, usually lasting approximately one week, which the veteran players utilize in order to build up the ceremony and to fill the rookies with tension and fear.

Tales of past initiation experiences, and of the activities which lie in store for the first year players, are delivered from veteran to rookie either by exaggerating past horrific initiation feats, or by not telling the neophytes what their rite of passage will entail.

I had heard stories from the veterans before our initiation, to scare us, they told us that we were going to have to do cream on the cookie, jerking off onto a cookie with the last one to finish eating the cookie. You know, sex games where everybody else would be sitting around watching us all getting off, it is pretty bizarre. When it came down to it, we didn't have to do it. (Jonathan)

Two players that I had met before and had become friends with, when I would ask them what rookie night was like, they would tell me, just wait, they would poke at you and edge at you and make it sound a lot worse than it really was. I thought that it would be worse. I thought that they weren't fooling me because of our previous relationship. If you asked, they would always say, just wait. I don't know if I would have dropped out if I known that they were going to do something that I wasn't comfortable with. (Mary)

The pre-initiation hype perpetuated by the veterans did have the desired effect of heightening the fear and apprehension levels of the rookies.

Pre-Initiation Anxiety

The pre-initiation hype has a cause and effect relationship on the first year athletes. The intent of the build up is to create anxiety in the minds of the athletes so that perceived expectations of initiation events exceed the reality of the evening.

There was verbal harassment prior to the initiation, it was a definite build-up. You know that there won't be sheep but you are definitely nervous about the whole thing. They play it up to try and get you to sweat, it is for that purpose, to get you to sweat. (Paulo)

Several candidates remarked how the hype also acts as a process of selection, weeding out the individuals who opt not to be a part of the initiation process: some avoided the "rookie night", while others chose to leave the team.

They opt out because they think that it will be worse than it actually is, because we hyped it for so long. (Paulo)

The post-initiation recounting of their mental state and demeanor prior to the initiation is softened to a certain extent, mostly due to the difference between the hype and the actuality of the event. The reaction stems from a feeling of relief that they did not have to endure what they were led to believe they would have to endure, even though some initiation experiences were traumatic for the individual regardless of the level of hype.

I was pretty apprehensive beforehand, but when it actually came down to it, it was nothing like they hyped it at all. It was all in fun. It was an extreme relief when I found out that it wasn't as extreme as I thought it might be. (Karen)

Pre-initiation hype is utilized by the team as a method of establishing the dominant status of the veterans. This is achieved by creating a situation that, for the rookies, initiation

becomes an event in which they really do not wish to participate. They believe that it is a necessary hardship that must be endured in order to attain status and respect in the eyes of their team leaders (Messner, 1990). For most of the rookies, the hype did not equal the tasks or scenarios that the veterans had built up. The fact that they attended thinking that they would have to “walk through fire” was an initiation in itself. The anxiety experienced by the athletes was the desired effect, it was a psychological rite of passage that was demanded of the initiand. If they made it to the ceremony, they had then crossed over the first threshold of membership.

Location of the Initiation

The location of the initiation ceremony is categorized as either on-campus and off-campus with respect to the subjects studied.

On-campus Initiations

Although this type of initiation appears to be fast becoming extinct, (see Chapter 5), for some it still remains an integral part of the event, and can take place in a variety of settings. Athletic facilities such as the pool, exercise rooms, field houses, change rooms, shower stalls, hockey arenas and campus bars are popular sites, as well as residences and cafeterias, including study halls.

Our initiation took place at school in the locker room, there was steam because the showers were turned on, it was really moist and hot. (Sean)

This type of initiation, in most cases, is in direct violation of most of the codes governing student behaviour on campus.

Off-campus Initiations

Most initiations are now conducted exclusively off-campus, as a reaction to the public awareness of the derogatory and coercive circumstances that can surround such practices, and also in response to the severity with which university administrators now view the issue. Off-campus sites include bars, motel and hotels, and most commonly, the team captain's house.

It all took place in the hotel. Everybody got together in one room, we would be pulled together a few at a time and do it. (Jonathan)

It was at the same place as last year, all of us met and walked to the captain's house where we were going to have rookie night. (Tanja)

In some cases the initiation involves two stages, moving from an on-campus site to an off-campus site, for example from residence to an off-campus bar.

The Role of the Coach

The role that the coach assumes concerning the initiation is really divided into two categories: non-participation and participation. Within those major groupings are two distinct subdivisions. The coaches who are non-participants are either adamant in their demands that no initiation take place, or they feign ignorance of any knowledge of what the team is planning until after the event when they choose to acknowledge the initiation with mock disapproval or silent acceptance. The coaches who participate are either full participants or they take part in a minor capacity.

Non-Participation

The coaches in this category are either strict in their expectations of the team not to participate in any kind of initiation ceremony due to pressures from the administration concerning university policy, or because of their own beliefs. Or they choose to leave the topic ambiguous either through lack of instruction one way or the other, or by administering obligatory university policy directives with a knowing wink. The majority of the coaches took this line of qualified acceptance regarding initiation practice.

The coaches know the date it is on but they don't help to organize it. They have nothing to do with it. They know the next day that people have dyed hair and they joke that someone is hungover or they might make us run harder. (Mary)

Some have no prior knowledge of any of the particular details surrounding the initiation until the next day.

Her reaction comes the next day during practice when the stories come out and maybe she gives a little chuckle. She never gets into the night. She doesn't give us any guidance one way or the other. I think that she feels that it is part of the experience because she is an ex-player. No one including our coach sat down with us and laid out what we could or not do. (Winnie)

Some coaches place guidelines on acceptable practices for the initiation ceremony. This was either in the form of prohibiting the practice altogether (as was the case with two participants) or to place parameters on the events that can take place.

Our coach didn't want us to do anything, I don't blame him for that. They have been trying to axe our program for five years now. (Sean)

Some instructions from the coaches are a reaction to their university policy.

Our coach said to be careful doing stuff around the school. So we started doing it on the road. They know what is going on, they don't want to get in trouble from the hotel, or by the school, whatever it may be, so they come in and tell us to tone it down, to take it easier. (Jason)

Others formally denounced the practice, while at the same time appearing to condone it:

Because we are on probation there is no way that our coach would touch our initiation night with a ten foot pole. They sometimes sarcastically joke that we had better not be having a "Rookie Night", but from that we don't read into it that she feels that it is necessary, she just knows that it goes on and that is the way it is. The coach isn't supposed to know anything about it. Our coach isn't stupid. (Tanja)

For the most part, the coaches' reactions of distancing themselves or not allowing the ceremonies to take place appeared as if it was not intended to change the nature of the negative aspects of initiation, but rather to protect themselves.

Participation

Four of the interviewees stated that their coaches were in fact present for the initiation ceremony and that they were actively involved in the planning of the event.

Before any championship our coach always does what she calls "cheesy bonding" games. We play pictionary or who can eat the most marshmallows and sing the school song. This has become a tradition for us. You get to know the people better. Something like that is great fun. Everyone remembers that. It is something that the coach can be involved in too. (Jenn)

In this case, Jenn also expressed the need for the coach to be present as a member of the team.

For our team we have become quite close to our coaching staff, why shouldn't they be involved with something like that? They are an integral part of the team. They are just as much a part of the team as everyone else. Rugby has fifteen players and you have to play together to win. It is the nature of the sport. (Jenn)

The second group in this category involves coaches who participated in only a portion of the initiation ceremony, for example team games but not the party afterwards.

The coach only partakes in the pool part of the initiation. He is there in case anybody does anything stupid or falls. He has to be there as a lifeguard because there is no one else. There is huge potential for injury, I mean we are diving in the shallow end. The veterans are drunk for that. (Mary)

Other coaches served even less of a role in the initiation, as an intermediary for the planning of the event and distributing necessary props or instructions for the initiation ceremony.

The coaches weren't there but they knew what we were doing. They gave out the scavenger lists at the practice. The coaches accept it. They were like whatever, it was no big deal, and it was pretty much expected and accepted. The coaches' weren't against us doing the initiation. They expected us to do it. (Karen)

Although there are two categories, it is evident that even coaches who choose not participate in the initiation still validate the practice while not taking an active role in shaping the ceremony's content.

Elders

The involvement of others during the initiation varied from team to team, ranging from no participation whatsoever to complete alumni membership support, as was the case with one of the swimming teams. For some teams, the alumni contingent is an integral component of the neophyte's rite of passage. They are representatives of the community to which the initiands seek inclusion (Van Gennep, 1960). In order to gain access into the realm of the society they must first endure the ceremony which the elders oversee.

The alumni come back, our school is known for its huge alumni contingency that return, they are usually scarier than the swimmers in terms of partying. They are there to preside over the ceremony. It is like a big community. (Mary)

This example parallels the initiation ceremonies of several tribal communities described by Cohen, Turner and Van Gennep, who noted the presence and importance of the elders of the community. In this example, the role of elder is assumed by the returning alumni group.

Chaperones

Some of the teams had outside observers who were there in the role of chaperone. In one case it was the escort of a stripper who had been brought in to entertain the veteran players. He was a male companion who was there to observe that nothing happened to the exotic dancer. The second was the presence of a rookie assistant coach who was there strictly in the capacity of supervisor. In addition to the team who invited alumni to observe the initiation, certain teams would be invited to attend another's initiation and vice versa. For example, some members of the men's rugby team would be present

during the women's rugby initiation and then they would reciprocate, so that there were always members of the opposite gender present during the ceremony.

3. The Initiation Experience

The initiation experiences described took various forms, although two major categories emerged from the data, private, or closed initiation ceremonies and public, open activities. Some of the initiations described consisted of exclusively private activities, while others consisted of only public activities. Another group consisted of initiations that began as closed, and ended with some form of public display which the initiates must endure. Closed ceremonies took place in a variety of settings, usually in a veteran player's house, or a private room somewhere on campus. They were also performed on buses traveling to and from away games, in hotel rooms and in team locker rooms.

Private Team Initiation Activities

Drinking Games

The common thread, which connected all of the initiation experiences as they were described, was the use of alcohol and drinking games. The point of most of the games was to have the rookies drink quickly and to make them vomit. This is expected behavior as part of the rite of passage into the culture.

We did boat races, which is when you go up and down the row chugging beers in teams. Basically you drink a couple of beers in about thirty seconds. The team that loses has to do shots. It is penalty enough just playing the game. It is just to get people pissed really fast. We did about seven races in about thirty minutes. It was just terrible. Every rookie by this time had puked, every single one of them.

You are taking in so much liquor and all of that foam. They had set up big buckets around the room for us to puke into. It is really disgusting, there is beer and puke everywhere. (Peter)

In addition to boat races there was shotgunning beers, rookie skits, memorization games, and judging of rookie stories all which had drinking penalties as a consequence of poor performance. All were intended to get the rookies' drunk.

We would have to get together in groups of three or four and develop a rookie skit. Like a show. They would call us in group by group from the locker room and then we would go and perform our skit. They would always boo and throw popcorn and make us drink. We all got booed. (Sean)

In some cases the drinking games involved ritualistic behavior, such as boat races, sequencing the movements and the speech of the rookies, again designed to hasten the level of intoxication as well as establishing control over the neophytes.

The veterans give you instructions on what to do. You go into the room where all of them are and it was smoky because they are having cigars and it was pretty dark. You would have to knock three times and they would say, "open the door" and you would go in and have to bow to the vets and "say hail vets". They gave us a sequence of phrases to say. If you got the sequence wrong, they gave you a beer to chug. For every mistake you had to drink. It was a set of phrases like "Your Mom is a big fat hairy ape." (Mark)

The use of alcohol and drinking games were intended to not only impair the rookie's judgement but to create an atmosphere of power imbalance where subservience was absolute.

Team Games

Another component of the private initiation is team games. The nature of the activities was designed in an attempt to disgust and/or humiliate the rookies. They involved the consumption of noxious substances, body shaving, sexualized games and activities as well as violent ceremonies. One participant described her team initiation games, which entailed unhygienic practices involving university facilities as follows.

You are put into teams and then we do the team cheer and then we do games where you hold an egg in your hand and swim back and forth and then they crack it in your mouth. I was going to swallow it but I gagged it into the pool. Another race we had to put a fish in your mouth and then give it to the next person without using your hands. Then the last person swallows it. There were two rookies on my team and one of them chewed it and then the other one swallowed it. The veterans put marshmallows in their armpits and ran around the deck and then made the rookies eat them. There were other things, like people would spit into cups and then pass it back and forth with the last person having to drink it. (Mary)

Body shaving was described in some initiations, either of the head, the pubic area or the entire body. The use of ritualistic activities were sometimes utilized as a catalyst for the removal of the hair. Only male participants described this as part of the initiation ceremony.

We had a kangaroo court and we made up these crazy crimes that they were being punished for. Their punishment was having their heads shaved, if they wouldn't do that, we would shave their balls. We put makeup on them, they looked like freaks. About half shaved their heads and half had their balls shaved. We were

drunk, shaving these guys' nuts, it was crazy. We shaved the (university initials) in the back of some of their heads. (Paulo)

Where the men's teams tend to follow through with the threat of shaving, women's teams use the threat as the initiation procedure.

They pretended like they were shaving our eyebrows off, but we could tell right after even though we were still blindfolded. The most vocal rookie was the last one at the end, but she finally realized when they got to her that it was a ruse.

(Yvonne)

Similar to the use of alcohol and drinking games, team games are another tool utilized by the team to establish the rookie's place within the hierarchical structure. Humiliation and degradation are the yardstick by which membership is measured. The level to which male initiators will push the rookies in terms of their demonstration of commitment to the team through the use of these means is greater than that of the female teams.

Sexualized Games

However, both men's and women's teams engaged in sexualized games involving props, and occasionally other individuals.

This is the craziest part. We had this defeathered bald, dead chicken and there was this one guy, you know this was a part of the process, they had their condoms, we were just bullying them to see how far they would go. This one guy was really trashed because he actually grabbed the chicken, put on his condom, and started screwing the chicken. I didn't know how to respond. The women's team was also there, so they were all standing around watching this as well. They saw him screwing the chicken as well. (Paulo)

The vets had set up a little game for us. They had laid out a sheet of plastic on the ground and it had a ton of whipped cream on it. They told us to come in, kneel down with our hands behind our backs and root through the whipped cream to find your treasure. We asked them what the treasure was, and they responded that we would find out. So we proceeded to root through all of this crap and it turns out that the treasure was all of the condoms that we were asked to bring. They were unrolled underneath all of the whipped cream. So we had to pull them out using our teeth. The winner was the one that found the tampon. It wasn't used or anything. She was made to drink a raw egg. We were pretty drunk at this point so it didn't really matter. Some of us had to tell stories about all of the sex toys in our bags. The stories were all sexual in nature. They were checking out the porno mags and tearing the good pictures out and putting them on the wall. (Karen)

The engagement of both male and female sexualized initiations reinforces the gendered stereotypes of both masculinity and femininity (Holman, 1997; Robinson, 1997; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990).

Physical Initiations

One part of a closed initiation ceremony took place on the team bus. The first stage involved physical punishment of the rookies, followed by the "sweat box", an experience that requires all of the initiates to strip off their clothes and to ride in the cramped quarters of the bus washroom for the duration of the trip. This practice was also described in detail in the CBC documentary "Thin Ice."

When we were on the bus, we made the rookies start at the front and run to back.

The veterans would hit them as they ran by, punching and kicking them. They had

to touch the wall at the back and run to the front again. It was kind of like a game, but it was also their initiation. (Mark)

This type of “beating in” rite of passage is common with gang initiations, where the new members are obliged to physically fight off the other gang members for a duration of time determined by the gang leader (Goldschmidt, 1992).

Public Aspects of Team Initiation

The public elements of the initiation ceremony involve acts of public nudity, public performances, either in a bar or a campus cafeteria or common area, scavenger hunts where the initiates are required to collect items from a common list drafted by their veterans, and tasks prescribed for the first year players by the veterans usually consisting of interaction with the public and the public display of body marking, either physical graffiti or clothing.

Public Display of Nudity

The public display of nudity, as was the case with body shaving, was only utilized by male teams during their initiations, except for one female team, where their “public” uniform consisted of a pair of shorts with the seat cut out of them.

We were very drunk and I didn't really remember it but everyone talked about it afterwards. It was very humiliating. I was embarrassed and upset, but eventually I got over it. We had to go to the bar with our asses hanging out of these shorts that they gave us to wear. I just went along with it, I was too drunk to realize what was going on. (Winnie)

For the men's teams, sometimes the initiates are forced to complete their performances on campus;

We start by putting all of the rookies into the middle of the circle and it becomes a game of "Simon Says" where they have to start taking their clothes off. All fifteen rookies are naked at this point; they put all our clothes into a garbage bag, and we have to run up the stairs at the college. We even ran into a cop and he let us go. We all had a donut in our hands. We came into a great hall where all the students were eating and socializing. We had to line up on stage and sing a rookie song that we all knew. We were all nude at this time, everytime we screwed it up we had to start over at the beginning. It was really embarrassing. We then left and we had to do the elephant walk, which is where everyone is lined up naked and you grab the hand or penis of the person in front of you. This all took about forty-five minutes. (Peter)

Or, they require some form of task retrieval off-campus, such as running to get a slice of pizza, or returning with a donut.

I had to run naked to a donut store, buy a donut and come back. Obviously we didn't buy a donut because we got kicked out by that time that happened, and then run back to the hotel to our bedroom and to our captain. (Jason)

The necessity of an audience is crucial with public initiations: traditions are founded on this principle and duplicated year after year. They require the public humiliation of the initiates who are identified with their team or with the varsity community by their clothing, uniform or body marking (Bryshun, 1997).

We have this tradition that we do called "The Run". This is when you strip the guy and dump him off and he has to find his way back through the Athletic Center to his clothes hidden in the change room. We had to be careful. One day the Dean

was walking down the hall and we had to shove him (our Rookie) into a washroom to get him changed. (Jason)

We were met by a senior player outside of one of mine and another team member's first year class of about fifteen hundred people and dressed as we were in our uniforms with women's underwear on we had to go up to the front of the class and announce our next game. (Jonathan)

The public aspect of these initiations serves to construct an environment that strips the rookie both literally and figuratively. The novice is powerless, demoralized, debased and humiliated not only in front of his or her peers but the community as well. They are forced to prove their commitment to their teammates through the demonstration of their compliance to being both prostrate and submissive to the desires of their initiators in a public forum (Holman, 1997; Messner, 1992; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990).

Public Display of Body Marking

The public display of the initiates is marked in a variety of fashions. By physical graffiti, which usually consists of derogatory phrases or expletives written on the body or costume of the rookies, or of outrageous outfits, (especially cross-dressing), and with the dyeing of hands, hair or other body parts.

They also had to bring Barbies. We taped two Barbies to the rookies' knees. They were so drunk, they didn't know what was going on. It was funny, the purpose was to make them prance around in public with these on. (Karen)

Many of the women's teams would use permanent marker as a tool to write on various parts of their initiates before they were paraded through different bars.

They wrote all over us. They wrote in permanent marker, derogatory sexual stuff all over our bodies like "I DEEP THROAT", with a big arrow, "SUCK THIS BITCH." They gave us nicknames, stuff that made us seem sexually promiscuous, like, "I SUCK BIG COCK." I had to go home the next day and my Mother wouldn't let me out of the house. It was the veterans who wrote all over us to make us look stupid going to the bar. They also put KY jelly in our hair. (Mary)

The second example utilizing body marking during female initiations is when the initiates are required to wear old shirts or bras, or assigned a designated body part to be signed by other patrons who are in the bar at the same time.

We had to wear shorts and a T-shirt and the football team had to sign our bodies everywhere. We had to wear it all night in public. I felt uncomfortable, I tried to keep it to my arms and legs, and some girls let them sign their top and back.

(Winnie)

Another women's team carries on a tradition of involving the patrons in the bar as active participants in the neophytes' initiation.

We had batons and candy necklaces. Another university was the first club to start this tradition and then we picked it up. Whoever gets their candy necklace eaten by the guys at the bar the quickest is the winner. I ate my entire necklace myself but there were some girls who had these fat old guys eat their necklaces at the bar.

You would have to go up and approach them yourself. (Tanja)

These examples of public body marking are intended to degrade on the basis of sexuality. These were exclusively female initiations that required the initiates to engage in both physically and sometimes sexually explicit exchanges with strangers. The public

markings and brandings denote sexual promiscuity in an attempt to publicly embarrass and humiliate the rookie.

Scavenger Hunt

Several of the teams, both men's and women's, described scavenger hunts as an integral component of their initiations. Scavenger hunts consist of dividing the rookie contingency into small groups and arming them with a list of paraphernalia they are required to retrieve in the shortest time possible. The lists between the various teams were surprisingly similar in content. The two major categories that were consistent for the rookies to pursue were items associated with their university, and sexual objects.

They gave us shots and a list that we had to fill. We had to go from door to door in the residence trying to find all of these things. We had to find things like a cucumber and lingerie. Of course we didn't know any of these people so we felt pretty dumb. We had to ask for condoms and things of a sexual nature. We got the biggest cucumber so we got a shot for that. Whatever you brought back you got shots for. It would have been to our advantage to bring nothing back. (Mary)

The scavenger hunts were sometimes confined to the student residences, or they were extended to the university campus and the city core. The itemized list served two functions: (a) to inebriate the rookies when they returned; and (b) to use the objects collected for games that would ensue.

This year was madness; we had a scavenger hunt. It involved getting (another university's) paraphernalia, something from a bar, they would get creativity points. One group brought back feather boas and leather pants and a banner from the gay rights parade. They were walking down the street, marching, they brought

some gays back too. They had to bring a red condom, we were telling them that they were going to have to use them, making them sweat a little bit, they didn't know what was going on. It was only rookies. (Paulo)

Although scavenger hunts have been utilized to promote favourable and welcoming initiation ceremonies, the examples here are centered on the creation of sexualized and controlling devices, alcohol and sexual props.

Illegal Initiations

Some aspects of the initiations involve engaging in overtly illegal activity. One team obliged the rookies to conspire to commit theft of property.

This year we made the rookies steal a chair from the bar. The rookies were all over it, they loved the challenge. I don't know how they did it, but they had lookouts and decoys, it was quite elaborate. That became our throne for the year.

(Peter)

The legal ramifications of this type of initiation extend beyond that of the Student Code of Conduct and involve the Criminal Code of Conduct carrying with it the potentiality of serious legal repercussions, behaviour similarly described in Donnelly (1985).

4. Initiations as a Means for Reproducing Power Structure

This section examines the various components of initiation ceremonies, that serve to produce and reproduce a veteran/rookie relationship based on power. The initiation functions to instill a rookie's sense of subservience and lack of power, while at the same time revealing the means by which to attain it (Sabo, 1987). The ceremony explicitly defines the role and the duties of the novitiate's membership in the community. The initiation ceremony also serves as an overt example for those rookies who choose to defy

the wishes of the group and not participate according to the prescribed veteran rules.

What the responses indicate throughout the body of this section is that compliance and rookie capitulation seems to be directly correlated to skill level. A highly skilled first year athlete who decides to opt out of the initiation will in all likelihood encounter fewer complications with the team than a less skilled athlete.

Team Hierarchy

During all of the interviews the participants addressed the issue of team hierarchy. The structure that is created within the team unit varies slightly from group to group, although major consistencies were evident. The hierarchy is set by the veteran players as a means of control over the first year players. They exert this control through the expectation that the players will fulfill their prescribed "Rookie Duties." Although the tasks may vary from team to team, the basis of this system is to construct a tiered platform that can only be negotiated through compliance and the unquestioning fulfillment of the ascribed responsibilities.

There was one vet that would never talk to you if you were a rookie. This was part of his hierarchy. It is a separation, there are levels that you can move into over time. (Jason)

The creation of this type of hierarchical structure is seen as a crucial element of the initiation ceremony, not only in terms of a rite of passage but to convey to the neophytes their position within the structure of the team and the processes they must endure to achieve power (Sabo & Panepinto, 1990).

The whole power struggle, it is there in setting that hierarchy. We are just first years, don't try to get overzealous and take over the top positions too quickly. Part

of the reason for the initiations is insecurity on the part of the veterans. The rookies are coming in and getting better every year. The vets feel that they need to show them who is boss around here. (Winnie)

They establish the power relationship right off the bat. The veterans have the power to make the rookies do exactly what you don't want to do. (Karen)

The threat experienced by the veterans of the incoming rookie contingency is dealt with through the initiation ceremony. The veteran players use the ceremony to educate their first year players as to their position within the structure of the team.

Rookie Duties

The duties expected of the rookies varied slightly between both the men's and the women's teams, although most included tasks that involved team activities such as equipment retrieval, water bottle responsibilities, and an elaborate structure for seating on buses and in the locker room. These perfunctory duties were expected of the rookies for duration of their first season.

All year the rookies fill the water bottles and get us food, they have to do everything, look after the equipment. It is tradition and a duty that they have to perform. If you are a veteran you shouldn't have to do this. It isn't really like we are saying we are better than they are. They just have to wait for their time. When we travel on the bus there is prescribed seating, the veterans are at the back and the rookies are at the front. (Paulo)

Rookie duties or functions that involve menial tasks for the team perpetuate the notion of bondage and duty to the team, complete with a built-in reward system with each step up the hierarchical ladder.

Skill Level

Although this system is one that is perpetuated and carried on by the rookies, many of the respondents spoke of tension between veterans and rookies as a result of the hierarchical structure that was dictated to the first year players. Much of the resentment stemmed from the skill level of the incoming players, especially in situations where their talents eclipsed that of the veterans (in some cases to the point where there were rookie rebellions).

The way the hierarchy works is from the veterans down. There was resistance from the rookies this past season, it originated on the court, some of them were better than some veterans. Usually the veterans are the better players and they have more experience, more respect and so on, this usually translates off the court as well. The rookies are usually not starters yet so they have their duties, water, balls whatever needs to be done. (Jonathan)

When we had problems with the rookies giving us attitude and not wanting to do anything, we got a good manager who did everything. I was torn because I was caught in the middle. The vets would say to the rookies to carry the bags, they would say "Fuck You" and I would end up carrying the bag because everyone liked me. Things would have been smoother if everyone had been at the same skill level. They probably would have gotten along too. The vets weren't as good

as the rookies. The friction was based on skill level. The incoming rookies could not understand why the players that sucked were running the club. Both sides had an attitude problem. (Tanja)

The skill level of the players became an issue of contention for several of the teams.

When rookie duties on the playing field or on the court outweighed the contributions of some senior players, this can be cause for both reflection and rebellion on the part of the first year players which needed to be addressed as it questioned and threatened veteran authority or rank.

Veteran Power

Several interviewees expressed the need for the continuation of the hierarchical system, which they saw as closely linked to the initiation ceremony. In the absence of an organized initiation, there was expression of a need for some formality to fill the void where once the rookies were taught “their place” in the greater team order: one which afforded the veterans their respect and security on the team.

This year we had no initiation. We had no way of putting them in their place.

These rookies that we had this year weren't initiated and they didn't really act like rookies. They didn't really pay their respect and dues to those that had been there before and put in a lot of time. (Jenn)

I think that we really need the hierarchy on the team, because we didn't have it before. Rookies are always last on the bus, they sit in an isolated corner of the room by themselves. There is always supposed to be two stalls between the rookies and the vets. Rookies always unload and load the bus with equipment for

the entire first year. They clean up the dressing rooms. They make sure that the trainers are well looked after and if we are in a hotel room, the rookies have to get us stuff. It caused a lot of animosity between older guys and the rookies because they felt like they weren't getting their due respect. The rookies had gone to the coach to complain. You really have to earn your respect. The rookies seemed to think that they were doing us a favor in coming to the school to play for us and not the other way around. A lot of the guys didn't like that because they felt that they weren't helping out with the things that they were supposed to do. (Mark)

The absence of, or change in structure of the initiation ceremony itself, is met with hostility and resistance by the veteran players. This severely threatens their own status on the team when it is neither clearly defined, or is taken away from them.

Restructuring the Hierarchy

Teams that had problems as a result of rookie non-compliance or insurrection regarding the demands veterans imposed upon them, were forced to deal with the situation through a restructuring of the system. For one team this involved retaining the services of a manager to fulfill the duties that were at one time expected of the rookies. Another squad simply ignored their complaints and made sure that the other rookies completed the assignments. One group of rookies voiced their concerns to their coach who took it upon himself to abolish the seniority structure and replace it with a more egalitarian, democratic model.

The coach rearranged everything, the stalls, the coach took away all of our vet perks. The coach wanted to increase team camaraderie, he didn't want the rookies to feel like rookies. He wanted everyone to feel like they were a part of the team

and not have a division of rookies and vets. He did okay the initiation because he felt that it was vital to team cohesion. (Jonathan)

When the integrity of the team is threatened through a democratization process, it is the senior players that resist the most. Every last attempt is made on the part of the veterans to retain the hierarchical structure, to maintain their status and their control.

Rookie Status

For two of the female teams the hierarchy existed only until the initiation ceremony, after which time the rookie's status changed to that of full membership within the group, awarding them not only in title but in rights and privileges as well. The initiation ceremony for these groups was the equalizer, or the democratizing rite which acknowledges the neophytes as peers. Within this newly defined structure the duties were distributed amongst all of the team members.

Before "rookie night" on the team it was the rookies' responsibility to carry the balls and hats and do things where the veterans didn't do anything. After the initiation everyone would say that we were then equals, we were no longer referred to as "Rookies" ever again. It put everyone on the same level. The initiation knocks the rookies down and then brings them back up to the team level. (Jenn)

For these two teams, the rookies' status was clearly defined as subservient to veteran demands until the initiation ceremony, which awarded all participants' equal rights and privileges on the team. This differs from the prior examples only in terms of the duration of the rookies' adjunct responsibilities.

The Optional Nature of Initiation

The option for rookie's to attend the initiation night or not is a choice that is extended to all participants. With the advent of public awareness and administrative policies, teams were no longer given the leeway to force participation of their first year contingent in the initiation. Even with this option available though, there still exists an unspoken code that draws the participants into the ceremony, virtually unquestioningly.

In Guelph I remember that the players were kicked off the team for not going through with the initiation. Maybe we need better examples for people to feel comfortable for not going through with it. (Winnie)

Again, differences in responses were noted between male and female participants. While both groups spoke about the optional nature of rookie night, only male players commented on the expectations that everyone attend, with consequent complications because of non-participation by a first year player. Although many of the male participants spoke of fear and pre-initiation anxiety, they also acknowledged the intrinsic need to participate, despite the demeaning nature of many initiations, effectively eliminating their free will to opt out.

I don't think that we had an option, it wouldn't have mattered what happened because to all of us, it was such a big deal to play for the University. If I had a choice, I wouldn't have done it because I was afraid about what was going to go on, but in retrospect, it wasn't that big a deal. I think that it would be hard for them to opt out of something they really didn't want to do. Some guys are particular about their hair or are self-conscious about their bodies. (Peter)

None of the male interviewees opted out of any of the initiation activities, although some did recount stories of those who did. The subjects always qualified their responses, as in the case above, with a statement about how the actual event was not all that bad in retrospect. Women's teams, unlike the men's teams, recognized that had they been asked to do something that they did not want to participate in, they felt comfortable enough to opt out.

If we didn't want to do something, say if we didn't want to drink because of work or whatever, that was cool. It was all in good fun. I felt comfortable enough that if I had wanted opt out of anything at any time, I think that I could have. (Karen)

Even though Karen noted that she felt comfortable and that she thought she would not be questioned, there still exists an atmosphere of uncertainty. Her response was not an unqualified "yes".

Peer Pressure

Many of the participants discussed the powerful effect of the pressures exerted upon them by the other players that in some cases led to eventually succumbing to the will of the team:

There was one person who had to eat the goldfish and there were 50 people around them going "eat it, eat it." It was evident that they didn't want to eat that goldfish but they ended up doing it anyway. You don't really have much of say at all. I wouldn't have drunk the cup of spit, but then I don't know what I would have done. I think that if I had to drink the spit, it would have made me sick. But if I had 50 people around me chanting in my ears to drink it, I probably would have gone along with it and drank it, even though I wouldn't have wanted to. She

probably ate the goldfish because everybody was around. What are they going to do? Say no? Then have people say that's lame, or that's boring, and then when she did, they were like "all right!" They carried her around and then she was in.

(Mary)

Initiations seem to draw the participants into situations that they do not want to follow through with, yet they override this mechanism to fulfill a greater need to belong.

No one should be forced to do anything that they are not comfortable doing. They should be given every opportunity to get out of that situation. The issue that arises is peer pressure and having to fit into the team. (Tanja)

There were clearly defined differences between male and female responses regarding choice. Although no one, regardless of gender had absolute, repercussion free choice to opt out of their initiation, more leeway and preventative measures were granted female initiates. Their male counterparts were made explicitly aware of the need to participate in their team's event.

Resisting the Initiation

None of the participants interviewed had resisted being initiated yet all had a story about an individual on the team who had. The tactics utilized by some of the teams to deal with rookie resistance are uncannily similar, transcending both the sport and gender barrier. When a rookie does not wish to go through with a particular aspect of the initiation, they were singled out and, in some cases, eventually succumbed to their rite of passage. Usually these rookies are viewed as being different or loners who do not go out of their way to socialize with the team.

It was all one big scare tactic that culminated with a head shaving incident. They grabbed this one kid and physically held him down and shaved his head. After I saw that, I just let them do it. (Sean)

In this case, the men's team followed through with the threat and shaved the head to assert the hierarchy of dominance, whereas the women's teams utilize the threat to establish dominance, rarely following through with the intended punishment.

They pretended like they were going to shave our eyebrows. This one girl on our team was worried because she had nice eyebrows. I knew that they weren't really going to do it because I had heard, so she really thought that they were going to do it. They were stringing her along. I guess we all really got into it too, we all had her believing that she was going to be shaved. We pretended like ours had been shaved. We went along with it because she was crying and making such a big deal about it. She was someone on the team that we didn't really like, she was a little bit different. She didn't make an effort to bond with the team. They didn't shave it in the end. (Yvonne)

There are evidently then, calculated, established practices built into the initiation ceremony, designed to homogenize the group to both the will and the hierarchy of the team. Those who step outside of the desired parameters are dealt with.

She was singled out before because she was seen as rebelling and not being compliant with things that in the initiation you might be picked on more because that is their way of asserting dominance. It is the perfect opportunity then because they are inebriated, it is in your control, and their defenses are lowered. Those that

resist get it harder, those that go along and are compliant don't have any problems. (Winnie)

Even though male and female initiation tactics vary in terms of severity and extremes that they will go to attain rookie compliance and submission, the end result is still congruent.

Team Solidarity

Of importance to a team's successful initiation is that it creates solidarity amongst the participants. The focus is on the need for all to be initiated in order for the structure and integrity of the membership to remain intact, while maintaining a code of secrecy and remaining undetected by the administration. Many teams understand this underlying principle of the initiation and develop techniques purposefully intended to curtail the possibility of dissension. The rookie contingent is slowly brought onsite, and is used to sway the remaining dissidents, if any, to follow suit.

There has been rookie resistance to hierarchy. We are smart about it. At first, we get the vulnerable ones first, and then they join in with us and then they encourage the other rookies, "Hey listen, you get this over with and you'll be like us, like the rest of the team". (Jonathan)

Complete membership to the rank of teammate is denied until the rookie capitulates to the wishes of the team and complies with the demands of the initiation event.

Even the coercive devices of peer pressure and rookie encouragement is not enough to convince some rookies to follow through with the initiation process. In the following case, one of the few options open to the rookie was to involve the coach, and this is met with harsh and lasting consequences.

On our team they shave heads and one guy didn't want his head shaved so he went to the coach and the coach instructed the players not to do it. We had built it up before, taunting and scaring the rookies about the head shaves. Afterwards the player was basically shunned from the team. Now he is a good player and he starts so we kind of accept him a bit more. But initially it was, "what a poor sport, what is his problem, I guess he doesn't want to be a member of this team." That lasted the entire season. (Mark)

The goal of the team is to create a structured cohesive unit, one that demands compliance, dedication and adherence by all. When rookie's deviate from this formula it causes ripples of dissatisfaction amongst the senior players (Bryshun, 1997; Cox, 1994).

Non-Participation (Opting out of the initiation)

Many university policies make it clear that the participants are not to be forced or coerced into initiation activities (e.g., Brock University, McMaster University, University of Toronto, University of Western Ontario, Lakehead University; see Chapter 5). For this reason, most team leaders responsible for the organization of the ceremonies inform the first year players that they need not attend or take part in any part of the initiation that they do not feel comfortable with. However, this gesture is a qualified one in that the rookies feel obligated to offer excuses for non-participation. In most cases, regardless of the reason for not attending, paralleling tribal culture initiations, membership for the neophytes is not granted as they are often ostracized and treated as outsiders (Messner & Sabo, 1990; Van Gennepe, 1960).

Excuses

There are several reasons that individuals will choose to not attend or participate in the initiation ceremony: The most common is the need to abstain from drinking alcohol, either for religious reasons or because of work the following day. Some also revealed stories of rookies being so intimidated by the hype generated by the veterans, that they chose to avoid the evening.

There are some players on the team that haven't been initiated. They choose not to show up. We can't force people to come out to rookie night. They opt out because they think that it is going to be worse than it actually is, because we hype it for so long. (Paulo)

Excuses for non-participation by a rookie in the initiation are demanded by the team. The optionality of the rite must be qualified and even then it is not always enough to satisfy team members.

If someone can't make it to rookie night, they will have to have a damn good excuse for not being able to make it. If they have a good reason, people can respect that. People won't respect someone who doesn't give to the team in terms of time and commitment. There can be tension and hostility towards these individuals when we feel they aren't living up to the commitments of the team.

(Tanja)

For the initiate to be granted the rights and privileges that accompany full status membership, it is imperative that they not only attend but that they take part in their team's initiation.

Treatment of Non-Participants

First year players who opted not to participate in the initiation ceremony were often treated as outsiders, segregated from the core group within the team that had been initiated. These individuals are ostracized and derided at team functions in an ongoing attempt to persuade the non-participants to give in to the will of the team.

People will say things like “oh, he is not coming out tonight” and make them feel shame for not coming. There is definitely a core group of people and those are the ones that are the party people. Sometimes if the non-partiers come out for a team function, we will put pressure on them to drink, but then it usually subsides after a bit. Most of them will give in after some time and they start drinking, peer pressure is pretty strong. (Jenn)

The post-initiation pressure was described by both male and female participants. For those who did not conform to the standards of the team in terms of the initiation, abuse is heaped upon them in terms of harassing behavior, until the desired comportment is displayed by the neophyte. The team utilizes coercion until dominance is exhibited over the will of the rookie.

The other players would harass them right after the initiation. We would harass them subtly if they didn't show up to the initiation. It was insulting to those of us that had done it already, so we made them feel separate from the ones that went through with it. (Paulo)

Non-participation by a rookie during their initiation ceremony can be the cause for rifts and low cohesion amongst the membership of the team. To counter this effect, veteran

players use both subtle and coercive means to entice compliance and ultimately dominance over rebellious rookies.

The Effects of Non-Participation

Two situations were noted for those who did not participate in the initiation ceremony. First, the rookies were not welcomed into the group because of their refusal to acquiesce to the will of the senior players and to unconditionally surrender their individual identities to the desires and whims of the veteran players. They were treated differently within the group, harassed and not awarded the same respect as the core membership, at times to the point where the individual eventually left the team.

There was a player a few years ago who actually left during the initiation. He always kept to himself, he was never a part of the clique on the team. Leaving from the initiation isolated him even further from the team, eventually he stopped playing. The other guys just stayed away from him. (Jonathan)

Second, the rookies who refused to take part in the initiation ceremony constructed a buffer zone to distance themselves from activities within the social web of the team. This isolation was so difficult that they could continue to play the sport, but not be in social situations where they might be vulnerable to the desires and harassment of their peers.

5. Elements of Initiation That Reproduce the Power Structure

The initiation ceremony operates on many different levels. This section examines the utilization of various techniques, which serve to reinforce the power structure imbedded within the configuration of the team. The hierarchical needs of the holders of the power are established and reproduced throughout the text of the initiation, educating the neophyte's as to both their position within the system and their means by which to

attain this endowment (Holman, 1997; Messner, 1992; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990; Sabo, 1987). Although the devices used at times varied from team to team, the use of alcohol was a consistent ingredient. This is one area of the initiation that has been addressed within university code. It clearly states that no event is to take place using alcohol. Veteran players responsible for initiation organization took action to ensure that their rookie assembly, although inebriated, were better cared for. Not so much as a reaction to being held responsible, but rather to lower the chances of "outsiders" blowing the whistle on their evening, either on-campus or off. Maintaining a code of secrecy, allows for the continuation of the power laden structure established during the initiation (Tiger, 1984). This domination is exhibited over the rookies, through the use of attire, physical confinement, as well as the cyclical nature of the system which bestows the rookies with the eventual means of becoming the initiator (Holman, 1997; Robinson, 1998).

Use of Alcohol

The use of alcohol is the one consistent element of the initiations described. One interviewee spoke of the traditions and rituals embedded within the "Caucasian" culture that involve drinking alcohol to excess, a process, which is an integral part of the rite of passage. While most participants spoke of the optional nature of consuming alcohol during the initiation ceremony, the team community did exert control over the neophytes. The use of alcohol during the initiation served a dual purpose. Not only is it utilized as a tool to unlock the inhibitions of the initiates, but it is also the catalyst for the veterans' use of power. Alcohol is consumed in most cases to the point of vomiting and, occasionally, to the point of alcohol poisoning requiring medical attention. For some first year players, who may be as young as seventeen, this ceremony can be their first

introduction to alcohol. Many interviewees spoke about being so inebriated that they couldn't walk. Stories of passing out, throwing up, unruly behavior, two-day hangovers, playing games designed to get them drunk faster, and never having been "so pissed" in their lives, were all revealed.

We had a lot of the team members that were under the age of nineteen, we even had one who had never had alcohol before. We were blindfolded and all the shots they made us do were alcoholic. I threw up and starting chugging more, everyone was throwing up. I remember the next day, I couldn't even get out of bed. I had the spins and everything. (Mary)

Coercive tactics where the use of alcohol is concerned have shifted with the tightening of the university initiation policies. Although alcohol substitutes are permitted for rookies who choose not to drink, they are discouraged and generally regarded as unacceptable by the veterans. Rookies who choose not to consume alcohol during the initiation ceremony are perceived as a threat to the power structure of the initiation. Some teams address this issue by making the substitutes even more vile and unpalatable than the other alternative.

We had a (Rookie) that was seventeen who said that he had to work the next day so we didn't make him drink but we had a jar of hot peppers and every time that he screwed up he would have to eat a hot pepper. I think that it was even worse than drinking. At one point a vet challenged him to see who could eat it fastest, he lost and had to eat three hot peppers. He said that his mouth was on fire, he had tears and the whole bit. At one point he grabbed a beer and downed the entire thing because he was burning so much. (Peter)

The possibility for the first year players to opt out of the drinking portion of the ceremony is for the most part illusory. Although most teams do offer alternatives to their rookies, the ramifications of not conforming are ever-present and conveyed to the initiates through veiled means.

I would say that the alcohol drinking was forced, but at the same time I could see how if somebody was not really up for it, they wouldn't be forced to. I wasn't really looking forward to being completely drunk, but I did get that way. It was set up that way, we never really had a choice, and you don't want to be an outsider. (Winnie)

The use of alcohol during the initiation is a means to an end. It is utilized not only as a tool to unlock the inhibitions of the neophytes to establish control and their acquiescence, but as a ritual of domination in of itself.

The Culture of Alcohol

The only team not to have alcohol as a part of their initiation ceremony was one whose captain was of (.....) heritage. He explained that he did not use alcohol because it was not a part of his cultural heritage in terms of a rite of passage:

I was raised in Canada but I am a mixing of two cultures, Canadian culture, if there really is one, and the (.....)culture. I find that my Caucasian friends really enjoy drinking, If it is your birthday they really want to see you throw up.

Whereas [my culture] see it as more of a celebration, rather than to get you sick on your birthday. I have done both, I just don't agree with getting the guy sick to the point where he is puking. It is stupid, what a waste of money. He is throwing up and not feeling well. It is a strange tradition. You could probably name every

one of your friends that have had an experience like that, your friends just take him out and get him pissed. It is not my style and I purposely decided not to impose this on the rookies. (Jason)

The team was compliant with this stipulation by Jason. He established an initiation that took place in a very public place involving nudity, and effectively created a new tradition that the team still engages in.

Veteran Responsibility for Rookies

Within the past couple of years, following administrative interventions and policies to curtail harmful, discriminatory, and degrading initiation practices, there has been an attempt made by the veterans to increase their awareness and direct involvement in the responsibility for the safety and well-being of the initiates. This was evident in three ways:

- 1) regard for the rookies in terms of alcohol consumption,
- 2) security and safety during and post-initiation and,
- 3) concern for complaints about initiations.

1) Alcohol Responsibility

For most of the initiations, drinking to excess is expected of the rookies. With a greater awareness both in the administrative and the public eye, there has been a concerted effort made by most teams to place controls on the elements that have caused concern about the initiation activities. One of the countermeasures put in place has been the pairing of a veteran with a rookie for the duration of the evening. Whereas in the past the rookie would have been sent home or back to residence unescorted, now it is the

specific responsibility of the senior players to ensure that the rookies at least make it to their post-initiation destinations.

We were each paired with a veteran. I felt better about the situation because they were physically taking us home, cab fare, whatever, fed us water. I was sober and making sure that everyone had everybody. Some really needed to go home because they were drunk. They are going to feel pain in the morning and our concern is to try to ease that pain if we can. (Paulo)

The veterans acknowledge the fact that the rookies are going to experience the adverse affects of alcohol during the initiation so they take measures to counter this with water, food, washroom breaks and buckets to vomit into.

2) Security and Safety

While not diminishing the amounts consumed, and trying to minimize the effects of the alcohol with food, the veterans keep a watch on the rookies to ensure that they do not get into any trouble, especially when the initiation involved interaction with the public, either on-campus or off.

We went to the bar and by coincidence the wrestling and cheerleading teams both had their initiations there. We wanted the wrestlers to eat our necklaces. There was a lot of groping, but we didn't let any of the rookies' go home with any of them. Somebody was always keeping tabs on the rookies. (Tanja)

3) Concern for Complaints

One team made a point of assuring their rookies that, prior to the initiation event, if they had any concerns about anything that was about to transpire they could approach one of the senior players. Their team was on probation due to a hazing incident from the

previous season, and they were rightfully cautious in the dissemination and assurance of new university policy to their first year players. Despite this effort, a complaint made its way to the office of Student Affairs and a subsequent investigation was launched.

We made sure that our rookies felt comfortable with the idea that if they had any problems with what we were going to do or with what happened during the initiation that they come to us. We couldn't afford to have it go to the administration. Despite that, a complaint was made about our team. We did our own investigation to find out who did it, we figured that it must have been someone not on the team, everyone swore to us that it wasn't them. (Karen)

The team realized the gravity of the situation, and took pains to keep the particulars surrounding the initiation ceremony from the administration.

Secrecy

There is a veil of secrecy that surrounds the initiation ceremony (Loy, 1995; Tiger, 1984), one that has kept many of the specific elements of the ceremonies from the general public until recently when there has been a minor moral panic about such practices as we learn more and more about them. Within the varsity culture, many of the participants expressed a need to perpetuate this secrecy, not only from society at large, but specifically from the university administration.

You can't really turn a blind eye and let teams run rampant. These examples take away their privacy. You are taking what is meant to be a team thing and making it into a public spectacle, it isn't meant to be that for everyone to see. It is meant for the players on the team and it is meant to be kept hush-hush. If you are not a

member of the team then you don't get to find out what happens and what goes on. When that happens you are starting to take away from the team aspect. (Mark)

This code of silence is one that is demanded of the players, preserving the integrity of the team to the point where there are serious concerns for members about repercussions for players who choose to leave or report the incident to the university.

This year the coach made cuts late. I approached him and expressed my concerns with the fact that we might initiate a guy who ends up getting cut and goes and squeals to the administration and then we are in deep shit. We were a little hesitant. (Sean)

Teams now have an awareness of the seriousness of their actions concerning initiations, the result of which could impact on both the integrity and existence of their varsity programs. This has shifted their efforts further underground as a protective measure to maintain the status quo.

Physical Confinement of the Rookies

Some of the initiations involved at one point or another, the physical confinement of the rookies, both as a group and as individuals. The various confining spaces utilized included hotel rooms, buses, shower stalls, dorm rooms, bedrooms, washroom stalls, dressing rooms, athletic facilities and meeting rooms. Confining the rookies in a relatively small, enclosed space allows for two things to happen. One, it eliminates the rookie's routes of escape, facilitating the ease of the initiation, and it allows the anxiety levels of the rookies to build, awaiting their fates. This separation allows for the total control over the actions of the rookies (Robinson, 1998). In limiting their space, opportunities to opt out or to retire to some other place while the initiation goes on are

limited. This early introduction to control of movement helps the veteran ensemble establish who is in charge, in terms of power.

We were in the shower stalls. If we wandered out to see what was going on, one of the veterans, usually the captain, would yell at us to get back in. I mean it was hot and steamy because they had the showers going full blast. (Peter)

The use of confining spaces is another means of control utilized by senior players to define the space in which rookies can operate. It generates both fear and apprehension about the events that they must endure.

Being the Initiator

The initiating group consists of the players who are in their second, third, fourth or fifth year with the team. Once you have been initiated into the culture of the team you are bestowed the honor of then being an initiator for subsequent years to come. The cyclical nature of first being an initiand and then initiator is driven by the desire to at least replicate, if not escalate, the activities that had to be endured as a neophyte, creating an uneasy atmosphere of power imbalance, where the rookies are literally at the mercy of their veteran teammates:

Some guys like it, they get off on it. Some guys it takes a hold of them and they just love it. I guess that it is that feeling of power and control you have over the rookies. (Paulo)

A member of the women's rugby team also described this emotional response elicited from the feelings of exerting power over others.

Knowing that we were going to initiate the rookies made us so giddy with excitement and anticipation. We were coming up with the craziest things for them

to do. We were so excited and giddy waiting for the day to come. We got it so I guess that you are going to get it too. It was all in good fun. We were trying to come up with ideas to outdo what had been done to us. (Karen)

Even though the initiation is generally described by the participants as being “all in good fun” three male interviewees spoke about reservations they had about initiating other team members.

This year when I was doing it, I didn't really enjoy doing it to the rookies, I guess I felt like a wuss or a wimp. I don't like doing it, I don't know why, I just don't get off on that kind of stuff. (Jonathan)

Jason, the captain of his team, responsible for the organization of the initiation, admitted that he could not be a party to the initiation of two people he knew who became members of the team.

I hesitated when I was faced with the fact that [two people I knew] made the team. I told our co-captain that I could initiate anyone else but these two. They respected that. I guess that I couldn't go through with it in the end. (Jason)

These reactions indicate a strong correlation between initiation activities and the recognition of the potentially damaging effects to those being initiated.

Male Initiators

While describing the role of the initiators, several participants noted the cruelties that males seemed to indulge in more than females, Mary, a member of the co-ed swim team, noted:

In swimming, a lot of the male veterans seemed to thrive on seeing the rookies tortured and abused, I guess that it was their good time. If I were by myself, I

would have been really scared going into the initiation. I was lucky enough to have known some of the vets, so I just trusted that they would get me through in one piece. (Mary)

The initiators tasted the power they experienced with their own rite of passage, when they were the victims. They in turn want to exert that power over others, completing the circle of membership (Whitson, 1990).

Attire

Two main categories were developed based on the use of attire by teams during initiations. Clothing is used as a signifier of membership for all team members as well as an important component of cohesion. Attire is also utilized as a tool to humiliate and degrade the initiates in a practice designed to control and establish the order of power and submission.

Membership

Common attire before, during, and after the initiation is a universal characteristic whose purpose is to announce to the greater society that membership has been bestowed upon the candidate (Donnelly & Young, 1988), who now presents her/himself to you sporting a mohawk (or some similar type of haircut), nickname, dyed hair or hand color, pendant, tattoo, uniform, or singing a team song.

They gave us mohawks, or curly cuts, shaving our numbers into our heads if they could do it. (Mark)

All the rookies were in one room and blindfolded, we got our hands dyed blue, it washed off in a couple of days. They had also dyed our hair blue. (Yvonne)

Identifying with the membership is paramount to the cohesiveness of the team (Carron, 1982; Nixon, 1987). Whether this is forced, as it often is during the initiation, or whether it is voluntary, team jackets, shirts or tattoos, the rookie is announcing to the greater community that they have been granted affiliation.

Power

The second purpose that clothing serves during the initiation is to humiliate and degrade the first year player publicly. This is accomplished by making the athletes parade around in a mocked up version of their team uniforms, or they are forced to wear cartoonish costumes.

We had to wear a uniform around the school, one white shoe and one blue on home territory. We had to wear a white turtleneck, a stupid looking tie with silly glasses and a stupid hat, our right elbow pad, left hockey glove all day at school.

(Peter)

Often it is the veterans' desire to have complete control over their rookie teammates that guides the degree of humiliation.

I had a rookie who I thought was too cocky. It was random selection and I didn't like her much. I thought that she would be getting all poofed up for the evening so I told her that I was bringing these stupid ugly, flannel pants that she had to wear and this ugly hat. (Tanja)

Being responsible for the attire a rookie is expected to wear in public asserts the veteran's dominance over the freewill of the rookie to decide their presentation in a public forum. The neophyte's input becomes negligible and in fact, as in the above example, can render the punishment that much more severe.

Outsiders' Perceptions of Initiation Practices

Many of the athletes acknowledge the dichotomous nature of the initiation ceremony: one which bestows the knowledge and understanding upon its members while denying any empathetic response from outside observers.

Most people are standing on the outside saying, I can't believe they do this to each other, you know they do that to themselves? They willingly do this? Why? That's what people are asking themselves. It's like the military, why are those guys smearing shit on their bodies and drinking piss. No one in their right mind would do that, but there is a motivating factor that drives people to go through these practices. There is something there, I think that we can achieve it in a different way. (Mark)

Mark is acknowledging how ingrained the intent of the initiation becomes within the psyche of the participants and that the assumption is no longer feasible for them to account for their actions in any sort of rational objective way, the athletes have effectively legitimized and sanctioned their actions in the name of the team.

Outsider Intervention

In some instances the initiation ceremony is compromised through outside intervention. At times the ceremony is stumbled upon or interrupted by someone in residence or a member of the University staff where it is taking place.

We ended up getting kicked out of the hall because someone came down and was telling us that we didn't have to do this. He said that he would call the cops. He came down and saw what it was and thought that they were being forced to do it against their will. One of the rookies on the team had to be restrained from hitting

him by the vets. He was saying that he wanted to be there, he wanted to do this.

(Jonathan)

To the casual observer, some of the initiation practices seem extreme and harmful, to the point where intervention is needed. There is little or no tolerance from the public for the apparently degrading, and irresponsible aspects of the initiation ceremony.

I had to be carried back to my residence by my captains. I was so drunk that I slept in the flowerpot outside of our residence. People sat outside with me the entire night, they were like, "Oh my God, look what the (.) did to her." They bugged me forever and were really down on what they did to me. I slept in one of those big round flower planters. I couldn't walk at all. (Jenn)

Scenes like this one, that are serious and potentially fatal, are qualified and excused by the participants themselves in a bid to preserve the culture and indeed the subculture to which they now belong (Donnelly & Young, 1988).

6. The Culture of Team Cohesion/Function of the Initiation

The initiation ceremony is intricately woven into the fabric of the team, pulling together many components and segments which the team utilize to construct their identity, not only within their subculture, but for the intended purposes of the extended community as well (Donnelly, 1985). Teams channel their collective ideals into their initiation in order to legitimize and reproduce their values, goals and directives. The key validators of this practice described within this section include the rite of passage, the cyclical nature of the initiation, folklore, team cohesion, team success and selection of players' worthy of the endeavor. Furthermore, when asked to explain their reasoning for involvement in actively participating and reproducing the means and values of the team

culture, the responses included both coercive and cultural indicators. The use of alcohol and conforming pressures were tactics cited that involved some degree of duress, while the remaining reasons--membership, tradition and socialization--indicated the initiate's sense of wanting to belong as an insider within the culture.

Rite of Passage

Although the initiation serves many functions, for the majority of the respondents, the primary purpose of the ceremony was a ritualized transitional experience where the rookie's neophyte status within the culture of the team metamorphosed into that of full membership (Cohen, 1964).

The descriptors varied in syntax but the significance remained true to the experience a rite of passage: a movement into the team culture, a transition in status from non-member to member, a symbolic shedding of their "Rookie" skin.

For the rookies being initiated, afterwards it means that they are on the team now.

That is a mindset that is embedded in the tradition. Everyone thinks that after

"Rookie Night" they are no longer rookies. It is everything all rolled together, it is

like a movement into a new culture. (Yvonne)

For some teams the welcoming into the society is publicly celebrated with a declaration of the rookies' acceptance into the team fold.

The drinking party was followed by our trip to the bar. You feel like you are a star almost, they announce that this is your initiation, it is as though you are being welcomed into a community or a sporting culture. (Winnie)

The acceptance into the culture however, is both conditional and structured. The newly accepted members are made consciously aware of their place within the hierarchical configuration of the team (Holman, 1997).

When I went through with my initiation, it was the hierarchy thing. It was our rite of passage but only to a certain degree, you are still under the control of the veterans. (Jonathan)

Jonathan recognizes the dualism of the initiation ceremony, the rookies are “sold” the idea that membership must be attained through sometimes violent, coercive means to gain status, yet the reality of control and powerlessness that accompanies a rookie’s status are key elements that keep this structure intact (Messner, 1992; Sabo, 1987; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990).

Cycle of Initiation

The cyclical nature of the initiation, enduring the initiation as an initiand who then in turn has the opportunity to assume the role of initiator for subsequent years, was a frequently cited reason for the perpetuation of the ceremonies.

The function of the initiation is served because not only are you allowed to be initiated, you then become the initiator. You feel like you have moved on and that you have paid your dues, this is the way it is. It is almost like revenge, I got it bad my rookie year and they want to outdo the initiation that they had to go through.

(Winnie)

This cycle is one that feeds on the need to “outdo”, or to at least match the previous year’s activities. It embeds in the psyche of those who have been initiated the desire to exert their power over the rookie contingent in subsequent seasons. The language

describing the ceremonies is for the most part harsh and suggestive of an event, which is not altogether pleasant or welcoming. Yet the need for most participants to become initiators allows the cycle to persist.

The initiation is something that we are all put through and then talk about afterwards, we have bonded over enduring this hardship. The role of the initiation is what has been done to us will be done to you to be a part of the team. This is the cycle we live by. (Peter)

The belief is that suffering through a shared experience of hardship somehow pulls the team together and establishes an element of bonding amongst the group, and in order to maintain this level of cohesion, it must be perpetuated from season to season.

Folklore

A by-product of the initiation ceremony is the folklore and grandiose tales that are generated through the feats of rookie participants. These stories are revisited by team members in order to protract the myths and legends of team dedication, and cohesion, passed on to the rookie contingent in hopes of keeping the bond alive.

All the rookies do these crazy things together so it makes for some crazy stories to share and to tell later on. When I was initiated, one of the rookies threw up and then kept going. They still talk about that story, we will always remember what a trooper she was, what a good rookie. (Karen)

This form of hype is an attempt to convey to rookie candidates the dedication, desire and sense of sacrifice that members demonstrate to the team. The revisiting of these tales generates both an interest with the audience to belong, and a means of passing on the traditional folklore of the team (Eliade, 1975).

Team Cohesion (Bonding)

The initiation ceremony is a time when all of the participants come together for a common purpose. Some players hold onto the belief that it is the initiation ceremony that gels the team and allows bonding and cohesion to occur.

I remember reading about the military that the tougher the initiations the closer the bonds that are formed between the members of the unit. I think that there is good team bonding that comes out of it (the initiation), you kind of have a respect for (guys) that have gone through it because you have gone through it and you accept them to be a part of your team because it is the same thing that you have gone through. (Mark)

However, many of the respondents expressed their feelings that traditional methods of achieving cohesion are not the most effective ones, despite the belief that initiating ceremonies brings a team closer together.

I think that initiation really plays on degradation and embarrassment, putting people in their spot, that kind of thing. You don't have to do that kind of stuff. We are there to help everyone and to make them feel like they are amongst people that they should be with. There are better ways to promote team unity. To feel like there are no sub-groups within the team. To make everyone feel welcomed. I don't think that I can look back and say that our initiation brought us any closer together as a team or that we really needed that. We didn't do any activities that I feel would bring a team closer together. (Jenn)

While some genuinely felt like they bonded with their teammates, there still exists a subtext of propaganda, where the neophytes are sold the idea by the veteran players that

the initiation is a crucial event that will help the team's performance, and enhance the experience.

The team really tries to convince you that the initiation is a really good bonding experience for the team. (Yvonne)

Jonathan spoke of the need for alternative activities to replace some of the negative aspects of the initiation ceremony. Substitute activities that will achieve group cohesion and maintain team unity.

I think that at the core it is a valuable exercise, it's just the nature and interpretation, how people use that ceremony, for coercive means for degrading, humiliating means. I don't necessarily think that it has to be that way to achieve bonding or cohesion. Things like going on canoe trips, ropes courses, I think that these things can achieve the same objectives. (Sean)

Cohesion, real or perceived (Carron, 1982), is one of the motivating factors for the continuation of the initiation ceremony.

Success

The link between team cohesion and success is very real for many of the participants. Cohesion is viewed as a necessary causal factor for a team to experience a successful season (Carron, 1982; Cox, 1994; Fitchett, 1995); success being relative to the number of wins and how close they are to the Championship. The catalyst in this cause and effect relationship is the initiation ceremony.

I knew that this season was going to be a good one, we got all kinds of people coming out to rookie night that we thought we wouldn't. I think that it is a direct result of everybody feeling comfortable enough. People had the choice. We have

become progressively more careful, we are a successful team so we could probably get away with more. You need the cohesiveness in order for the cohesion to spread. (Tanja)

Although this is the commonly cited reason, there is little empirical evidence that supports this connection.

Cohesion off the Playing Field

The social aspects of the initiation create an environment that for many, extends beyond the playing field.

For the past five years our team has been very close, on and off the court, so we always go and party and drink together, in fact our coach will buy us drinks after home games to celebrate. (Jason)

There is no doubt that for some participants, peer groups and bonds are forged that go beyond the team and in some cases beyond their athletic careers.

With all of them, even to this day, I am still friends with these people. There is still some kind of sense of family, this lasting bond between members. (Sean)

The extended sense of kinship is a tangible by-product for many of the athletes, membership into the community for some lasts literally a lifetime (Tiger, 1984).

Selection

Another function that the initiation apparently serves is to naturally select the participants worthy of the athletic endeavor. There exists a belief of innate entitlement for the athletes who can endure the barriers and hurdles that are placed before them in their quest to be a member of a varsity team.

If you have played sports before, you know that some people fit into a team and some do not. The people that don't usually do not stick around. That is not to say that they are bad people, but they have to do something to fit in. People that don't fit into that ethic are the one's that don't fit in. Everyone can turn 18 and get into a restricted movie, or if you are physically able can vote. Initiations in sports are tougher because not everyone can do it. If you can't, maybe it isn't for you.

(Karen)

For the participants who do not conform to this belief, life in athletics can be difficult (Young, White, McTeer, 1994). Some opt out of the sport before the initiation takes place, others are asked to leave the team, cut or ostracized and alienated by their teammates, creating an uncomfortable, chilly environment where they no longer feel welcomed.

Reasons for Participating in Initiations

The athletes' responses for participating in an initiation included both coercive, (alcohol and peer pressure) and personal and social reasons (membership, tradition, and socialization). These seemed to be justifications for taking part in ceremonies which, for the most part were not pleasant experiences.

Membership

The largest grouping of responses concerning participants' reasons for engaging in initiation ceremonies was to gain membership to the group:

It is prestigious to be a part of the varsity team, so to go through with one night of hell, is an acceptable trade off. In everyday life some of these initiations are not

acceptable but in the forum of sport they are. Why else would people let them do these things to them? (Winnie)

Accessibility extends beyond the constructs of the team to an association that encompasses the university itself.

At the time I was thinking, get this over with and I'll be a part of the (varsity community) and then, I get to be in for the next four years. We had to do it outside, it was really embarrassing and I just thought that I will suck it up for ten minutes or so and then it is over. (Peter)

It also appears this membership has to be earned. For the successful candidates, there has to be an element of hardship, a barrier that is overcome where full fellowship is awarded on the other side with all of its' rights and privileges.

Being accepted is so important. You can play on a certain team and be good at what you do, but if you are not welcomed on that team, if they make you feel like you are only there to fulfill your role on the field, you get so alienated from what you do. It doesn't mean anything anymore. It becomes very mechanical, you have to love what you do. You have to be able to say, "look what I did to get here". To be on the team you have to be able to say that you worked hard to get here and I made it through the initiation. You have to go through that barrier to prove your worth to the team. (Karen)

For an athlete to fully enjoy their varsity experience, they must rely on their teammates' support and acceptance within that structure. Without that acceptance, the player can never be completely immersed in the community of the team (Sabo, 1987).

Tradition

At times, initial compliance with the initiation ceremony can stem from an unwillingness to break the long-standing traditions held by their teams. They did not want to be the one who let the team down.

I mean it has been such a tradition, you can't break the tradition. It is stronger than any one person. You might be able to change some of it, but you just can't totally stop it. I did not want to be that person. (Peter)

These traditions are slow to change and difficult to break. Engineers and rugby players still sing songs and partake in ritualized behaviour which goes back decades (Wheatley, 1994).

Conformity

There is a dynamic aspect to groups. Some described it as peer pressure, mob antics, a need to appease the "vets", or like being swept in a great tide that draws you into the sea. This is the coercive pull of a hegemonic system, which allows the participant a sense of autonomy and choice yet limits the routes they can take.

You see other people doing it; I guess that is the only pressure you get. He's doing it so I guess that I should do it too. Peer pressure but it is not forced upon you, they are not going to say you didn't get your head shaved, so you are not accepted, you are not a part of this team. It would be done in more subtle ways, you would feel like an outsider, and that sucks. (Sean)

The pull towards the intoxicating environment, one rich with power-laden overtones which is accessible to the neophyte who need only endure the initiation is for some, easy to justify.

It is really like mob antics, when you are in a big group and everyone is doing it, then you feel the group power and you become one with it. Being with everyone is like a common bond. You get a taste of what you will get in the long run.

(Paulo)

One veteran described how the practices in the arena of sport differs from that of society; how the unacceptable and horrific events that transpire during initiations are accepted within the ranks of the participants.

It extends into the changerooms and team functions. Sport has its own laws. You can't govern it from the outside in, you have to govern from the inside out. It has to be a contagious idea. I would have to be an advocate for not participating in these ceremonies, even though when my turn came, I went through with it. At the time it makes sense, it feels right and it was something I felt I had to do. (Jenn)

The arena of sport operates with a different set of laws and governance. All of these responses acknowledge the inexplicable, magnetic force which draws new members to it, and coax them into the fold.

Alcohol

Two subjects confessed that they only went through with the initiation due to intoxication.

After a certain point I really didn't care anymore. Whatever the activity was, we were all pretty drunk by this point. We brought the alcohol, but they were making us do the shots. I remember some things, I know that if I had been sober, I would have been apprehensive about what we were being asked to go through with.

(Yvonne)

For some, the only rationalizing force was total inebriation, a level of intoxication that they required in order to follow through with their respective initiations.

Socialization

The final category involves the social aspect of the initiation ceremony. Some of the respondents reminisced about coming to university without having a peer group or contacts. The rookie party represented a social gathering where they were able to forge these relationships:

People are coming from different parts of the country or province, you go from being comfortable, with a social group and place to where you don't, some people need that social part of their life. I can see why they would go through with such a thing. The rookie night was a time when we all got to know each other, we made some good friendships. (Sean)

This description draws eerie comparisons to how individuals are drawn into prostitution.

The powerful draw of the subculture.

The enchanting draw towards the team culture entices these individuals to, at times, compromise their integrity and freewill, and to enter into situations, that under normal circumstances would seem corrupt and unfeasible (Donnelly, 1985). Participation in the initiation ceremony is then justified and sold to the participants as a necessary transition for the good of the team, to forge strong bonds, to keep the tradition alive, to succeed. This is internalized and reproduced within the culture's system.

7. Gender and Initiation

This section is an examination of the differing aspects of the initiation ceremony that focus on not only the gender of the participants, but on the abuses and stereotypes

that are reinforced as a result of certain practices. The genderization of initiation ceremonies is a common theme exhibited on both male and female teams (Bryshun, 1997; Holman, 1997). The use of demeaning, provocative, “slut-like” clothing, as well as cross-dressing by male initiates, is intended to demean and humiliate the novitiate. This stereotypical misogynist practice would not serve its intended purpose if being a woman in our society meant being extended the same respect, dignity and equality as it is for men (Robinson, 1997). But not all men. Many initiations involve homo-erotic activities or demeaning exercises at the expense of gay men. Again, if homosexuality were an acceptable lifestyle within the sporting culture, the initiation would not have the intended degrading effect. The heterosexualization of both male and female initiations serves to further excise “the demons of homosexuality”, and to convey to the membership acceptable practice and comportment within the culture of the team.

Clothing and Cross-dressing

A common practice for both male and female initiations is the sexualization of the rite of passage. This is achieved through a variety of methods. The use of clothing and assumed identities is utilized by both men’s and women’s teams, although their approaches are different. For men’s initiations, they will sometimes demand that their neophyte ensemble dress as women, wear women’s undergarments, frequent known gay bars, interacting with patrons, or be paraded around in public.

We had to get a woman’s dress and wear it to all of the different bars. We then went to a known gay bar where we had to get a telephone number and we had to give them ours. (Peter)

For some of the teams, knowledge of the cross-dressing is kept within the circle of the team, like a closely guarded secret that requires the initiate to assume the role in a public forum.

We had to get women's underwear that could not be our Mother's or our sister's and we had to wear that all day underneath our other clothing. The veterans had to see us, and if they wanted to see our underwear they would ask and we had to show them that we had it on. (Jonathan)

Women's teams will often require their rookie groups to dress up, usually in sexually explicit, revealing and degrading outfits, characterized by exaggerated makeup, outrageous costumes and "tramp-like" attire. In all of the examples presented however, none cross-dressed as men. In fact, one female rugby team designed their initiation attire to ridicule their varsity cheerleading team.

We like to make fun of the cheerleaders, they all had to dress like babies. One of our props threatened to punch any cheerleaders that came to our game. They had pigtails. We had the rookies make fun of them with fake cheers and things like that. Women's rugby is seen as so butchy or anti-feminine and Cheerleading is the epitome of that so we are real athletes and they are real girlie-girls. We don't really consider them to be athletes. All Cheerleaders do is nod their heads and smile prettily. Not that they are bad people but we are involved with intense physical contact they are jumping up and down and catching one another. We had shirts made up that said we can handle our batons, Dumb-ass Majorettes, all the rookies had to wear these shirts as well as ugly skirts, freckles, we made them real girlie-girl. (Tanja)

The purpose of both activities is to humiliate and degrade the rookies, assuming roles that their team membership views as less than desirable and unacceptable beyond the initiation ceremony (Holman, 1997). The ostracized targets of the initiation behavior are primarily marginalized groups in society, homosexuals, prostitutes, and women. The teams demand that their initiates present themselves as these individuals for the duration of the initiation ceremony to degrade their contingent, reinforcing the stereotypes and further victimizing these segments of the population. Men use gays and women as their desired targets for humiliation and so do women. Even within the rugby example, Tanja makes it quite clear that they are ridiculing more traditional female athletes because they are not considered to be equal in the eyes of her team.

Heterosexualization of Initiations

A crucial element of many of the initiation ceremonies is the reinforced heterosexual ideals, pervasive in many of the ritualized activities. There are expectations and underlying assumptions within varsity team circles, and in fact in the larger society, that everyone is heterosexual. This postulate is embedded within many initiation traditions. Whether it be that women bring condoms, simulate fellatio, or that men watch female strippers and describe sexual exploits, it is expected that the neophyte's always ascribe to heterosexual stereotypes and practices. To be different or to express alternative sexual identities would be met with resistance.

You had to bring a picture of a centerfold, your girlfriend or your Mom, you had to tell a sexual story and a funny joke. They then rate you on what you brought, so you pass around the centerfold and the picture of your girlfriend. The vets are sitting at a long table in front of me and all of the rookies that had gone before me

are now behind. I don't remember what my sex story was, I probably lied, I was only 18 and didn't have a lot of experience, I told them that I was caught having sex with my girlfriend by my Mother. (Mark)

The design of this aspect of the initiation is such that it demands that you conform in the presence of all of the team, to the heterosexual ideals which they see as a part of the neophytes' conditional acceptance within the ranks of the players. Not only do you have to bring a picture of a woman, they want you to share a heterosexual experience with them. Mark felt it necessary to hide the fact that he had not yet had a lot of sexual experience with women.

For women's teams, the expectations of heterosexual behaviors is inherent in activities such as the physical graffiti that is written on the rookies, "cocksucker" or other such sexual terms of abuse, or where the initiates are expected to place a banana between each other's legs, place a condom on it and demonstrate to the group how they would perform oral sex. For some rookies they may be in the situation where they have neither the experience nor the desire to publicly exhibit this comportment, yet the team seeks this hetero-allegiance.

Rugby teams will also utilize sexually explicit songs in public forums to reinforce such ideals.

The songs that we sing are heterosexual and sexual as well. Some are just about drinking. The songs that are sung are still sung by people that maybe don't drink and are maybe homosexual. The larger society just assumes that everyone is heterosexual. Writing cocksucker on somebody who is a lesbian might be an attempt to reinforce the heterosexual ideal. Even women who are. (Karen)

The desire to align oneself with the sport subculture is stronger than that of sexuality (Donnelly & Young, 1988).

Homo-erotic Initiations

Initiations that involved displays of homo-eroticism were exhibited exclusively by males in this study. Male nudity, public and closed masturbation, mutual masturbation and sexual touching, and the forced consumption of bodily fluids were some of the acts carried out by the rookie groups.

I know that the soccer team had the rookies stand around a pizza completely naked and masturbating themselves until they ejaculated on a piece of the pizza.

The last rookie to get off would then have to eat the piece. (Peter)

Another participant described the initiation of a university football team that he chose not to attend.

They would grease the back of a cubicle van and go for a ride on a rocky road. All the rookies are naked in the back, I heard that they throw shit and stuff in with them, They are all smacking off, it gets really ugly. They would then have to drink from this concoction that the veterans put together, a combination of piss and semen, you never really know what is in it. (Sean)

Male teams engage in this type initiation behavior as a means of constructing a social order where the “demons of homosexuality” are excised from the ranks (Connell, 1990). The membership is clearly defining what is and what is not acceptable within the culture of the team. The rookies are asked to perform acts that in some cases mimic homosexual activities. The motivation of the veterans is to exert their will and domination over the

initiates to clearly illustrate how vulnerable they are to the desires of the team (Sabo, 1987). It is not an exercise of inclusion but rather one of exclusion and of power.

It is very strange that a group of men who go to such lengths to prove their masculinity do such homoerotic acts. That is the paradox of these rituals. Most of them revolve around the things that they fear the most. If you were to describe this to a hypermasculine guy, they would say that it is not like that on our team, there are no fags here. It is simply what men do. If they knew one of their members was gay it might be a different story. (Jenn)

Perhaps for some within a homophobic environment, the fear of being confronted by gay issues is the motivating factor to punish others, in this case the initiates. It creates an environment with distinct parameters to be observed by the group.

Objectification

Some of the female initiations required the initiands to interact in a public space, usually a bar, or residence, with members of the opposite sex. These orchestrated activities served to debase and objectify their initiands. Whether the rookies are required to wear revealing clothing, are smeared with sexually explicit graffiti, or have to have their bodies written on by men, the activities are effective catalysts for their objectification. Some of the participants spoke of this uneasy discomfort of having to seek out signatures on their bodies while scantily dressed in a crowded bar.

They made us all wear these outfits and white shirts and they gave us a marker where we had to get guys in the bar to sign it everywhere. Some of the signatures were in places that at any other time, I would have been embarrassed about.
(Yvonne)

The intent of this practice is to enforce dominance over the rookies. They are placed in a vulnerable, demeaning position, which eliminates their freedom and control over their own bodies.

These types of activities were described by virtually all of the subjects. Whether it be hiring a stripper, being asked to bring gender specific porno magazines, or being forced to demonstrate overtly heterosexual acts, they all serve to reinforce heterosexual ideals and disciplines within the team community (Holman, 1997). Some of the initiations by nature, reinforce misogynist and homophobic beliefs, objectifying and demeaning to both women and homosexuals in an attempt to convey to their membership the appropriate range of cultural norms and parameters of acceptable practices and those that are looked upon as unacceptable (Curry, 1991; Dunning, 1986; Pronger, 1990).

8. Gender Differences in Initiations

Although for the most part, male and female initiating procedures resemble one another, there are subtle as well as substantial differences. This area of research is unique in this field, building upon some initial examinations by Jamie Bryshun (1997), and Margery Holman (1997) of initiation practices. The emergence and proliferation of female athletes in traditionally male dominated sports such as rugby, ice hockey and wrestling, has been shadowed by the practice of establishing initiations. Many of the male hazing ceremonies have been entrenched within their sports for many years, whereas many of the women's teams are still developing and evolving their initiation ceremonies (Bryshun, 1997; Digney, 1995; Tiger, 1984). This is a fertile area for change and difference as noted in this section. Men tended to be more brutal and exacting in their demands of the rookies. Male initiations tended to involve both private and public forms

of nudity, as well as involving sexual games and sexual acts. There were incidents of crossover, where the male and female counterparts in their respective sports were required to be either active or passive participants in the initiation ceremony. Some of the explanations put forth by the athletes included reasons for participating, the difficulties and the barriers that women face in sport, claiming that the completion of the initiation was anticlimactic due to the fact that her real initiation was overcoming the hurdles to actually being able to play her sport.

Degree of Brutality

During the course of the interviews, many comments were made concerning the perceived differences between males initiating and females initiating. By far, the most cited divergence between the two was the level of brutality and cruelty that males would force upon the initiands. One participant explains her experiences of being initiated onto a female team as well as a co-ed one.

Guys tend to be crueller. In swimming it was the guys doing it whereas with water polo it was the girls doing the initiation. The guys are the enforcers. They are more controlling. That is the way it has always been. There was a real power issue, the guys definitely took more control in terms of making sure that the initiation tasks got done. Being a girl on the team and saying no isn't as big a deal as being a guy and saying no. It is really a bigger deal. There is pressure and taunting displayed by the male veterans on other males if they refuse to do something. They will be labeled wimp or pussy or girl. (Mary)

This illustrates how females are perceived to be less of a threat to the male patriarchal hierarchy, evident in the desire of the male initiators to place elevated demands upon

their male rookies to conform and submit to the will of the team. The rationale behind this fundamental difference, in both the approach and the execution of the initiation ceremony, is explained in two different ways. Women's involvement in traditionally male dominated arenas of sport is expanding and developing at an increasing rate (Curry, 1991, Obel, 1996). Women's means, motives and methods are constantly being challenged and questioned by their male counterparts and as a result they are forced to struggle, compete, and overcome systemic barriers that are placed in their path towards equity in sport. There is recognition among the female participants that their involvement in sport is a constant engagement against systems, individuals and administrations who are attempting to detract from their rightful place in the arena of sport.

The second reason presented is the mutual respect and nurturing elements of relations between women:

Women in sport is still a new concept to me. Women already go through enough to get to sports, They have many more commitments and responsibilities than guys do. People are still so surprised that women are playing these sports. We have worked so hard to get to where we are, we don't need another hardship to go through. Maybe that is why we respect each other so much more. Every team that I have been involved with has always been supportive. I believe that the inherent nature of women is that we really are more sensitive and empathetic. Women's teams are generally more lenient when it comes to initiations. We respect each other a little more than the guys do. (Karen)

Both of these quotes illustrate the gendered order inherent within the male set of beliefs. On the co-ed team, women are not perceived as much a threat as the incoming male

group to the patriarchal structure. However, Karen speaks to the issue of systemic and masculine barriers to female entry and acceptance in sport. A hypermasculine reaction which attempts to undermine women's legitimacy in the arena of sport.

Nudity and Sexual Content

During the course of this study it was observed to be the exclusive prerogative of male initiations to include nudity as a part of their ritual. To a degree, some women's teams engaged in this type of behavior, occasionally parading their rookies around the bar or the campus in revealing clothing, but never requiring their initiands to completely reveal their bodies in a public forum. The sexual content of the initiations was more defined and explicit among male participants though some female initiations did integrate a sexualized component. The differing variable between the two is the level of force that is used to ensure rookie capitulation and conformity.

Our team doesn't make anyone feel uncomfortable purposely, it is just a fun time and a reason to party together. The things that we ask our rookies to do are not outrageous things like fucking frozen chickens. It doesn't involve any sort of nudity. We stay away from things that we think are degrading. (Karen)

Presence of Females at Male Initiations

Some of the initiations involve the presence of the opposite sex in the audience. At times they are asked to take an active role, engaging in some of the initiation activities.

The first year that I went they picked me to get a lap dance from the guy with the largest penis who turned out to be a guy from my English class. It was really embarrassing for both of us. Our role is that we are there to hoot and holler. It has always been kind of disgusting for me. (Karen)

Women were only present for male initiations when the ceremony involved nudity. The role they were asked to fill were those of judges and observers.

They always get the rookies drunk and get them naked, rub A5-35 all over themselves and their balls. They then have to get up and dance in front of the women's team. In my first year, we had to line the rookies up according to penis size and then they had to jerk-off. None of them could because they were so drunk. (Jenn)

One female participant also acknowledged that one of the purposes of having females present during the initiation ceremony is to degrade and humiliate the rookies.

It wouldn't happen if we weren't there to make fun of them. It is degrading, it reinforces sex roles, and hypermasculinity. There is nothing positive about it at all. Other than their "rite of passage" which should have nothing to do with us. If I said that to them, maybe the women's team wouldn't go to it anymore. (Tanja)

Presence of Males at Female Initiations

There were more examples of the presence of males during female initiations. Primarily they were there in the role of passive observer, but in one instance an audience member was recruited to actively participate in the initiation.

This one guy was there; he was a male manager who would do anything for the team. We decided on blindfolding the rookies, taking (our male manager) and putting whipped cream all over him and burying smarties in the cream. He was wearing boxer shorts and a toque, we were all outside. The first girl came up and we asked if they had any food allergies, she said no, so we blindfolded her and placed her near him. We instructed her to get as many smarties out of here as

quickly as she can using no hands. They wanted to win; they didn't realize what they were doing. The first girl we took the blindfold off of and she realized that it was a guy, did a doubletake and just started laughing. (Tanja)

There were also other situations where males were present for female initiation evenings. Many of the female interviewees commented on how the presence of the male observance heightened their level of apprehension and raised their anxiety levels about performing the demands of the initiation rites: in this example to the point where some individuals chose to opt out of the act.

The men's waterpolo team was there for our initiation. It didn't really bother me that they were there. We had to bring a condom and put it on a banana that was being held between one of the other women's legs. The guys didn't do anything; they just sat there. Once the condom was on we then had to demonstrate what we would do, how we would give a blowjob. Other girls were really resistant to it, they didn't want to do it. Some were given the option to drink instead of doing it. (Mary)

Paulo, was privy to the women's rugby initiation. He was also in the role of passive observer, commenting on his experience.

I went to the women's initiation, it was really sexual, I was surprised. It was quite sexual in design. I thought that they wouldn't touch that at all. There were toys and stuff, ours had nothing to do with women or porn, we laugh about it and sing songs, and they had condoms and dildos and male porn everywhere. The women were drunk and having a good time. It was surprising to see women go to that level, I had heard stories of women's rugby initiations being pretty crude, dissing

men and the like. They are crass and sexist, talking about prostitutes and S and M, there are some bad thoughts there. It was quite an experience. (Paulo)

Paulo's shock and surprise seems to be more of a reaction to the emulation of male stereotypical behavior and the reinforced gender stereotypes exhibited during the initiation. They had created an environment in which males had effectively been emasculated, relegated to the sidelines, idle observers in the crowd as the rich pageant paraded past them. The invitation and presence of both male and female participants at each other's initiations reinforces the heterosexualization of the ceremony, validating the gender specific sexualized acts.

Reasons for the Differences

Most female subjects noted how their rookies were genuinely interested in participating in their initiation activities, whereas their male counterparts thrived more on the completion of the activity so that they could then later be initiators. The sense of power and control is more relevant for the men in groups.

It would have been easier to opt out of the female waterpolo initiation rather than the swimming one, which is coed. Guys do things to prove they are men. Girls are more, I will do what I want to do and that is all right. They don't have to prove themselves by funneling booze until they puke. You can still be my friend and everything is all right where the guys are like, 'Hey, look at me, I'm cool because I just funneled six beers'. There are some real power issues there, there are other ways to make people do things. (Mary)

Some female participants however, did not view the initiation as a gateway into another culture, one that offers a change in status and recognition for the participant. It was more of a festive, celebratory atmosphere, rather than an ordeal of emotional or physical tasks.

It is not the same feeling like “getting to the other side” like the Men’s team. It is not something you have to get through. (Yvonne)

Yvonne’s response encapsulates the sense of removal from the sensationalism which surrounds the ceremony. There is a real de-emphasis among female teams on the feral, ritualistic nature of the initiation ceremony.

Women in Sport

In comparing male varsity to female varsity sport, many of the interviewees discussed both the perception of and the respect for women in sport. There were many accounts of misogynist, biased and prejudicial practices and beliefs concerning women in sport at both an administrative and peer level.

Even during the school year, if a guy isn’t performing up to his potential he will be told to join the girl’s team or to hang out with them. Like it is bad to be a girl.

The women’s team finished first and the guys second, their egos were crushed.

The guys want us to hate them, they are always mean to us on the pool deck, very degrading and demeaning. They were cruel but I think that they thought that they

had to act that way. (Mary)

The men aspired to conform to ascribed roles within a gendered order with definite structure and order for the participants: one which sees men at the top, setting that order and maintaining the system through the control of others within that paradigm (Messner, 1992; Sabo, 1987; Whitson, 1990). When this balance shifts, so does the behavior

between the participants who are now perceived as being a threat to the power based continuum, be it women in sport or rookies aspiring to enter the domain of the team.

All we want is to be treated the same. Why do the men get better time slots than us when we have a better record? We are separate genders. Why do men have to be involved? We play the same rules but it is a different game. Develop what you are and then we become a better sport than the men. That is when men start kicking our legs out from under us. They say we are all lesbians, so that takes us down a notch, your sport is a crappy female version of the real sport, that is another notch down. They take their notches and pile them on themselves. They see that we are almost at par with them in aggressive sport so they become super aggressive and do steroids All sorts of problems stem from that. They perceive this sort of threat coming from whatever angle. (Jenn)

This belief can be one explanation for the noticeable differences between how women perceive the initiation ceremony and how men perceive the initiation ceremony, and in turn, how that vision is then put into practice.

Conclusions

For most of the participants, their contact with initiations extended back to their varsity experience and into their high school years. The university initiation ceremonies are organized by veteran players in terms of location, content and timing. The actual initiation experiences included, team games, nudity, sexualized games, scavenger hunts and illegal practices. Many of these practices are configured to introduce new members into the power based, hierarchical structure of the team and to the masculine model which the initiation ceremony reinforces. The perpetuity of this imbalance of power model is

contingent upon the use of alcohol, secrecy, confinement and the cycle of status from initiated to initiator. The life of the initiation ceremony is sustained by the membership in the belief that it serves as a necessary "Rite of Passage", functioning to foster a sense of cohesion among teammates, maintained by the cycle of initiation and transmitted folklore. There exists a perceived link between cohesion and success which can be attained through the initiation ceremony. Athletes will at times override their sense of safety in a bid for membership on their team, to be accepted or to simply avoid causing any ripples within the structure of the team. The initiation operates as a site of gendering through the use of clothing and cross-dressing, heterosexualizing, homo-eroticizing of the ceremonies, many of which serve to objectify, humiliate and degrade the initiate. Finally, there are differences in the way that males and females initiate in terms of the degree of brutality utilized, nudity and sexual content and the role that women play in sport.

Chapter 5 POLICY INITIATIVES

Many universities have developed specific policies to address the issues of orientation and hazing. In the case of sport team hazing this move was a result of the Guelph case where three players were allegedly removed from the men's hockey team for refusing to take part in the initiation ceremony (Toronto Sun, 1996). The publicity and scrutiny following the incident brought hazing to the forefront of university athletic departments across the province of Ontario. Specifically, the policies dealing with hazing at the two universities examined for this study attempt to modify the initiation practices on athletic teams.

The proliferation of reported hazing related incidents within the university community has led to the re-examination of administrative policy, both in terms of directive and deterrence. It has only been within the last three years that public knowledge about the specific practices of initiations has been the causal link for the scrutiny and condemnation of such practices. University administrators and athletic directors have had to design, implement, and enforce policy to curtail the practices of varsity initiation.

Policy Analysis

Thirteen separate Ontario and Quebec university booklets, containing policy statements regarding initiation and hazing were received and analyzed. They were then subdivided into three groups. The first group included those athletic departments which used their university Student Code of Conduct and general orientation policy rather than specific Athletic Department policy. These Codes of Conduct contain sections addressing harassment, abuse and discrimination, but do not specifically address initiation and hazing. The second group were Student Athlete handbooks which addressed issues of

player conduct and abuses such as sexual harassment and discrimination, but not specifically hazing. And the third group dealt specifically with the issue of hazing in their Student Athlete Handbook. Group 1 included Concordia University, Lakehead University and the University of Guelph. Group 2 included, Laurentian University, Carleton University and Queen's University. Group 3 included, the University of Western Ontario, The Royal Military College of Canada, McMaster University, Brock University, the University of Windsor, McGill University, and the University of Toronto.

The University policies presented offer various approaches in the attempts of Athletic Departments to address the issue of initiation and hazing on their varsity teams. The first group has no student athlete handbook. However, they refer to the university's Student Code of Conduct, indicating that they have an understanding of procedural steps in case of any violations.

The second group does have student athlete handbooks, but no specific section dealing exclusively with the topic of hazing. They do have policies which address areas of harassment and discrimination which in most cases refer to the university Student Code of Conduct.

The third and largest group, seven universities, includes specific policies in their Student Athlete handbooks which cover the issues of initiation and hazing. They outline acceptable practices, procedural steps, sometimes involving the coach or the administration, possible sanctions for violations and in a few examples legal reasons for curtailing such practices.

University Orientation Policy, University of Toronto

The first university's orientation policy was drafted and implemented in the fall of 1996, by the Office of Student Affairs. The Athletic Department is bound by this policy because it applies not only to first year student orientation but to varsity student-athlete initiations as well. The policy outlines a definition of orientation as follows:

Orientation activities are intended to assist new students in making the transition from their previous academic and non-academic environments to their new environment at the University. They are intended to develop a sense of community, to encourage student development in all aspects of University life, to promote a sense of respect for the diversity of culture and experience contained in the University, to inform new members of the community standards and expectations for behavior, and to welcome.

Orientation succeeds if the new students feel welcomed. It fails if it is alienating, humiliating, degrading or painful for any student. In considering for inclusion in an orientation program, any activity, it is critical to remember that new students come from a diverse set of backgrounds, and come with differing experiences, expectations, interests and skills. Orientation activities therefore should be planned accordingly.

Because some activities may not feel welcoming for everyone, students must be given the opportunity not to participate. While students should be encouraged to be a part of as much of the orientation activities as possible, they must retain freedom to choose to opt out of any event. Declining to participate must not be

held against any student, nor should any form of coercion be used to obtain participation. (Office of Student Affairs, 1996)

The policy then proceeds to address the responsibilities of the coordinators and leaders. The legal and institutional responsibilities are of paramount concern. Compliance with the University's policies and regulations on Human Rights, alcohol use (Campus Alcohol Policy), sexual harassment (Sexual Harassment Policy), is demanded. Infractions against any of these policies could result in action and/or sanctions which could include expulsion under the University's Code of Student Conduct. Failure to comply could result in prosecution.

The policy also addresses the issue of the University's responsibility to the greater community, working to create an environment that is inclusive taking into consideration the diverse needs of the larger community.

Prior to the commencement of any orientation activity it is obligatory to inform all of the members that participate is not mandatory. They retain the choice to opt out of any activity regardless of the reason or timing.

The policy outlines how power can be abused, at times be used for coercive purposes and delineates the responsibilities and duties that are expected of those in positions as role models. If it were to come to light that someone in this position of authority were abusing their position, they would be disciplined under the relevant code.

There is also a responsibility to the larger community in terms of activities and their impact on the surrounding businesses, private residences and anyone not directly affiliated with the University. An outline of inappropriate activities is included.

a) **No excessive noise**

- b) Activities must be consistent and adherent to any rules, codes or laws that may apply**
- c) Activities involving public nudity are inappropriate**
- d) There should be no activities that lead to destruction or defacement of property.**

The final paragraph outlines the need to be inclusive in both the design and the implementation of any type of welcoming or orientation activity. It is paramount to not make the assumption that everyone is of the same sexual orientation, or views the consumption of alcohol in the same fashion, or shares the same interests or values. New students must be allowed to opt out of any activity. They need to be informed that they do have options and that there will be no bias shown towards those who do choose not to participate.

The Faculty of Physical Education and Health then proceeded to draft and implement specific policy which addressed the issues surrounding orientation and hazing on varsity teams. The policy establishes a zero tolerance of any initiation activity which violates existing faculty policies concerning harassment and discrimination, abuse, and alcohol consumption. However, the policy does not establish what possible consequences might ensue for a breach of any or all of these policies. The document encourages coaches and team leaders to replace existing initiation practices with more welcoming and inclusive activities which reflect the philosophy of the faculty. There is a clear indication of the importance of maintaining the positive, cohesive, and transitional elements that orientation activities can achieve. The policy is not designed to eliminate welcoming activities; rather, it serves as a guide to educate and to establish new practices which are centered around inclusion and the creation of a democratic environment which does not discriminate on any basis.

University Orientation Policy, McMaster University

The second university's policy revised the content of the Student Code of Conduct to specifically address the issue of initiation on varsity teams within the McMaster Athletics Code of Conduct. The Athletic Department expects:

all personnel and student-athletes to uphold several standards of behavioural conduct, treating others with the utmost respect and dignity, a commitment to the elimination of hazing of any type, as well as the elimination of sexist, racist or discriminatory language and/or behaviour and that they do not willfully damage the property of others, including, but not limited to, hotel rooms, facilities at other

universities and transportation vehicles. (McMaster Athletics Code of Conduct, 1999)

This amendment serves to address some of the infractions which do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Student Code of Conduct.

Any infractions of these codes are brought before the Department Discipline Committee, composed of; a chair appointed by the Director, a coach of a varsity team, a Department staff member, two representatives of the Men's Athletic Committee as well as two representatives of the Women's Interuniversity Athletic Committee. There are also satellite policies, which are enforced separately from the Athletic Code of Conduct, such as human rights violations, sexual harassment and discrimination. Alleged violations are dealt with swiftly. Due to time-sensitive nature of the varsity season, a report must be filed by the investigating officer within a 36 hour period. If there is sufficient evidence to warrant a further investigation, a hearing is established and the party(ies) are informed within 24 hours of possible sanctions. Appropriate sanctions for an infraction of the Varsity Athletics Code of Conduct include:

- 7) suspension of the individual or team for one competition or an entire season;
- 8) removal of funding from the team
- 9) community service by the individual or team.

Any appeals are to be heard by the Associate Vice-President, Student Affairs.

There are indeed codes within the text of the McMaster Student Code of Conduct that deal with related infractions: sections concerning physical violence and other misconduct against persons, alcohol misuse, unauthorized use of University facilities or

services; and refusing to comply with sanctions, create an umbrella which cover many, but not all of the infractions that occur during initiation ceremonies.

Under the section concerning Physical Violence and Other Misconduct Against Persons in the Student Code of Conduct, it specifically states, that “no person shall knowingly create a condition that endangers the health, safety and or well-being of other persons”. Sub-section 14 states that “no person shall verbally or physically assault another person, threaten another person, or knowingly cause another person to fear bodily harm.”

There, the disciplinary responsibilities lie with the Assistant Provost of Student Affairs. This is the individual who must enforce the Student Code of Conduct. A tribunal is assembled and a thorough investigation is launched into any alleged incident. If the party or parties are found guilty of the infraction, there are seven possible sanctions, which could be imposed.

- 1) A formal written reprimand,
- 2) an order for restitution,
- 3) rectification,
- 4) the payment of damages and an appropriate apology,
- 5) the requirement of public service work,
- 6) denial of access to specified services, activities or facilities of the University for up to one year and,
- 7) other sanctions as deemed appropriate, including suspension or expulsion.

This document is by far the most comprehensive one in terms of outlining steps and procedures to deal with infractions. Much of the responsibility has been turned back over

into the hands of the Athletic Department. However, the details are very limited and vague in describing which specific activities constitute a hazing or initiation infraction. The addition of the Varsity Athletics Code serves to address most aspects of past varsity team behaviours in relation to their initiation ceremonies.

Athlete Perspectives on University Policy

Student's interpretations of their respective university policies concerning the parameters of acceptable practice in athletic initiation ceremonies are quite varied. There also appears to be limited awareness as to the directives of the policy, although many of the athletes made assumptions as to what was intended within the document.

I am a little unclear as to what exactly the school policy is. I think that we are not to have initiations of any kind. They define initiations as degradation and a lot of things that athletes don't want to take part in. (Karen)

The ambiguousness of the interpretation and knowledge of the school policy is disconcerting, considering the fact that many of the interviewees were or are team captains, most of whom were required to attend departmental policy orientation meetings, one of the vital links between administration and coaches for the dissemination of this type of information. Only 60% of the athletes interviewed admitted to knowing that their university had a policy in place, only 20% of those participants claimed to know the contents of the policy.

Repercussions of Policy Knowledge

For some teams, despite having limited knowledge of acceptable practices they acknowledge that, regardless of a strict policy, their initiations will continue.

You know quite honestly, if they are really strict on this rule, I think that a lot of the teams would ignore it still. You see everyone knows that it is still going on, even though there is a policy. (Jason)

This would seem to be a fair assessment of the present state of the approach of varsity teams towards initiations. The effect of the policy for most has meant increased discretion and secrecy surrounding the initiation to shield the administration from any knowledge of events.

This year more than in the past, we were more receptive about not forcing people to drink, we know the acceptable limits according to the policy. We know where to take it so that no one finds out, so that no one squeals, so that word doesn't get back to the Athletic Director. We just had to be smarter about who could see.

(Jenn)

Even with an admittedly weak knowledge of the specific details outlined in their university policy, the athletes still have the sense of empathy that exists in the athletic community. They suspect that there would not be strict sanctions for their team were the administration to gain knowledge of a team hazing policy violation.

I don't know the specific repercussions of the school policy but I can see it being non-supportive and at the same time not being a very stern follow through at all.

(Winnie)

Although specific policies addressing hazing and initiation in varsity athletics existed in both of the universities which the respondents attended, only 60% were able to acknowledge this; even fewer knew the details of the policies. Regardless of this knowledge, the initiation ceremonies continued and most participants indicated that

stronger administrative directives would not change their team's customs, it would simply drive it further underground.

Changes to Initiation Practices Due to the University Policy

Reaction to the introduction of policies originating from Athletics and Student Affairs Departments, designed to curtail demeaning and harmful initiation practices, has created a wide spectrum of change. On one end of the scale are examples where coaches took the initiative to completely eradicate any form of initiation or welcoming team-building activities. At the other end are teams that made no changes whatsoever in their ceremonies. The middle ground includes teams who have made some minor adjustments in their initiations in order to conform to administrative policies while still maintaining a forum for rookie transition.

Initiation Ban

For some teams, the advent of specific policies addressing the issue of hazing, has meant that they have been unable to initiate in any form.

We haven't been able to initiate for two years, we haven't done anything. We couldn't have one after the "Guelph incident". It was definitely a reaction to the school policy. Basically our coach said that we couldn't single out the rookies in any type of way at all. For example, we set out to have a rookie night and our coach said no, you are not having a "Rookie Night" because of the school policy.

(Sean)

From this quotation, it is evident that it was not necessarily the university policy which influenced the team's decision as much as the coach's directive that nothing take place.

Modified Initiations

The majority of teams researched were not specifically instructed by their coaches to cease initiating their rookie group. However, with the exception of two teams, all the interviewees described some former initiation practice or behavior which had been modified to some degree. The alterations included submission written accounts of the proposed initiation activity to the Athletic Director, for approved changes in public visibility, moving the initiations off-campus, increased responsibility around alcohol consumption, and the naming of the event itself.

This year there were guys that we cut off, just because I got a little scared at the state they were in. I stayed sober, there are always two or three guys that are stone cold sober during the whole thing. I was the guy calling the shots. Before we would never cut anybody off. That is the biggest thing. Everything has stayed pretty much the same, except we don't run around the track naked. So nothing in public. No more wearing the uniform around the school. (Jonathan)

Another initiative to counter hazing prior to the implementation of the new policy at McMaster University was the requirement to submit an outline of the initiation activity from any teams on probation to the athletic department.

Now we have to write what we will do for "Rookie Night" and it will have to be approved by the athletic department. That will go for every team. They want to eliminate the centering out of the rookies, and excessive drinking. The water polo team this past year had two people in the hospital for alcohol poisoning. They are looking to eliminate any kind of degrading activities. (Mary)

The aforementioned modifications were generated out of the need to appease the Athletic Department, not to create a more welcoming inclusive environment by the team.

Movement Underground

Some of changes made by teams to address the issue of the university policy on hazing are intended, not to eliminate the degrading, humiliating and isolating elements of the initiation ceremony but rather to hide their practices from public and Athletic Department view.

We used to call our initiation, "Rookie Appreciation Night" that is when we stopped making it other than when the whole team was there. We stopped wearing our uniforms in public and pretty much disassociated it from the school. The entire team knew that what we were doing was to make it seem that it was not associated with the school. (Yvonne)

For those teams who traditionally held on-campus activities, the policy required them to rethink their strategy to continue to initiate while maintaining the integrity and security of the team from sanctions.

We used to do "the run", traditionally at the University. We called it, "doing it at home" and now we just do it on road trips or at tournaments, where no one can get us into trouble away from the school where there is no risk of anyone seeing. (Jason)

The changes in initiation practices are to protect against detection, not to eliminate the practice itself.

We instructed our rookies that no one could stay in residence because those people could tell the administration what we did. In our first year they let us into

the bar dressed all goofy. The next year we could only get in dressed normally.

Now we have to stay away from campus altogether to eliminate the possibility of the school finding out. That would be the end of that. (Tanja)

It would seem that alterations to policy and the strict enforcement of these changes do not go far enough towards eliminating a team's desire to perpetuate this type of activities.

No Change

Only two teams noted that they had made no changes in their initiation activities due to the university's policy. One of the teams felt that their initiation ceremonies did not incur any negative sentiments or resentment from the rookie group, believing that their practices did not violate any of their policy directives. The second team has a longstanding tradition of hazing their first year players in a particular fashion and did not want to alter this in any way. They simply improved their methods of secrecy.

Athletic Directors' Views on University Policy

Athletic directors are faced with the daunting task of not only defining acceptable initiation and orientation behaviour, but designing policy and sanctions to curtail undesired practices. They see the coach as a multifaceted liaison between the administration and the varsity athletes, responsible for the dissemination, explanation and implementation of the policies as well of agents of change within the team culture. Although most Athletic Departments are being proactive in their attempts to address this issue, there still exists some resistance from within Athletic Administrations, as acknowledged by one of the Athletic Director.

University Policies

Within the context of varsity athletics, unacceptable hazing or initiation practices, as described by a varsity Athletic Director, are as follows;

Any kind of practice that would impose another's will upon a student or athlete.

Where the environment that is created is one where they feel obligated through coercion to fulfill this will. They must attend and they must take part. We want to provide our students with the opportunity to team-build in a progressive, positive way that involves different skills and games, that is educational: something that will be part of a fabulous experience for the participants, not something that will establish fear or is frightening or where the athlete is left in the dark as to what they will have to endure. It should be open and inclusive. You know it should be "we are going to go to the cottage" not "we are going to get you because you are in first year". This will be the agenda. Hazing is whenever a senior or a person in a position of power, forces first year student athletes to go through any type of activity involving alcohol, any kind of degrading behavior, any coercion in terms of the athlete being required to engage in an activity through peer pressure or expectation to be part of the team. What I have stated to the teams is that if you cannot in clear conscience describe what the activity was to our coach, to your family, then there is something wrong with that activity. (A.D.)

Both of the university's policies indicate a zero tolerance of hazing of any kind, one of the policies details unacceptable practices, and the other potential sanctions that could result from infractions.

The Role of the Coach

The role of the coach as defined during the course of the interviews is multifaceted, crucial, and at times, overwhelming. The administration sees the coach as the primary liaison between policy and its proper implementation within the structure of the team. The Athletic Department of McMaster University, in addition to distributing the relevant policies in coaching manuals, meets with varsity coaches to outline and to reinforce what the parameters of acceptable practice are to be. It is then the responsibility of the coach to disseminate this information to her or his team.

It is through the coaches that they receive this information. The school policy addressing initiation practices specifically was introduced in the fall of 1996. It was made available to the coaches and it was included in the coaching manual. When we first requested proposals that was at a coaches' meeting that included team leaders, every team was in attendance. The student leaders also received a copy of the policy. I think that down the road we could ameliorate the dissemination of this information. That is what we have done up to this point to try and get it to the student leaders. (A.D.)

There is however an expectation from the administration for the coaching staff to assume an increased, pro-active role in changing the existing structure of varsity initiation practices.

The coaches have to take a very active role. They have to make it very clear, not only what the policy is but also what the intentions are. What is behind the policy, why is it that we are taking this kind of position. Then engage in dialogue with them to find solutions. To find other ways of looking at team building. The problem

is that some of these guys, (I say guys but it is both and that is very clear in the literature), they refer to it as team building, they refer to it as a bonding experience, but ultimately they do see it as a rite of passage. It is the rite of passage that we want to eliminate. Get into really productive team building activities. If we can get there we will have overcome years and years of not just stereotypes but a lot of past practice. (A.D.)

While the coach is being utilized as the primary vehicle for change, there is an acknowledgment on behalf of the administration that it is a frustrating, nearly insurmountable task that is being asked of its coaches.

The coaches are also very frustrated. They have been a part of the attempt to change it over a long period of time. They have been the ones who are coming forward and saying unless there are sanctions then it is only talk and they are not going to get the change. More coaches in terms of the sanctions that we imposed this year are at least saying that they know that we are serious. The coaches are going through the same workshops that the athletes go through. Early on we had mass workshops, all the coaches saw the "CHUCK" video, all the coaches have gone through the codes of conduct, both the student code of conduct and the athletic code of conduct. What I am finding is that the coaches all know what the issues are but what we haven't been able to effectively provide them with is an implementation for change. That is where we are at now and struggling with looking at a change agent. That is where we feel we need to bring in an expert from outside who has expertise in that area. (A.D.)

It is clear that, the Athletic Directors understand that coaches need directives and guides to successfully negotiate change within the present system, and the coaches feel that they are in need of stronger sanctions to drive home the message of zero tolerance to the athletes.

While the role of the coach is viewed as one of an agent for change, it is also recognized as being one which supports and encourages the continuation of traditional initiations: a position which severely limits and weakens the authority of the athletic department to usher in a new era of student-athlete orientation. It is one which is inclusive, rather than exclusive and segregational.

We may still have people involved who think that it is an important part of the varsity experience. It is a huge part of the problem. If you don't do it (Go through with the initiation). I can tell you that there are students who will not participate, who will not attend institutions and are not participating in sport because of it, and I think that is an awful shame. Likewise there are also students participating that don't want to be, but feel obligated. (A.D.)

Here is an acknowledgment that within their own ranks, there are still coaches who believe that the initiation ceremony is worth preserving, and should continue to be an integral component of their team.

The Sport Culture

One of the Athletic Directors described the position of other Athletic Directors as fitting into three distinct groups concerning initiation practices. Some of these positions are incomprehensible considering the publicity surrounding the events.

- 1) There are some administrators who know that this is going on and they have had incidences and they choose not to dig because scratching the surface will only cause

more problems for themselves. The directors that are in our league and in positions of authority there are probably very few like that.

- 2) Most probably know that something is going on but are very frustrated because they don't know how to get to it.
- 3) The third group honestly just doesn't know. (A.D.)

With a fractured view from various athletic departments, either unwilling to explore, unable to intervene or oblivious to any existing problems, concerned groups attempting to address the issues surrounding initiations are constantly being undermined. Quite often the shroud of secrecy surrounding these traditions creates an environment which is at times reticent to share knowledge or information with outsiders who are perceived to be attempting to unravel a system which seeks to only protect its membership.

There is an oppositional relationship which exists between the sport culture and the greater community: one which came to light with media reports of initiation and hazing stories emanating from the universities. Two different approaches were adopted by separate administrations; one chose to be forthcoming and pre-empted a media blitzkrieg by releasing the details of the initiation events publicly. The second chose to smother and protect knowledge of the incidents, leading to both public and media condemnation.

The feedback that we have gotten back from the media has been interesting. There is quite a difference between how the incident here and the incident at Western have been addressed in the media. The phone calls, the editorials that were there, people really wanted to see a change. It is not isolated programs. The programs where it is evident are the programs where there is a proactive actual investigation

of incidences. In some cases it is simply a report that this occurred, it is investigated and more information is brought forward. That is exactly what happened at Western. It was a call to the hazing hotline, likewise we do. When that is reported we do a thorough investigation. (A.D.)

It was evident through the differing approaches that the code of secrecy extends beyond the community of the team. For some, the community encompasses coaches, players and administrators, where the resistance to change sometimes comes from those that have gone through, or have been a part of the initiation process themselves. This was an initiative by a football team as an alternative to hazing.

Our football team went away to a training camp. It was interesting talking to some of the alumni, they would say things like, why would we spend all of that money on that. It was in fact raised by students and fundraising. The kids all wanted to do this. Talking to the football players today, that was the highlight of their year. It was interesting hearing the alumni saying that. When they reminisce this is what they remember. Their perception was that the initiation was an integral part of their years as football players. (A.D.)

In order for fundamental change to take place in initiation practices, all members of the community, players, administrators, and coaches and perhaps even alumni/ae must be onboard with the philosophy and understand the need for support from all.

Administrative Procedural Steps

There are four main approaches that the two university administrations in this study have incorporated as methods to deal with initiation and hazing complaints, reporting, education, sanctions (probation, forfeitures) and alternative choices. They are

also undertaking a joint effort on behalf of the Offices of the Athletic Directors and Student Affairs to combat hazing.

Reporting

The first area of intervening between teams and initiation violations is through reporting. This is accomplished through educational seminars designed to educate and create awareness for the support staff of the university. Some universities have established hazing hotlines: phones that provide a direct link between the university community and the university administration. The intention of such communications is to facilitate the transmission of sensitive information. The caller can remain anonymous and still precipitate an investigation into alleged infractions.

Education

With the onset of public scrutiny into initiation and hazing practices, not only in the military, fraternal and sorority organizations and varsity and sporting cultures, universities have been pressured to address this issue at a policy level. Here, secondary implementation, has been the creation of educational seminars designed to educate players, coaches and team leaders alike to the dangers of initiations. At McMaster University this involves seminars and discussions which culminate with the viewing of "Chuck": a video which chronicles the story of a mother whose son died in a hazing related incident, and her determination to inform the public of the hazards of initiations.

Probation, Sanctions and Forfeitures

Few universities have had to enforce any sort of disciplinary action for hazing infractions. However, over the course of the last three years, Guelph, Western and McMaster Universities have been the focus of very public initiation incidents. In the case

of Guelph, the Men's Hockey head coach was suspended for the duration of one game for allowing alcohol in the dressing room. At Western the head Football coach suspended himself for the remainder of the 1998 season, (a period of two games), feeling that that was an adequate penalty for the actions of his team. And McMaster, which has had several teams on probation, last year suspended two of their varsity teams for the period of one league game each. Community service was also a stipulation of the sanctions imposed upon the two penalized McMaster teams, this involved the design and implementation of educational programs about hazing at the feeder school level. The teams were also required to undergo two educational seminars concerning the issues of hazing in athletics.

Philosophy of Sanctioning Teams

With the persisting desire of teams to initiate their first year contingent, strong sanctions are seen as a necessary deterrence, as was the action taken this past season by McMaster University. This approach however, which saw the forfeiture of two league games, is viewed as an action which had ramifications for the other teams, affecting the integrity of the divisions to which they belonged.

The sanction of forfeiting a match is a decision that I really question. It really affects the integrity of the entire league. These are sanctions which were imposed on two teams at a University this season. Losing a game is easy, but to me it is much bigger than that. It affects the league. I don't necessarily feel that the actions of the student-athletes at one university should affect all of the athletes in Ontario. I think that their actions should affect themselves and in turn should also affect all of our programs to make sure that our student-athletes and coaches are aware. We

have to be concerned to what is happening in our own house and how we are handling that. If we have a team that is not following policy then we have to A) get them following the policy and B) understanding what the consequences will be if they are not following the policy. (A.D.)

To address the issue of initiation infractions, these two administrators are attempting to deal with the problem from within.

The one thing that you want to do with sanctions is that you want them to happen from within. You want the team building to take place. You could put together a program (for that team) on team building. That could be part of it, whether that be a public service, there are so many things to do. We could put together something for them where they are doing a public service within the university where they are working together as a team. As far as probation or suspensions that could also be a part of it depending on the severity of the case, but I would think that first and foremost in my mind we would ensure that part of the solution would include appropriate team building and that we would support it. That would be number one. Number two, you could be looking at probationary suspensions of members of the team, of coaches, the entire team, really the full gamut. This is all dependent on the severity of the infraction of the case that we are presented with. (A.D.)

Even with various progressive administrative attempts to curtail initiations, there is a concession on the part of the athletic directors that the problem will continue to exist in part due to the depth of an entrenched belief system.

I think that it is going to take a great deal more time to change the belief system of our current athletes who have really had a lifetime within sports of this kind of activity, this part of being a member of a team. To expect that we will be able to change that belief system and that they will then be able to go into the schools in this current year and make an impact is somewhat naïve. So we are focusing more on a workshop where we invite speakers, varsity athletes and representatives from the high schools to come. I would also like to work with universities which are actively searching for solutions. (A.D.)

Within this athletic culture there exists an expectation on the part of the athletes that they will be able to participate in initiations, and to continue a system that most seem to genuinely support.

In the last situations that we dealt with, I interviewed some 20 student-athletes most of which were first year. They were one on one interviews. All the first year athletes thoroughly enjoyed the experience, wouldn't want us to eliminate this, feel that it is a great way to get to know the team and to bond with the team and be accepted within the team. All of those things are very real in their lives, it is a real challenge for us across the Universities and in sport in general to be able to implement change. To just come down with a heavy hand will just bury it and it will just continue underground. (A.D.)

The Athletic Director understands that the culture that exists amongst athletes and coaches sees the initiation ceremony as a right to be exercised by within their community.

Sanctioning teams that violate policy can have the effect of driving the practice further

away from any administrative means of detection. The Athletic Director feels that sanctions must be accompanied by programs that can help facilitate change within the community.

Administrative Alternatives

Being faced with the daunting task of overhauling a system steeped in tradition has forced the respective Athletic Departments to attempt to create viable and progressive alternatives to curtail the negative impacts of initiation. This has included several teams being involved with outdoor educational programs and ropes courses. However, even these team-bonding alternatives, although successful on a smaller scale, still do not go far enough to break the cycle of initiations that exist within the sport community.

We have had some success. Some of our teams have gone to ropes courses for example, men's and women's tennis, were on a weekend ropes course. They have a very short season and they had the opportunity to look at a team building exercise like that. They found that to be really successful. We have other examples like that. We can look at ongoing education, every year we are going to be dealing with somebody who has a different belief system. We can look at giving alternatives to that kind of team building. The response that I am getting from some of the athletes is that unless it comes from the athletes themselves they will go through that team building really to comply to the regulations of the coach or the administration and then they go and do their own thing anyway. It just goes way underground. The thing that I think we need to continue to focus in on is how do we deal with the situations where they are engaging in this kind of activity. All this education and alternatives is not going to bring us to the point where we are not going to be dealing with some kinds of problems. (A.D.)

There exists an administrative understanding of the specific need to change the student-athlete's desire to pursue hazing and initiation as a means of constructing the concept of team and all of its accompanying identities. Accomplishing this undertaking however would require deep roots which run into the younger sport culture and the "feeder systems" of the universities. Initiation is a seed that is planted and begins germinating long before the athlete reaches post-secondary education.

One of the problems is that it is so prevalent in our feeder system that it is going to take a lot more to change it than a couple of workshops. (Person) who is quite active at another university feels that 24 hours is needed per team to have an impact. It is very much a challenge to all of us. I don't know how practical it for us to go into the education system and address this problem. In theory it is great.

(A.D.)

However, there are examples of how alternative initiations have served to break the cycle of hazing within a team's culture.

This past year we went up to a camp for a weekend retreat where we were able to do ropes courses and canoe tripping. It was really an awesome weekend, we had been having trouble with the Department (Athletic) about our initiation, so this is what we did instead. I think that it worked on several different levels, the team really feels like a group this year. (Stephanie)

Teams are beginning to attempt alternative initiations as they are being made more readily available to them.

Coaches' Perspectives

A crucial part of the initiation ceremony is leadership. Prior to widespread public knowledge of initiation practices and direct administrative intervention, coaches assumed a more active role in the process. The role of the coach has been rendered ambivalent and distant during this period of flux, primarily self-imposed by coaches out of fear of administrative repercussions. There has been an attempt by some Athletic Departments to re-integrate their coaching staff into the transitional and orientation designs of their respective teams. This has been in reaction to the events which have transpired this past year. During this past season, three teams were sanctioned by their university for hazing infractions. This is the first time in Ontario where teams have been disciplined as a result of their initiations.

Knowledge and Understanding of the University Policy

Knowledge of their university policy is comprehensive as of this year, as the coaches are involved in meetings and seminars with the administration at which time this information is conveyed. Previously, when the acceptable parameters of hazing had not been established, there was ambiguity as to the ramifications of such practices. However, it is now clearly understood that practices are no longer acceptable in their Athletic Departments.

The policy is all laid out in the student code of conduct, it is new as of last year, and there were some suspensions in waterpolo. It has been in a state of evolution and they have been fine-tuning it. Prior to two years ago there was no clear definite policy. If there was it was not as finely detailed. The university never dealt with a hazing incident prior to this in any kind of organized way. (Coach 1)

The lack of clarity, prior to the establishment of Athletic Departmental policies specifically addressing initiation, left coaches in a vulnerable position.

When word started getting out in the media about initiations and hazing, we started getting the message that this was not going to be tolerated anymore within our department. We weren't really sure what they were going to do, they weren't even sure what they were going to do to stop it, so I told my team that there wasn't going to be any more initiations. We really needed some kind of direction on this thing, I really think that it is useful, you know? But I shut it down, it wasn't worth losing the program. Even though I got out of it, I knew that it was still going on, someone would show up with a haircut or they would be really hungover. Saying stop didn't do it. (Coach 2)

This coach speaks about the need to continue the practice, although it had become too risky an endeavor for his participation. As well there is a tacit understanding that the initiation ceremony persisted without the coach's involvement.

Changing the Culture of Initiation

Athletic Departments are now taking initiatives in an attempt to change the pervasive initiation practices which are entrenched in their varsity culture. These include sanctions as well as educational seminars and alternative orientation experiences.

Although some of these categories have only been in place for a short while, there is some skepticism as to their effectiveness.

I don't think that I would make any changes to the policy as it is now. I have never been a person who believes that penalties are deterrents, but we have tried for 5 years in many ways to try and bring policies to bear and we have shown them the

videotape "CHUCK". We showed that to our guys and to the executive and they are shaken up, they say how awful it is and then a week later they got their own "ROOKIE NIGHT". There have been all kinds of efforts to stop it and nothing has worked so this year they actually decided to impose a penalty. We got caught and Men's volleyball got caught. (Coach 1)

Stiff penalties will not be enough. There has to be something to fill the void left by not being able to initiate. I guess that is up to us. (Coach 2)

These coaches feel that strong administrative sanctions will not be enough to discourage and alter initiation practices and that there needs to be an accompanying substitute for the more traditional forms of initiating.

Even in an environment where teams have suffered sanctions and forfeitures and risk further suspensions, initiation continues to thrive.

The captain of our team that works in the neighborhood bar where everyone goes to says that the first three weeks of the term every team is parading through the bar. I think that it still goes on because honestly it is fun for the vast majority of people and a couple of people are likely traumatized by it and if they are they may say that they enjoyed it but secretly didn't, don't want to own up to it unless you have them in a room talking to them for 3 hours before they finally admit that part of it they weren't too keen about. I think that most people like that are ambivalent, they may have resented part of it but at the time thought that they were having a blast. So it is also possible to be the same person having mixed feelings about the same event.

But it also has this strong cultural appeal and its like sports violence, people love it.

(Coach 1)

It would appear that to change the behaviour towards initiations in the varsity culture will require more than a heavy handed administrative policy.

Role of the Coach

The role of the coach in terms of the initiation practices of their teams as defined by the coaches themselves, is one that is similar to that of the wishes of their Athletic Departments. They see themselves as the liaison between the two groups for the dissemination of the information about their team's welcoming activities. However, despite good intentions, at times the message is misinterpreted.

Once I found out what was going on, I was a bit miffed because I had to tell these guys not to do these things and pride myself at having a good communication level with the players, but none the less, behind my back they did it (initiated). I wonder sometimes whether they think that when I say "don't do it", they interpret that as I say don't do it because he has to say don't do it. But rather that I mean it is all right if I don't know about it. Which hasn't been the case at all because we cannot do this because we can be suspended. (Coach 1)

Some coaches will completely remove themselves from the process, in hopes that the distance will not implicate them or their team.

I told them not to do anything and prayed that they would listen to me, but there was also a part of me that wanted them to come up with something on their own because I knew that I couldn't be around for it. (Coach 2)

In addition, a few coaches have taken it upon themselves to establish progressive welcoming activities for their first year players. Although these individuals are rare, there are some preliminary indicators that more coaches are embracing some of these ideas.

For the past few years, our team has been welcoming new members in a very positive inclusive fashion. We have been doing charity drives, scavenger hunts, a variety of alternative type of activities which attempt to integrate our team as opposed to structuring it in a hierarchy. The feedback has been really positive from the team. (Coach 3)

However, this type of involvement would not necessarily be a welcomed addition to the duty roster of some coaches.

I like to think that I am a pretty progressive coach in a lot of ways, I am not authoritarian. But I also feel that I should be coaching the game and not coaching people how to live. I don't want to spend half of my life monitoring peoples behavior away from when I am actually with them. There is that aspect to it. I can't keep control of them all of the time so if they happen to do stuff then I don't want it to come down on my shoulders. Which invariably it does. The first phone call is to me. I could see the benefit of the coach taking an active role in constructing or being a part of some kind of bonding ceremony. I am not thrilled about the idea of spending more time devoted to organizing that event, I am busy enough now. (Coach 1)

There is also an admission on the part of some coaches that their direct involvement could change the initiating behaviours of their teams.

If I were to get involved with the initiation ceremony, I know that I could bring it back to something that would suit all of us. The captains have been running the show for some time now and I have a feeling that it has been carried away at times. Sometimes it is better not to know. (Coach 2)

Coaches see their role as a crucial and viable part of the initiation ceremony, but for various reasons, largely in response to the moral panic and subsequent administrative policies which followed, they removed themselves from that process. For those that have remained, or have taken a new direction with activities designed to welcome new players, their involvement has been positive.

Future Initiation Practices (Athlete Recommendations)

There were many recommendations offered by the participants in this study for changes that could be made to their respective varsity initiation practices. However, many of the respondents stated that in all probability their ceremonies would remain consistent with past customs.

Alcohol Responsibility

There was an acknowledgment for greater veteran responsibility around the consumption of alcohol, although this seems to be more of a reaction resulting from the content of university policy addressing the issue of hazing, than a commitment towards creating a more welcoming inclusive environment.

I would want to keep it the way that we do it with our team, having a few guys stay sober to take care of the drunken rookies. There is a responsibility, there has to be a series of checks and balances. Sober drivers, someone in control, we are just more prepared now. It used to be that we were all drunk and you don't notice the really

drunk ones when you yourself are in that state. That is when you run into troubles.

(Paulo)

Even if this is in response to university policy, to a certain degree it will safeguard the rookies' alcohol use and offer some protection in the area where most hazing related deaths occur.

Alternative Initiations

Various suggestions offered by the participants ranged from team parties, road trips, team meal preparations, training camps, meals at the coach's or a team member's house, retreats to cabins, canoe trips, barbecues, watching movies, videos, rope courses and scavenger hunts. All of the recommendations were far removed from activities that the participants had been previously involved with, seeming to suggest that there is a need to replace tradition with new directions and activities. Events that are rich in equality and democratic principles, that level the playing field and remove the power-based structure that is an ever-present component of initiations.

It is almost better to do an activity that is not your sport. Take canoe tripping for example, most people haven't done something like that. So everyone is on the same playing field, it doesn't have the built-in hierarchy where power can be, there is an imbalance of power. Take them out of their element and have them do something that is totally unique. (Mark)

There does appear to be some receptiveness, at least to the idea that alternative initiations could have some value, by the athletes.

Superficial Changes

Some cosmetic changes were suggested. They included changing the name of the ceremony from initiation or hazing to party or some other phrase, primarily as an attempt to remove the negative connotations that surround the former titles. Another thought originating from a participant whose team initiates at the end of their season, was to change the timing to the beginning of the year. A reverse initiation, which is when the rookies initiate the veteran players as opposed to the traditional sequence, was a recommended possibility. The theory being that it would be centered on fun and partying as opposed to payback.

Administration Involvement

One suggestion was to have the athletic administration become more involved financially and organizationally with respect to team initiations. There was a call for more direction and guidance to support alternative team activities especially in times of fiscal constraint.

My suggestion was to give them some direction, give them a rookie package, and throw them a welcoming party. I would love to have a laser tag day or go-cart day because that is fun. Going somewhere that is not your sport, because you do that every day. Something that doesn't necessarily involve alcohol, but the problem is organizing it. Especially with such a short season. To get a bus, to fundraise. Honestly, it is just easier to put on candy necklaces and go to the bar. I would like to see the school put forward some of the money to set up these initiation programs.

(Tanja)

This comment pinpoints funding as being one of the reasons that the cheaper, traditional types of initiations are utilized. Greater financial commitment on the part of Athletic Departments could facilitate the transition to alternative types of activities.

Coaches' Involvement

When initiating was no longer acceptable in the eyes of the public, coaches started to distance themselves from the process. When universities starting drafting anti-hazing policies, intended to curtail this behaviour, most coaches adopted a "don't see, don't tell" attitude. This translated into the captain's and team leaders assuming responsibility for the construction and implementation of the initiation ceremonies, effectively left on their own. However, several of the respondents suggested that they would like to see a reversion, where their respective coaches were once again involved with the process.

I think that the initiation would be better if the coach was there, they know it goes on, but I think that they can't let on because they are afraid they might get in trouble, that is my take anyway. It makes sense, they make the decisions about our team, why not about the initiation? (Sean)

There is apparently a desire and a need from the athletes' perspective to have the coaches reintroduced into the transitional process.

Resistance to Change

Against these idealized suggestions is the reality that some of the teams do not want to change any of their initiation practices.

I wouldn't change anything because I think that it is cool and it works for us.

(Paulo)

There is a strong resistance to any sort of directed change in terms of initiation practice, from players, from coaches, even within administrations. From a gender perspective, most of the respondents who cited no change as their desire for future initiation practices were male. One captain speculated about the response from teams were they to be presented with initiation alternatives.

Probably the backlash will come from teams like the men's rugby or waterpolo teams, because if they can't put the money towards kegs they will think that it is wussy. Why will we do that? Maybe it is a gender thing too, if you have all of the girls saying yes, let's do that and you would have the guys saying no way, that is dumb. Who is to say that you couldn't do both and then one may transform into the better of each. Maybe you go out for beers after laser tag. Make it a full day event.

You get more bonding out of that. (Jenn)

This is consistent with teams and Athletic Departments that have attempted alternative orientations, who for the most part have been female.

Conclusion

Universities have been forced to take an active role over the last three years in response to the moral outcry concerning initiation and hazing practices within their institutions. In large part the policies are intended as a means of protecting the university's interest were any litigating circumstances to ensue. However as is the case with Toronto and Lakehead University, the administration offers alternatives and directives to the membership, whereas most other university policies outline what can not take place, or present no guidance or information on the topic whatsoever. Most universities had no policies in place until the media started covering the issue and condemning the practices in

a public forum. When the issues of university athletic hazings came to light in 1996, university Administrators were essentially forced into action.

Chapter 6 DISCUSSION and CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to investigate the hazing and initiation practices on athletic teams at two universities. The timing of this study coincided with a minor moral panic, in response to which both universities responded by instituting policies designed to curb such customs. The initiation practices of student athletes at these universities demonstrate consistencies with those found by Jamie Bryshun at the University of Calgary, Margery Holman at the University of Windsor, and the Alfred University report.

Athletes, coaches and administrators almost all noted that such practices have continued because of the cohesion bond which is perceived to be an elemental by-product of the ceremony. As well, the divergent and similar paths of both male and female initiations were characterized, examining sexualized initiations, the initiation as a site for the construction of gender and a hierarchical structure. The differences in the nature and intent of the initiation between the sexes was explained, as well as teams' receptiveness to alternative forms of welcoming experiences. The response from many educational institutions has been the creation and implementation of policies which address the issue of hazing and initiations. This study also investigated the effect such policies had on the sport culture, taking into account the reactions of players coaches and Athletic Directors.

Parallels Between Tribal Cultures and Sport Cultures

Many aspects of tribal hazing rituals can be found in examples of the

contemporary sport team initiation practices described here in this study. This serves to establish cultural reproductions for the construction of masculinities as well as acting as a site for group cohesion.

Van Gennep (1960) proposed five characteristics of tribal initiation ceremonies.

These are presented, followed by the sport culture parallels evident in this, and other studies, of athletic hazing.

1a) The rite must be presided over by elders; older members of the child's descent group; parents are usually excluded from the rite;

1b) If we examine these characteristics and substitute the phrase "team members" for boys throughout this list, some striking similarities emerge. Present day initiation rites are conducted by the veterans of the team, (members with one or more years of experience with this particular club), usually in accordance with or supported by the coaching staff of the team, and sometimes with the support of alumni.

2a) It involves a process of indoctrination into the customary practices of the group;

2b) The indoctrination into the customary practices of the group is fulfilled the following season when the newly initiated pledges become new members of the initiation group, joining the ranks of the veterans and coaches in perpetuating the cycle. However in one case, it was an immediate acceptance by the team of the new players. They have attained the secret knowledge of the ceremony itself and as Rakoff suggests have been resurrected and welcomed into the community to pass the knowledge on to the next generation (Rakoff, 1993). Many newly initiated participants express their desire to become initiators and to "socialize on the same level with the dickheads who treated me like crap when I was a rookie."

3a) It involves physical ordeals, such as circumcision, or some other form of genital mutilation, or scarification. (van Gennep, 1960)

3b) The physical ordeals performed in sport team initiation ceremonies are varied, and although, to my knowledge, there is no genital mutilation, there are many examples of scarification, abuse, humiliation and degradation. This study is rich with examples involving group nudity, confinement, pubic shaving and forced alcohol consumption. Tattoos and branding are not uncommon among teams (e.g., on the Australian women's' softball team at the Atlanta Olympics, every player had the Australian national flag emblazoned on her biceps).

Van Gennep (1960) also noted that the universal processes of initiation rites:

4a) Must be universal for the members of the sex for which it is prescribed. That is, if the initiation rites are prescribed for the boys of a society, they must be held for all boys of the appropriate age, and similarly for girls.

4b) Van Gennep's fourth characteristic is reflected in several aspects of the initiation process. For the most part the initiators of the ceremonies are older than the initiands. Usually a rookie in his/her first year is younger than the veterans on the team. Those involved in the initiation rites are always exclusively members of that particular team or organization. This category also coincides with van Gennep's, (1960) three stages of the initiation: separation, transition, and incorporation. The separation phase is marked with the severing of all ties to the past, a removal from the comforting and securing environment afforded by the parents (van Gennep, 1960). This is true of varsity athletes, those drafted and those who are walk-ons, for the most part have left the confines of their home to live in residence or off-campus, and have as well left the

comfort and security of their high school behind them. The players have left their prior sporting, academic and for the most part, family lives behind them to forge new paths at universities. The severing of the past life is key to the initiation process. The transition phase is the time when the initiation takes place. This marks the period of movement for the candidate from that of non-status to that of status. When the ceremony is complete, the novitiate is welcomed into the culture and is granted membership, denoting Van Gennep's stage of incorporation.

5a) The rite must be conducted in a group and not focused on a single individual. If initiation at this stage of development is prescribed for boys, then it is a group of boys who are being initiated, and similarly for girls.

5b) The universality of the rite in terms of gender is also consistent with the practices of sport hazings. As well, its prescription extends to all the members of the team, with few exceptions. It was noted that most athletes passively complied with the initiation activity, even those rites involving degradation, humiliation and nudity, because of their perceived lack of choice. In the group setting, there is added pressure to comply on the part of those being initiated, as well as the opportunity for a diffusion of responsibility on the part of the initiators. Hence, the initiation rituals provide the opportunity to normalize and ritualize humiliating activities.

For those individuals who choose not to participate in the initiation ceremony, as in examples from the youths of the Tikopia and Thonga societies (Turner, 1986), the repercussions can be swift and severe. Rarely it seems do team members opt not to be initiated, but as noted in tribal societies which practiced initiation rituals, those that do are ostracized, humiliated and scorned. Similarly, at Guelph, the three hockey

players had made the final cut for the varsity team. When it came time for the initiation rites, and they subsequently declined, these individuals lost their positions on the team. They were designated as outsiders, not permitted to participate in the gaining of the special knowledge, nor allowed to become members of the community.

In the Office of Student Affairs report (University of Toronto, 1996), one participant explained how a friend of his was so distraught over the potential of being initiated that he resigned himself to not play on the varsity team. Note also Sean's statement (p.4) about choosing not to attend a certain University based on their initiation ceremony. This example denotes the power of the myth and folklore surrounding the initiation rite, similar to the stories told to the boys of the Poro and Thonga societies (Turner, 1986), to dissuade those contemplating refusing to take part and similarly to persuade those in the society to not opt out.

The individuals are treated as objects according to Van Gennep and Turner. This is certainly apparent within the ritual practices of sport teams, through changing the names of initiands, (for example the use of the terms "Rook", "Fucking New Guy", or "lowball"). They are effectively stripped of their individual identities and given new ones. New clothes are also bestowed upon the new initiands in the form of uniforms, complimenting Van Gennep's observation on identity.

The initiation practices of sport and those of primitive cultures do share common features. There is a marked occurrence of Van Gennep's three stages and Rakoff's birth and death phenomenon of initiation whereby the athlete is separated from their past life (death), there is transition into their new identity via an initiation or hazing (resurrection), and then there is inclusion where the initiand is accepted into the

society complete with the acquired knowledge and secrets of their community. The propagation of the initiation practice in our sporting community mimics the practices of societies long past for reasons that are now just coming to light.

Findings

In this study, initiation rituals have been identified as commonplace in a wide range of sporting fields from swimming to rugby for both males and females. The initiation practices described in this study support many of the findings brought to light in the works of Bryshun and Holman, and in the Alfred University report. The initiation is utilized as a tool to establish a hierarchical order on the team, educating the membership to appropriate conduct, and order of submissive and dominant behaviours, in a bid to maintain sport as an arena of power relations. Both male and female initiations function to establish a gender and sexuality order. Male and female athletes are being socialized into that structure which features elements of hegemonic masculinity. Both women and homosexuals are marginalized through degrading and humiliating practices inherent in many of the traditional forms of hazing, such as cross dressing, misogynist slogans and the heterosexualizing of the initiation ceremony.

Some differences were also noted between the methods and intentions of how males and females initiate. Most male initiations tend to be more violent and “brutal” than female initiations. Where the threat of a hazing activity exists, males are more likely to complete the act, where females tend to “hype” the intimidation and stop there. Although, this is a difference, it could be argued that the final result of fear and submission was attained in both instances. Female teams for the most part were more receptive to one of their members opting out of an initiation where males were more

coercive and stringent with their rookies. Many of the female interviewees described their initiation ceremonies and experiences as more celebratory and inclusive in nature, as opposed to male initiations which were described as “something to get through”. As well, female teams were much more receptive to alternative orientations, where males were more staunch in their determination to resist.

As a consequence of the introduction of specific policies by several universities addressing the initiation practices of their varsity teams, the practice of hazing for the most part has been driven underground. Most teams reacted to the policies by making superficial rather than structural changes, (e.g., moving them off campus, a veteran staying sober), in a bid to preserve their ability to maintain their cycle of “rite of passage”.

The policies were drafted as a means of protecting administrative interests in light of litigation which was becoming more and more prominent as well as frequent. Many coaches reacted by removing themselves from the process entirely. Some instructed their players to discontinue the practice but offered no alternatives. Many now turn a blind eye to the fact that their teams are continuing to hold initiation ceremonies, believing that it is a valuable exercise which does foster cohesive bonds between players. Few have taken an active role in involving themselves in the process in terms of structure and implementation, however those who have, have done so successfully in terms of breaking an existing cycle and forging new, positive orientations. All parties involved, coaches, athletes and administrators view the role of the coach as that of a vital link in altering the harmful nature of traditional hazing ceremonies. When, coaches, reintegrate themselves in the process, and

Athletic Departments fund alternative forms of orientation, real change will occur and the cycle can be broken.

Summary of Findings

- 1) **Despite the implementation of university policies, hazing practices have continued;**
- 2) **A few have continued unchanged; most have made some modifications as a result of the implementation of policies;**
- 3) **The introduction of policies has resulted in authority figures (e.g., coaches) absenting themselves from the procedures; and in the initiations being driven off university campuses;**
- 4) **Many student-athletes, especially females, are open to change with regard to initiation practices; but would like to be involved in designing those changes;**
- 5) **Student-athletes seem a little more ready to question abusive practices than in the past. For example, there are opting out possibilities, including a sense of entitlement among some talented rookies by which they avoid the degradations and humiliations of “rookie night”.**
- 6) **University Athletic Departments’ willingness to develop appropriate policies, when combined with 4) and 5) above, bode well for future changes in abusive hazing practices.**

Policy Recommendations

It is evident from previous experiences bureaucratic practices that changes to policy must be coupled with additional guiding principles and direct involvement from the greater varsity community. The intent of these recommendations is an attempt to change the

existing power relations in a bid to foster more rewarding, educational and inclusive orientation experiences. However, policy change and implementation alone has not been successful to date in curtailing varsity team initiation ceremonies. Even at the institution where university policy is reinforced with seminars, team education sessions, and video consultations, initiation customs still persist.

With the advent of strong administrative policy and the extensive understanding within the varsity community of the negative repercussions for team initiation infractions, there has, and will continue to be, an effort made by teams to ensure that the events and details surrounding their rookie parties go undetected. The development of university policies directed specifically toward initiation practices has unfortunately not achieved its goal of amending or redesigning the welcoming of first-year players onto their respective teams. Instead, it has effectively driven the practice of initiation outside of the reach of the administration.

Within the body of this investigation, few of the interviewees could successfully cite their university policy with regard to initiation. However they did express an acute awareness of where and how they could tailor and execute initiation ceremonies with the least likely possibility for detection. They also understood that the fact that they were initiating their newest members should not be found out by the university or the Athletic Department.

The key to effectively counter the desire of teams to continually execute “traditional” forms of initiating their new members is to have the coach actively engage the team, not solely in discussions surrounding initiation, but offering constructive guidance in determining, democratically, what acceptable form the initiation ceremony

will take. Athletic Directors need to build teams of coaches as well, the coaches were not all in consensus of changing this behaviour and it is crucial that they all are

The transition from unacceptable to acceptable welcoming practices will only transpire if the traditional cycle is broken. All of the members who have been initiated will, in all probability, resist efforts to prevent them “taking revenge on rookies”. However, they must be made to feel that their input and assistance is important in the creation of a new “cultural tradition” which welcomes, rather than shames, degrades or strips the neophyte of any independent identity within the team culture. The direct involvement of the coach is paramount to the successful paradigm shift which will change the very fabric of the group. Without strong leadership, initiation practices will simply find an existence out of the reach of the administration.

Specific Policy Suggestions

There exists a need for policy which addresses the possibility of criminal and quasi-criminal offenses, committed during initiations such as, sexual harassment, sexual and physical abuse, as well as human rights abuses. In cases such as these steps must be in place which prosecute offenders, however this must be coupled with an educational component. The process must be rehabilitative and designed to reeducate and construct new directives and practices. However, as has been the case with McMaster University, it is evident that strong policy alone will not be a sufficient motivator to amend student practices which violate these policies. The policies and the sanctions must be in place, they must be relayed to all student athletes, making them aware of the specifics of the sanctions at their respective institution. There must also be programs or alternatives in place which are designed to replace some of the current initiation practices which are

continually perpetuated by varsity teams. The intent of such alternatives are to foster an inclusive experience, forging team building and cohesion that most athletes, coaches and administrators feel are necessary and valuable team experiences. The cycle of initiating can only be effectively “broken” if the athletes feel that they have control over the process. The alternatives listed below are only intended as guides for coaches and teams to incorporate, build upon or enhance to suit their needs. Directives and forced implementation alone will not be sufficient devices to break the cycle. The teams will need some guidance and suitable examples to foster new transition experiences for themselves, empowering all of the membership to create lasting autonomous orientation adventures.

The ramifications of such policies and practices extend beyond the university community as was noted by initiation practices in high schools, minor sport, junior sport as well as clubs. Some athletes arrive at university having already been hazed as many as three times. It is crucial that behaviours and practices be addressed at these levels so that repercussions will have a ripple effect, facilitating transitional experiences at the university level. One such way to educate and foster more welcoming, positive orientation experiences at the junior levels could be to offer the services of varsity athletes to assist in the construction of future events for these groups.

Recommendations for Transition and Orientation of First-Year Student-Athletes

The intent of establishing a new order in transitional experiences for these athletes is to eliminate abusive practices as well as to shift power relations within the groups towards more welcoming, inclusive and rewarding orientation experiences.

A clear distinction must be drawn between orientation events and hazing practices. The orientation must take place in an atmosphere that fosters and nurtures an inclusive environment free of discrimination, segregation and degradation. Hazing refers to humiliating and abusive activities which must be endured by “non-members” in order to gain the status of “member” in a community.

Despite the often humiliating and abusive nature of hazing practices, most student-athletes advocate that such activities are important to their individual sense of belonging and their group’s sense of unity. The hazing ritual is often perceived to be a necessary stepping stone in the movement from outsider to insider. Student-athletes often endure hazing practices, in exchange for membership and affiliation, and it is in this spirit of cohesion and bonding that initiation traditions persist.

Although there may be a ‘perceived’ bonding element of hazing practices, the costs of such practices are simply too great. They discourage participation altogether, encourage withdrawal from sport, leave emotional and sometimes physical scars and reinforce imbalanced power relations. They also encourage abusive behaviour due to their cyclical nature; new students brave hazing practices with the knowledge that they will be able to do the same, if not worse to next year’s newcomers.

The objective is to offer alternative orientation scenarios which focus on principles of inclusivity, respect and freedom of choice, and foster a non-threatening, dynamic atmosphere where all participants benefit from their sport experience.

Successful implementation and change is dependent on sensitivity to the power imbalance in relationships between new and veteran players and coaches. The power imbalance comes from new player’s status as “rookies” and is linked to veteran players’

abilities to establish team norms and withhold membership and acceptance. Many of the alternatives are viable only if new players are extended the same privileges and rights as their older peers, and coaches and student leaders recognize that the need of new players to feel they belong may have a tremendous impact on their willingness to participate in initiation and hazing activities.

General Principles for Establishing Orientation and Transitional Experiences

The following principles should be considered when planning orientation and welcoming experiences for new students:

Teams that persist in carrying out inappropriate initiation rituals must face appropriate sanctions, which may include reduction or removal of funding, and restrictions on or denial of access to competitive privileges, resources and facilities. The teams must be educated prior to the commencement of their season as to the possible sanctions and to what are unacceptable practices.

The objective of orientation activities is to introduce new students to all of the people and programs at their institution and therefore, should include students from a range of sports, not just a single sport when possible.

The first six weeks of university attendance are considered critical in students' orientation to their institution and the university lifestyle. Orientation and transition events should ideally take place during this time, or at the beginning of the varsity season.

Student-athletes, coaches and administrators strongly support the bonding nature of orientation and transition experiences. Orientation events should be designed to

promote the educational mission of university athletics and to respect the individual choice of participants and the diversity characteristic of the student population.

Existing policies prohibit the presence of alcohol at university sponsored orientation events. These policies respect the fact that the lifestyle of many students does not involve alcohol and must be respected, especially with the forthcoming elimination of Grade thirteen in Ontario, and the fact that most first year students will be below legal drinking age. Therefore, orientation events organized around alcohol can be problematic, even when alternatives, such as non-alcoholic beverages are provided.

Existing policies also prohibit activities of a sexually exploitative nature at orientation events. It is extremely difficult to distinguish between willingness to participate in sexually oriented activities given freely, and given under duress. Orientation events which are sexually oriented do not represent welcoming experience for all students. Some former participants have experienced post traumatic stress disorder, as a result of such experiences.

Traditional initiation rituals pit veterans against new students, frequently resulting in rifts between team members and exacerbating imbalanced power relations. Coaches and student leaders should attempt to stop this estrangement by pairing new students and veterans at the outset of the athletic season and alternating working pairs throughout the season in an attempt to eliminate hierarchical structures and to create a democratic encompassing atmosphere.

Talking about orientation and transition experiences is one of the best ways to stimulate change. The coach must be included as an active participant in both the construction and implementation of the orientation activity. Coaches and student leaders

should establish guidelines of appropriate and inappropriate activities at the outset of their athletic season, and establish appropriate sanctions for those who disregard them.

The following activities are alternatives to traditional initiations that offer a more comprehensive experience for all of the participants. Again they are only intended as guides and suggestions for coaches and teams to stimulate ideas as well as new traditions.

University Orientation Activity

This suggestion is based on an actual orientation activity organized for new members of the University of Toronto Figure Skating Team. The Figure Skating Team organized a kind of scavenger hunt for new students designed to increase their awareness of the campus, services, history and personnel of the University of Toronto. The goal of the project was to challenge team members to collaborate with one another and build team unity through a relay scavenger hunt. The team was initially divided into pairs of new and returning students, and each pair was given a location on the St. George Campus where they would find a clue they had to solve. However, the clues were designed so that they could not be completely solved without the information from the previous pair, eventually leading all team members to work together to solve the final clue. When the first pair received their clue, they also received a second destination where they were to rendezvous with a second pair of team players and integrate their answers. This group of four then joined the next pair, and so on, until the team was one entire group which had pool together all of their clues to solve the final question. Clues included such tasks as finding out the athletic director's middle name and retrieving his/her business card. Others might have included finding out the office hours of the physiotherapy clinic or the location of the academic advisor to the athletic department. The final clue in this case was

the location of a meeting with a special guest, an Olympic skater who answered questions and provided an on-ice workshop.

Adaptation 1:

The scavenger hunt can be designed to focus on smaller groups (divide the team into groups of three or four) or larger groups (have several teams involved) and create a competition based on time.

Adaptation 2:

The scavenger hunt can be limited to certain themes (i.e.: services on campus, personnel on campus) so that new students increase their awareness of specific topics.

Adaptation 3:

Could be used by fraternities, clubs, intramurals, and colleges or frosh activity leaders as a tool to orient and coordinate their groups.

Adaptation 4:

The activity itself could be used in a smaller context, i.e. The Athletic Centre, where the clues are also designed to familiarize the participants with crucial resource areas. For example the Director's office, changerooms, Sexual Harassment Office etc....

Team Cohesion Activity

The suggestions to foster team cohesion in this model combine physical activity, creativity and group dynamics to accomplish predetermined tasks. Many of these activities have been called team building exercises, trust exercises and cooperative games.

The first of such examples is group activities where the group or team is given a task without instruction; the successful accomplishment of which requires cooperation as opposed to competition and individual efforts. Many of these kinds of activities are offered at a summer camps and retreats. These facilities have a variety of apparatus constructed of ropes, planks and in some cases pegs and hooks. The primary challenge is that the group must work together to complete the given task. Individual work is hampered by the nature of the activity. One example is an activity called the Spider Web which consists of ropes tied between numerous points (typically trees or posts), creating a web of ropes. All group members begin on one side of the apparatus and the objective is to have all members assisted through the web, attempting not to touch the ropes. Team members must work together to successfully navigate the maze of ropes, promoting team cohesion.

Adaptation 1:

High Rope Exercise: Again, all group members start of one side of a rope suspended in the air above a security net and the objective is to cross to the other side using a pulley system. The apparatus is designed so that group work is required to successfully cross to the opposite side.

Adaptation 2:

Provide students with a number of planks, boxes or rises and ropes of different lengths in an open space, such as a gym or field. The group must cross from Point A to Point B using only the objects provided without having any part of their body touch the ground/floor.

Adaptation 3:

Divide team members into smaller groups of three or four. One individual in the group must be blindfolded while the other three navigate them across an obstacle course without any form of verbal communication. Alternatively, the group could be assigned to teach the blindfolded member a simple body movement routine, again without any form of verbal communication.

Adaptation 4:

Tie ropes at different heights around three or four trees or poles, creating an enclosed space protected by an “electronic barrier” below the ropes. The objective of this exercise is to get all team members out of the enclosed area, without being electrified (passing below the ropes).

Adaptation 5:

Circle of Friends: One individual stands in the centre with teammates surrounding him/her. When the individual is ready, they allow themselves to fall forward or backward and their teammates are to catch them before they touch the ground.

Outdoor Recreation Activity

There exists a wealth of literature that examines the phenomenon of outdoor recreation as a form of orientation especially with first year University students. The studies discuss a variety of applications and benefits ranging from academic benefit, integration into the University setting, student development behaviors, student attrition and the retention rates of first year students.

These activities could easily be transferred, incorporated and utilized by team or group leaders and coaches as an alternative orientation technique. The primary goal of the program is that it involve everybody and that they all attempt to complete the same task. The first suggestion would be a 2 to 4 day canoe trip, depending on time and availability of equipment. Algonquin Park has several hiking or canoeing loops which could be done in the time that is allotted. The trip should include student preparation, gathering equipment, planning, purchasing and packing meals, food preparation, site planning and portaging if you are able to canoe. Depending on the size of the group, there can be up to 3 persons in a canoe, with two or three canoe groups combining to form a cooking group. Every canoe group should have the opportunity to lead the entire group for a specific duration. This will involve map reading and orienteering with a compass.

Adaptation 1

If time and/or equipment make the canoe/hiking trip not feasible the group could be transported to a nearby area such as Kelso or the Bruce trail near Milton where the group can be subdivided into smaller groups of three or four and given the task of arriving at a certain predetermined point. They will have only a compass, map and lunch

or picnic that they have brought to be eaten at the end of the journey. All of the smaller groups will have the same point of destination but all will have different starting points. This activity can be as challenging as the terrain that you select for a course. It can easily be done in one day.

Adaptation 2

There are many indoor and outdoor rock climbing facilities both in and outside of the city. A group could spend a challenging and exciting day scaling and rappelling Rattlesnake point in Milton or in the facilities of Joe Rockheads in downtown Toronto.

Adaptation 3

If canoes are not available, plan a hiking trip. This could be over the same time period and would still offer the participants many of the same opportunities such as the preparation and leading the group.

Sport Related Activity

The University of Toronto Varsity Tennis Team suggested a novel orientation experience for new students which involved organizing tennis clinics for young tennis enthusiasts based on recent changes in teaching methods and tennis skill development. The team proposed visiting local schools and spending about half an hour with students in grades one, two and three, preferably during their scheduled gym class. The half-hour session would include a warm-up, instruction, application through children's tennis games, and a cooling down period. The group's objective was to promote the sport of tennis at young age levels and the University of Toronto children's athletic programs. The team anticipated that the commitment of each team member to the project and time spent together in collaborative work would enhance team camaraderie and support systems.

Adaptation 1:

Run a sports camp for a smaller group or a shorter time period, perhaps at a local community center or school.

Adaptation 2:

Enter a recreational charity event as a team. Such events need not involve your sport; it is the opportunity to play together in a sport atmosphere which may facilitate new players' transition to university.

Adaptation 3:

Attend a high-profile sport training session or competition in your sport, i.e. an NBA or NHL Game, an international volleyball or tennis tournament. This allows team

members to draw upon the one thing they have in common while establishing relationships and friendships.

Adaptation 4:

A lot of teams begin their seasons with light or fun practices. To make this even more enjoyable for the players and provide new players with an opportunity to demonstrate their skills to get to know their new teammates, alternate the traditional scrimmage rules. Implement an “All Touch” rule where every team member on one side has to touch the ball/puck before a team member can attempt scoring a point(s). Or, change scoring system to a reverse order score, so the team which is scored against gets the points as opposed to the scoring team. Or, have a rotating player system, so that each time a player earns points, they rotate to the other team.

Community Service Activity

This orientation works if the athletes wanted to organize a team building experience which could make a difference for less privileged persons. The team can review lists provided by the Women's Center, or other selected organizations and select a shelter in the community near their university, as many of the students themselves probably live in that area. One team member's parents were willing to share their restaurant facilities, and on a Sunday afternoon in December, the team shopped and prepared meals for the residents of the women's shelter. The team also collected items which the shelter contact indicated were in need, including clothing, toys for children of all ages, bedding and kitchenware. Team members divided tasks throughout the day, often working in small groups to complete the food preparation and sorting of donated items. The coaching staff was equally involved in the day's activities, creating opportunities for coaches and athletes to work together on non-sport related tasks. Team members felt very positively about the opportunity to help others in need and about getting to know each other outside of their respective athletic roles.

Adaptation 1:

Donate a day of service to a food bank, local shelter or community center. There are a number of such locations, many of whom would appreciate assistance to tackle a project or complete daily tasks. If your team is interested in getting involved in such an activity, select a location that may have a link to the mission of the players or program. Contact the Volunteer Bureau for more suggestions.

Adaptation 2:

Sponsor and organize a campus-wide food or clothing drive for a single day or for an entire term. Shelters and community centers are often in need of additional supplies, especially at critical times of the year, such as Thanksgiving and Christmas. Organize team members into small groups, ensuring all new students and veterans interact and divide the responsibilities among them. This would be a great suggestion for a number of teams to tackle, and would increase the support network of new students.

Adaptation 3:

The Habitat for Humanity is a non-profit organization which builds homes and other structures for diverse groups with the help of community volunteers. Volunteer groups in the past have built homes, playgrounds and shelters. This is a good opportunity for several teams to organize as a larger group.

Adaptation 4:

Student-athletes at Carleton University run an annual one-day shoe shine event with student athlete pairs stationed at most corners in the commercial sector of Ottawa. Proceeds are donated to the university project of their choice.

Single Afternoon/Evening Activity

For many reasons, organized orientation events are limited to a single afternoon or evening time frame. Solid foundations for positive sport experiences can be established in a short period, if the principles of respect and freedom of choice are maintained in a welcoming atmosphere. Many of the activities in this model come from examples submitted by coaches and students leaders, exemplifying the common nature of single afternoon or evening orientation events. A typical and simple activity to plan is a team lunch or dinner.

There are a number of things to consider when planning such events:

- Choose a time and location which are accessible to all team members. Pay particular attention to the schedules of new team members who may have obligations outside school and sport, such as family and work responsibilities.
- Special consideration should be given to new team members who may be unfamiliar with the city, and arranging for team members to travel together or car pool is a great idea.
- Ensure new students have an opportunity to interact with as many team members as possible.
- Universities are very multicultural institution and one way to celebrate the melding of diverse cultures is to ask team members to bring a dish traditional to their cultural background. This may invite individuals to share a bit of their personal history, and may promote understanding and acceptance of diversity among team members.

Athletes and coaches have provided a number of suggestions of activities for team dinners/parties, which may create a welcoming atmosphere.

- **Ritual of a Nickname:** Nicknames can be used in a positive way, if presented appropriately. Ask team members to select their own nickname, and in a circle, share what the nickname signifies or the story behind it. Alternatively, self-chosen nicknames can be put in a hat, and team members have to guess to whom they belong and why.
- **Sharing Exercise:** As each team member arrives, ask them to share with you one thing that no one else on the team knows. This does not have to be a private detail, but something they are open to sharing such as a story from their youth, their middle name, a non-sport related talent. Place everyone's "story" on a list, and team members have to determine to whom each belongs. Various rules can be used, i.e. have several players work together, allow players to ask questions of each other, limit questions to one or to those which require only a yes or no answer.
- **Candle Carry:** The team is divided in to small groups who line up at either side of an open space. The first player is given a lit candle in a secure holder who must pass the candle on to their teammate at the other side, without extinguishing the candle. If the candle is blown out, the player must return to the starting point, have the candle relit and begin again.
- **Non-elimination Musical Chairs:** As opposed to the traditional rules, a player without a chair when the music stops shares a chair with another player. At the end, the group works together to make sure each player is balanced on the chair, as opposed to sitting on the sidelines of the game.

Time Management Skills/Seminar

One of the most important skills students require to excel at university is good time management. This is particularly so for student-athletes who have to learn to successfully balance both their academic and athletic commitments.

There are numerous time management resources on university campuses. The Counseling and Learning Skills Center, for example, offers group mini-courses on time management at the beginning of each semester and provides individual counselling on an as-needed basis.

Time management texts designed specifically for students are readily available at campus and local libraries. You will find below several time management strategies taken from such texts.

1) Assess How Your Time is Spent

One of the first steps in good time management is knowing how you spend your time. Divide each day into fifteen minute segments from the time you wake up until the time you go to bed. Track what you do with each fifteen minute segment and evaluate your use of time. Identify those times which could be better spent. Don't forget that some relaxation time is required.

2) Keep a Schedule or Daily Planner

Being organized is an essential time management skill. It may take some time to get organized at the outset, but it pays off in the end. Record all of your class times, assignment due dates, exams dates, practices and games.

3) Set Goals

Another important time management skill is to set goals on a daily, weekly, monthly, annual and long-term basis. This takes considerable practice and devotion, but with effort will become routine.

I. Evaluate Tasks Once

Many of us go over things several times throughout the day. We may read over something and put it aside to “do later”. In effect, we will have spent more time than necessary on the task because we have addressed it more than once. Try to complete things the first time you pick it up.

Adaptation 1:

Senior athletes who excel at both academics and athletics have probably mastered the art of time management. If a player on your or another university team demonstrates successful time management skills, invite him or her to provide a brief seminar for new and returning team members. Athletes may be more likely to attend and incorporate time management advice if it is coming from another athlete. Not only will this facilitate new students’ adjustment to the demands of university and university athletics, but it creates great leadership opportunities.

Fund-Raising Activity

The reality of university life in Canada is that many organizations must generate their own funds to support their travel, equipment, facility and in some cases, coaching expenses. Few organizations, if any, are fully supported by their university and in recent years, many have turned to fund-raising for additional revenue.

Fund-raising activities have included:

- **sports camps (weekend, summer, March Break)**
- **hosted events**
- **coaches and athletes clinics**
- **sport seminars**
- **apparel sales**
- **high-school tournaments**
- **sponsors and alumni support**
- **plant sales**
- **facility preparation for exams or events**
- **operation of concession stands**
- **acting as attendants at professional sport events**
- **bake sales**
- **chocolate bar sales**
- **car washes**

As fund-raising becomes an integral part of university life, it can also serve as an opportunity to facilitate team building and the transition of new students to the university and their new teammates. Below are several things to keep in mind if designing fund-raising to helping new students become acquainted with their new teammates, coaches, and university community.

- **Encourage first year students and teammates to work together, as well as to work with other teams on joint projects.**

- **Ensure new students are not delegated the bulk of the work or the most unpleasant tasks due to their status first year students. Such practices tend to alienate, rather than welcome, new students.**
- **Coordinate, where possible, such events with other university activities. This will allow new students to learn about the events and services on their new campus.**
- **Ensure appropriate university officials (Alumni Office, Marketing Office) are aware of your objectives. These people will provide assistance to your fund raising efforts and ensure conflicts are avoided.**

Conclusions

Initiations are an identified practice within the team culture at universities.

Although there does exist some variation, there is an overwhelming consistency among the practices which to reproduce cultural definitions, reinforcing masculinities and a belief in group cohesion. The biggest divergence exists between males and females, both in ceremony and receptiveness to new traditions. There is a need to break the cycle of initiation and replace the void with new traditions, like the ones assembled in this Chapter in an attempt to eliminate the power imbalances inherent in the ceremonies to foster more welcoming and rewarding experiences for all.

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APPENDIX A

University of Toronto

Faculty of Community Health

Informed Consent

Project Title: Hazed and Confused: Hazing Experiences versus Anti-Hazing Policy: Case Studies of Two Southern Ontario Universities.

Investigator: jay johnson

The purpose of this research is to describe the experiences of initiation and hazings of varsity athletes. The participant will be interviewed for approximately one to one and one half-hours duration. During the interview, the participant will be asked questions regarding experiences of being initiated onto their team. All interviews will be taped, however the names of the participants will not be on the audiocassette ensuring confidentiality. At the completion of the study the tapes will be made available for the participant. Any quotations used in the research paper will be anonymous, and descriptions of any events that are likely to reveal the identity of participants will be disguised. This research will form the basis for development of policies intended to guide and facilitate future participant's transition experiences. The participant may experience emotional distress brought upon by the information they disclose during the course of the interview. If this occurs they have the option to terminate the interview and they will be supplied with the telephone numbers of appropriate organizations to help them cope with this distress.

This is to certify that I, _____
agree to take part as a volunteer in the above mentioned project on conditions of confidentiality. I understand that the data will be kept in strict confidentiality by the researcher. I understand the potential risks and am aware that I will be directed to the proper agencies for assistance if I experience emotional distress. I give permission to be interviewed, and for these interviews be tape-recorded. I understand that at the completion of the research the tapes will be made available to me or erased. I understand that the research may be published but that my name will not be attached to the study. I understand that I have the right to refrain from answering any of the questions posed and that I can terminate the interview at my discretion. Likewise, I am aware that I can choose to withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty.

I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions that I see fit and all have been answered to my satisfaction. I have been offered a copy of this form to keep.

Participant

Witness

Date

Researcher

APPENDIX B

IN DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. **Demographic and background material: who they are, where they are and what is their sport experiences**
2. **Transition between teams, both past and present**
3. **What had they heard about hazing from others?**
4. **What had they heard about the initiation process from those who have been through it.**
5. **What had they heard about hazing from those who were going to initiate them.**
6. **The participants' actual experiences.**
7. **Their thoughts and feelings about "doing it" to others.**
8. **If they have had any prior hazing or initiation experiences.**
9. **What was the purpose or function of the initiation ceremony?**
10. **Were they aware of their university transition policies?**
11. **Did they feel comfortable enough in their transitional setting to have opted out had they so desired?**
12. **Did they have any recommendations for changing future initiation practices?**
13. **The role of the coach in the initiation process.**

APPENDIX C**References for Citations in Student Athlete Handbooks or University Provostial
Guidelines**

1. Brock University, Student Athlete Handbook, Department of Athletics
2. Carleton University, Student Athlete Handbook, Department of Athletics
3. Concordia University, Office of Student Affairs
4. Lakehead University, Office of Student Affairs
5. Laurentian University, Student Athlete Handbook, Department of Athletics
6. McGill University, Student Athlete Handbook, Department of Athletics
7. McMaster University, Student Athlete Handbook, Department of Athletics
8. Queen's University, Student Athlete Handbook, Department of Athletics
9. Royal Military College of Canada, Office of Student Affairs
10. University of Guelph, Office of Student Affairs
11. University of Toronto, Student Athlete Handbook, Department of Athletics, Office of Student Affairs
12. University of Western Ontario, Student Athlete Handbook, Department of Athletics
13. University of Windsor, Student Athlete Handbook, Department of Athletics

APPENDIX D

Group 1 – Student Codes of Conduct and General Orientation Policy

1) Concordia University

DEFINITIONS15. **Discrimination**

Discrimination is defined as treatment which:

- (a) has the effect or purpose of imposing burdens, obligations or disadvantages on members or groups of members; and
- (b) for which there is no bona fide and reasonable justification; and
- (c) when such treatment is based on one of the prohibited grounds specified in the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, that is; race, colour, ethnic or national origin, sex, pregnancy, sexual orientation, civil status, age, religion, political convictions, language, social condition, handicap or the use of a means to palliate a handicap.

16. **Harassment**

Harassment is defined as:

- (a) unwelcome, vexatious conduct, directed towards a member or group of members; and
- (b) which may or may not be based upon one of the prohibited grounds specified in article 15(c); and
- (c) when such conduct has the effect or purpose of unreasonably interfering with a member's work or academic, athletic or artistic performance or of creating an intimidating or hostile environment for work or study.



Concordia
UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENTAL
POLICY

1 October 1996

n/a

C SG-3

EFFECTIVE DATE

SUPERSEDES POLICY DATED

POLICY NUMBER

Frederick L. ...
APPROVED BY THE
OFFICE OF THE RECTOR

Suzanne Gaudet
AUTHORIZED BY
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Secretary General
ORIGINATING OFFICE

POLICY

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is defined as conduct of a sexual nature such as, but not limited to, sexual assault, verbal abuse or threats of a sexual nature, unwelcome sexual invitations or requests, demands for sexual favours or unwelcome and repeated innuendos or taunting about a member's body or appearance when:

- (a) submission to such conduct is made, whether explicitly or implicitly, a term or condition of a member's employment or educational progress; or
- (b) submission to or rejection of such conduct is used as the basis for an employment or academic decision affecting that member; or
- (c) when such conduct has the effect or purpose of unreasonably interfering with a member's work or academic, athletic or artistic performance or of creating an intimidating or hostile environment for work or study

Threatening or Violent Conduct

Threatening or violent conduct is defined as:

- (a) assaulting another member; or
- (b) threatening another member or group of members with bodily harm or causing another member or group of members to have reasonable grounds to fear bodily harm; or
- (c) creating, or threatening to create, a condition which unnecessarily endangers or threatens the health, safety or well-being of another member or group of members or threatens the damage or destruction of property.

Offenses Against Property

Offenses against property are defined as wilfully or recklessly taking, having unauthorized possession of, damaging or destroying any property belonging:

- (a) to the University; or
- (b) to any member when such property is on University premises or on other premises during the course of a University-sponsored activity or event.

APPENDIX E

2) Guelph University, April, 1997

Federal, Provincial and Municipal statutes in addition to the University's own regulations. The University's interest may cause it to initiate a hearing (see "Judicial Processes" on back panel) whether or not non-university authorities have taken action.

III Offenses Against Persons

1. Bodily Harm - You have the **RIGHT** to an environment that is safe and free from unwanted attention. You have the **RESPONSIBILITY** not to engage in activities likely to endanger the health or safety of yourself or another person, or to assault or threaten to assault another person, or to knowingly cause another person to fear bodily harm.

2. Harassment - You have the **RIGHT** to an environment characterized by mutual respect. You have the **RESPONSIBILITY** to treat all members of the University community with respect and without harassment. Harassment is defined as any attention or conduct (oral, written, graphic or physical) by an individual or group who knows, or ought reasonably to know, that such attention or conduct is unwelcome/unwanted, offensive, or intimidating.*

The use, or permitting the use, of the University computing, telephone, mail, display, and other communication systems to convey nuisance, obscene, or otherwise objectionable messages is prohibited*

*Refer to the University's Policy and Procedure on Sexual and Gender Harassment, available from the Office of Student Affairs, 4th Floor, University Centre, and the Human Rights and Equity Office in Fielding House

3. Discrimination - You have the **RIGHT** to an environment characterized by equal opportunity and equitable access to University goods and services. You have the **RESPONSIBILITY** to treat all members of the University community without discrimination. Discrimination is defined as any conduct that results in adverse treatment of an individual or group on the basis of race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, creed/religion, sex, sexual orientation, handicap, age marital status, record of offenses or receipt of public assistance.

IV Offenses Involving Property

1. Facilities, Telecommunications, Library Other University Property and Private Property -

disruption. You have the **RESPONSIBILITY** not to intimidate, interfere with, threaten or otherwise obstruct any activity organized by the University, including classes, or to hinder other members of the University community from being able to carry on their legitimate activities, including their ability to speak or associate with others.

VI Other

1. Liquor and Firearms - You have the **RESPONSIBILITY** to abide by the Provincial Liquor License Act and Provincial and Federal statutes pertaining to illegal drugs and alcohol. The possession, use or trafficking of illegal drugs, the possession of liquor by those under the age of 19, and the consumption or open possession of liquor other than in a residence room or licensed premises are prohibited.

2. Visitors - You have the **RIGHT**, upon compliance with existing sign-in requirements (Student Housing Services and licensed establishments), to have visitors on campus. As their sponsor, you have the personal **RESPONSIBILITY** to ensure that your guests abide by these regulations.

3. Firearms and other Weapons - Firearms, any other weapons, firecrackers, gunpowder, flammable solvents or any other forms of explosive or volatile materials are prohibited on campus except in a location specified by the University Police. You have the **RESPONSIBILITY** to ensure firearms and weapons are registered with the Police and stored in the specified location.

JUDICIAL PROCESSES

Every student has a right to a full, equal and fair hearing, by an impartial tribunal, of the merits of any charge brought against him or her under these regulations. Every student who is charged with a non-academic offense has a right to present a full and complete defense, and to be accompanied by an advisor (or legal counsel) at any hearing of the charge against him/her. Students charged are presumed innocent until found guilty on the basis of evidence presented, using the balance of probabilities as the standard of proof. The University has devised a non-academic process which provides for appropriate disciplinary penalties to be imposed. These penalties may include fines (up to \$500), probationary periods, warnings and, in extreme cases, a recommendation to the President

APPENDIX F

3) Lakehead University



DATE: August 28, 1998

TO: Deans F. Scott; D. Euler; B. Dadgostar; H. Saliba; D. Kemp;
Directors T. Stevenson, R. Lappage, L. McDougall; LUSU's Vice-President Student
Issues Mike Lyons; Student Representatives of Faculty/School-based clubs (one
from each)

FROM: Joy Himmelman
Director, Student Services & Community Relations

RE: ~~Welcoming Activities~~ - September 1998

As we head into another academic year and, no doubt, a full slate of student activities, I am sending you the information and guidelines that guide welcome activities on this campus. ~~More so that the intention of all activities is to welcome new students and to strengthen of activities that may be considered introductory and/or general.~~

The information and guidelines that are enclosed were approved by the Welcoming Activities Steering Committee which consisted of the Dean/Director and one student representative from each of Business, Education, Engineering, Forestry, Kinesiology, Nursing and Outdoor Recreation - Parks and Tourism plus the Vice-President Student Issues of LUSU and the Director of Student Services.

Some points to note:

- welcoming events in each Faculty/School are to be joint ventures of the Faculty/School and the student club/association.
- ~~approval of welcome events is the responsibility of the Faculty/School and the Student Services Office. For more information contact the Director of Student Services or the Student Services Office at (8550) or (8522). The Student Services Office is not involved in the approval process.~~
- ~~approval of welcome events is the responsibility of the Faculty/School and the Student Services Office. For more information contact the Director of Student Services or the Student Services Office at (8550) or (8522). The Student Services Office is not involved in the approval process.~~
- care and respect should be shown for all University facilities. Damage to property will be costed and charged back to the student organization and/or faculty/department.
- when scheduling your activities, please ensure that they do not conflict with other orientation programs and events. An orientation schedule is attached however if you have any questions, you can contact LUSU (8550) and/or Student Services Office (8522) for more information.

Memo: Welcoming Activities - September 1998
August 28, 1998

2

- there are limited funds available through the main orientation budget for welcoming activities. If you would like some financial assistance with your event(s) please submit an outline of your proposed welcome activity, with the total cost and the portion being requested, to the Student Services Office (UC2004).
- complaints with respect to the breach of these procedures and guidelines (hopefully there won't be any) will be processed under the Code of Student Behaviour & Disciplinary Procedures.

Please read through the enclosed documents carefully and should you have any questions that cannot be resolved within the Faculty/School, please don't hesitate to contact me (8149).

I hope that your welcoming activities go well and that you have a great year.

**WELCOMING FIRST-YEAR STUDENTS
to
LAKEHEAD UNIVERSITY**

GENERAL INFORMATION

1) ***Goals of Welcoming Activities at Lakehead***

All of the Welcoming Activities should be in the spirit of and consistent with the following goals:

- a) to welcome new students to the University in a positive way,
- b) to make them aware of the services and resources available to them, and
- c) to give them an opportunity to meet other students, first-year and upper-year students alike.

2) ***Welcoming Activities Guidelines***

To assist organizers in planning activities that will welcome all students in a friendly and helpful manner, a Welcome Activities Steering Committee developed guidelines which follow.

3) ***Approval of Plans***

Approval of welcoming events for new students will be by the appropriate Dean or School Director

4) ***Qualities of Welcoming Activities***

All events should be well planned, coordinated with the events of other student groups and carefully monitored. New students should be encouraged to take part in events, but must never be forced or coerced into joining into any activities.

Successful welcoming activities usually embody certain positive attributes while events which have drawn the greatest criticism from new students in the past invariably contain negative elements:

Positive Elements

building friendships
co-ed events
group activities
developing group cohesiveness
friendly rivalry and competitiveness

Negative Elements

non-voluntary participation in events
drinking
abusive and bad language
physical, verbal and psychological abuse
property damage
lack of adequate food or sleep

INFORMATION and GUIDELINES

1) **Most important!**

- safety is first and foremost
 - activities/events are to be welcoming, fun, voluntary
 - humiliating and/or demeaning activities will not be condoned or approved;
- Hazing is out!**
- remember, most first-year students are under age: this has legal implications for you as organizers

- 2) **In the event of an emergency:**
- contact the Emergency First Response Team at 343-8209 (available 24 hrs/day)
 - don't move the student if there is any question re serious injuries; however, if able to move, the student should go to the Health Centre (daytime hours) for a check-up and/or treatment.
 - for any concerns regarding security for your event, contact the Security Office at 343-8569.
- 3) **Versa Food Services** has the exclusive contract for food and beverages on our campus. If you are planning a Barbecue, Pizza Party, or whatever, you must contact Adam Rhode (8142) to discuss food/beverage supplies or the possibility of providing your own menu items.
- 4) **Location & Facilities:** Room bookings are done through one of the following offices depending upon location: LUSU for The Outpost, The Study, The Board Room, Living Room, etc.; Campus Development for outside space; your Dean/Director/Chair for room(s) in your department/faculty. **All events must be held on campus.**

Barbecues

- the only location that can be used for a bonfire is in the pit beside Lake Tambllyn and must be booked through the Campus Development Office at 343-8208.
 - wood will be supplied by Campus Development if you give them at least 2 days notice (contact Andy McFall at 343-8266).
 - picnic tables are already set up beside the Lake. If you need additional tables contact David Hare, Residence Manager at 343-8512.
 - barbecues for location at Lakeside, or elsewhere, can also be arranged through the Residence Manager at 343-8512.
 - there is one barbecue location at Residence which may be booked through Conference Services at 343-8779.
 - Please show respect for our property by leaving the site in the same condition you found it ---- maybe even improved. Vandalism will be dealt with under the Code.
- 5) **Responsibility!**
- the University and the courts view the organizers as being responsible for the activities and behaviour of students involved.
 - any breach of University regulation will be addressed through the Code of Student Behaviour & Disciplinary Procedures
 - events need to be well-supervised. Make sure that you have enough student leaders to ensure organized, fun, safe activities.
 - ~~No exceptions for any of our students~~
- 6) **Why is there such concern?**
- in the past, students have been badly hurt
 - about [redacted]
 - [redacted]
 - [redacted]
 - [redacted]
 - public relations with community [redacted]
 - Liquor License Board of Ontario regulations and the [redacted] alcohol are very strict
 - there is a considerable liability for you as the organizers of these events, and for the University administration.

Possible Activities to Welcome Lakehead's First-Year Students:

- barbeque - by Lake Tamblyn
 - Faculty Lounge
- bus tours
- tree planting
- team sports - "sports challenge"
 - Volleyball, Baseball
 - within school
 - between schools
- icebreakers
 - pancake breakfast
- film night
- air band contest
- karioke night
- passport to a variety of events and services
- water polo (games)
- movie night
- comedy night
- inter-school olympics
- Thunder Bay Whiskey Jack's game
- scavenger hunts
 - individual
 - teams
- design a year logo
- induction ceremonies
- garbage pick-up
- golf
- charity events
- tours of department, campus, city
- bed race
- school day of events
- talent contest
- bicycle obstacle course
- people chain - aerial photo
- nature walk
- mystery dinner/event
- rock & roll night
- Frosh chariot race

The following are examples of activities considered to be unacceptable:

- use of funds
- social events
- activities with alcohol
- activities in the evenings
- activities involving the use of "Baby Gator", wet T-shirt races
- overnight events
- events in residences
- trips
- events in residences
- overnight events
- overnight events

APPENDIX G**Group 2 –General Athletes Codes of Conduct****Laurentian University****Code of Conduct for Laurentian University Intercollegiate Athletics**

It is the responsibility of the coach to inform the Director immediately of any infraction of the Code of Conduct for Voyager Athletes.

Specific Policies

1. No alcoholic beverages are permitted on buses, vans, cars being used to transport Laurentian student athletes to or from competitions.
6. Conduct unbecoming to a Laurentian University athlete may result in suspension from the team pending a review by the Director of the department of Athletics.

APPENDIX H

Carleton University

Coaches have the responsibility to:

- 5. Ensure that the activity being undertaken is suitable for the experience, ability and fitness level of the athletes and educate athletes as to their responsibilities in contributing to a safe environment.**

Coaches must:

- 2. respect athlete's dignity; verbal or physical behaviours that constitute harassment or abuse are unacceptable. The University has a detailed sexual harassment policy that all University personnel must follow.**

Code of Conduct for Varsity Athletes representing Carleton University

- 3. Athletes are expected to treat everyone fairly within the context of their sport, regardless of gender, place of origin, colour, sexual orientation, religion, political belief or economic status.**
- 4. Athletes must respect other's dignity; verbal or physical behaviours that constitute harassment or abuse are unacceptable. The University has a detailed sexual harassment policy that all University personnel must follow.**

8. **When athletes are on the road representing Carleton University, they are expected not to engage in any conduct that would injure the University in reputation or resources.**

APPENDIX I

Queen's University

Guidelines on Conduct for Division of Athletics and Recreation

Policy

Inappropriate Conduct:

Treat teammates, opponents, officials, spectators, hotel owners and staff, bus drivers and the public in general, with due respect.

The division of Athletics and Physical Education is committed to providing a safe, non threatening environment which is supportive of productivity, as well as demonstrating a concern for the personal goals, dignity and self worth of all athletes and staff of the unit. It is the goal of this division to treat every athlete and staff member fairly in an environment free of harassment and discrimination.

Queen's University recognizes that all members of the University community have the right to be free from harassment and discrimination on the prohibited grounds defined in the Ontario Human Rights Code. This includes, but is not limited to: sexual harassment, harassment based on gender, race, ethnicity, religion, creed, disability and sexual orientation.

Abusive Behaviour:

Everyone has the right to be treated in a respectful manner. Nonetheless, there are occasions when there are abuses of power between individuals. The inappropriate use of power by one person over another can take many forms, and may or may not be related to other types of harassment and discrimination.

This type of abuse includes, but is not limited to:

- Creating conditions of unreasonable isolation from other colleagues or peers**
- Assigning unreasonable quantities of work or making personal demands**
- Setting unrealistic or fluctuating expectations of athletic or work performance**
- Humiliation in front of staff, peers, or co-workers**
- Inappropriate treatment which may be unrelated to athletic or work performance**

APPENDIX J

Group 3 –Athlete Behaviour Codes Including Hazing

University of Western Ontario

Policy on Hazing

In 1994, the University Students' Council (USC) recognized hazing as a problem at Western. The USC's provisional definition of hazing is "any action taken or situation created, intentionally, to produce mental or physical discomfort, embarrassment, harassment, or ridicule." Even well intentioned activities or situations meant to make students feel part of a group or team qualify as hazing, if they make any student feel uncomfortable in any way.

The Program of Intercollegiate Athletics is vehemently opposed to any form of hazing at any time. If orientation or rookie get-togethers are planned by teams, they must not include any hazing. Violations of this policy will be dealt with in a firm manner by the intercollegiate athletic administration.

As a student athlete, if you are aware of any hazing, please report it to the intercollegiate athletic administrators or to the USC "Hazing Report Line." This line is a strictly confidential voice-mail system used to collect reports of hazing incidents on campus. The phone number for the line is 661-2031. The line is monitored regularly and privately. Students who witness hazing are encouraged to report it.

APPENDIX K**Royal Military College of Canada****Hazing and Harassment**

19. No Ocdt (Officer Cadet) will treat another in a manner that would be considered inappropriate treatment of a member by an officer.
20. Hazing and all official types of punishment are forbidden. Hazing includes any initiation practices which are not recognized as traditional acceptable military practices .
21. Any form of verbal, written or physical action that is judged to be lewd, suggestive, degrading or threatening is considered to be an act of harassment or intimidation. Actions of this nature perpetrated by an individual or groups of individuals towards any Ocdt are strictly forbidden. As well, the giving or withdrawing of privileges or favours, or the offer or threat of such actions, for any reason other than the appropriate maintenance of military standards, are forbidden.

APPENDIX L**McMaster University****McMaster Athletics Code of Conduct**

The Department expects all personnel and student-athletes to uphold several standards of behavioural conduct, treating others with the utmost respect and dignity, a commitment to the elimination of hazing of any type, as well as the elimination of sexist, racist or discriminatory language and/or behaviour and that they do not wilfully damage the property of others, including, but not limited to, hotel rooms, facilities at other universities and transportation vehicles.

Appropriate sanctions for an infraction of the Varsity Athletics Code of Conduct include:

- 1) suspension of the individual or team for one competition or an entire season;
- 2) removal of funding from the team
- 3) community service by the individual or team.

APPENDIX M

Brock University

V Team Initiations-“Rookie Nights”

A number of teams have traditionally held a “Rookie Night” initiation ceremony. Most of these initiation ceremonies are planned and carried out by the senior athletes. However, it is the players’ responsibility to inform the coach of the format such an initiation is going to follow. Such events have the potential to result in injury and in some cases, lawsuits involving not only the athletes but the coach and the administration. The intent of such initiations is to have “fun” without causing any physical damage or creating any mental anguish to the participants. The senior players bear the responsibility for the event and the coach should be made aware of the initiation process so he/she can provide some guidance as to what is acceptable and unacceptable in the process.

The department is totally opposed to any initiation program that involves any alcoholic consumption by participants. Initiation ceremonies which alter an individual’s appearance, such as shaving heads or eyebrows, are against departmental policy. Initiation ceremonies are not to be degrading, demeaning or violate the “rights” of a participant.

Each individual who participates in the process has a personal responsibility for the potential outcome of the acts engaged in, and therefore, the consequences of those acts. The department will severely penalize teams and individuals who engage in such unacceptable practices.

APPENDIX N**University of Windsor****Rookie Parties/Hazing**

This is just a reminder of the Department's policy on rookie parties and hazing. We recognize that veteran players take great delight in imposing "rites of passage" on first year players, and that initiation of first year athletes is a tradition.

However, as the head of a University of Windsor team, or student athlete, you are responsible for the behaviour of your team at formal and informal scheduled events. Regardless of whether the team meets on or off-campus, they are still highly visible as a University of Windsor team, and should behave accordingly. The Department of Athletics and Recreational Services recommends that:

- 1. No activity of lewd, profane or dehumanizing nature be tolerated.**
- 2. All public behaviour should be within the bounds of human dignity and should not cause any embarrassment to the individuals involved, the team, the Department or the University.**
- 3. There be no physical or mental punishment or "dare activities" (shaving heads is out).**

This is a very serious issue and measures will be taken against those who do not follow the guidelines. If you have any questions as to whether an activity is appropriate please consult Mike Harvey or myself.

Please ensure that all your players understand the seriousness of this message.

Thanks for your cooperation.

D. J. MacLean

APPENDIX O

McGill University

Hazing and Initiations:

McGill Level 1, 11 intercollegiate Teams and Intercollegiate Sport Clubs may have team socials in relation to the formation of the team, provided they are performed in a manner that respects an individual's human rights and integrity and in no way can be perceived as demeaning by the individuals involved. There must be an air of dignity, respect and class associated with this type of team/club activity.

Teams and club socials that degrade the individual, have forced participation, have alcohol or narcotic consumption, require nudity, place a person in a compromised position/situation, or involve general hooliganism, are not acceptable.

It is recommended that teams consult with their coaches to discuss any initiation plans that are being considered and the consultation should be at least three days in advance of the activity. Club sports are to consult with the Sports Club Supervisor. If a coach is not available, the team captain or organizing group is required to meet with the intercollegiate Coordinator, Assistant Intercollegiate Coordinator or Sports Clubs Supervisor to review the team's initiation plans.

APPENDIX P

University of Toronto September, 1999

SECTION 4. Harassment and Discrimination in Athletics

A. Policy on Initiation and Hazing

The University of Toronto policy on hazing emphatically states that the hazing rituals of former years will simply not to be tolerated.

Initiation and hazing have become the target of widespread reform efforts within the university community. Coaches, administrators and student leaders within and associated with the Faculty of Physical Education and Health at the University of Toronto are committed to ensuring orientation and transitions experiences for new students are welcoming. Part of that commitment is an effort to introduce alternative orientation activities for new students.

The Faculty recognizes the bonding element of orientation and transition activities, but the costs of hazing and initiation events are simply too great. They discourage participation altogether, encourage withdrawal from sport, leave emotional and sometimes physical scars and reinforce imbalanced power relations. They also encourage abusive and sometimes illegal behaviour.

In 1996, the Faculty sponsored an evaluation of welcoming and transition experiences of university student-athletes in collaboration with the Office of Student Affairs and the Sexual Harassment Officer of the University. Many of the recommendations stemming from this report have already been implemented with considerable success.

The Faculty of Physical Education and Health urges students and leaders to consider the following when planning orientation and transition activities for new students:

- The objective of orientation activities is to introduce new students to all people and programs at the University and therefore, should include students from a range of sports.
- The first six weeks of university attendance are considered critical in students' orientation to their new environment and the university lifestyle. Orientation events should, whenever possible, take place during this time.
- Orientation events should be designed to promote the educational mission of university athletics and to respect the individual choice of participants and the diverse characteristic of the student population at the University of Toronto.
- Existing policy prohibits the presence of alcohol at any Faculty sponsored orientation event. This policy respects that the lifestyle of many students does not involve alcohol for religious or personal reasons.
- Existing policy also prohibits activities of a sexually exploitive nature at any Faculty sponsored event. It is extremely difficult to distinguish between willingness to participate freely and under duress. This policy recognizes students may have religious beliefs or a family or personal history for whom these kinds of initiation events would not be welcoming experiences.
- Coaches and student leaders should attempt to replace the traditional estrangement between veteran and new players by pairing new and returning students at the outset of the athletic season and alternating working pairs throughout the season.
- Talking about orientation and transition experiences is one of the best ways to stimulate change. Student leaders and their coaches should establish guidelines of appropriate and inappropriate activities at the outset of their athletic season, and establish appropriate sanctions for those who disregard them.

APPENDIX Q

FACULTY OF
PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND HEALTH
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Office of the Dean

January 21, 2000

Jay Johnson
Faculty of Physical Education and Health

Dear Jay:

I am writing to give you permission to identify the policies and practices of the University of Toronto, including those of the Faculty of Physical Education and Health, in your MSc thesis, 'Hazed and Confused: Hazing Experiences vs Anti-Hazing Policies: Case Studies of Two Southern Ontario Universities.' I understand, of course, that the identity of those U of T students who were interviewed in the study will be fully protected, as you undertook in your protocol governing the use of human subjects.

Congratulations on your fine work.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bruce Kidd'.

Bruce Kidd, Ph.D.,
Dean

CC: Peter Donnelly
Liz Hoffman

APPENDIX R