The Cycle of Abuse in Sport Hazing: Is It Simply A Case of Boys Being Boys?

By

Rehman Y. Abdulrehman

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology

The University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

Rehman Y. Abdulrehman © 2006

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION

The Cycle of Abuse in Sport Hazing: Is It Simply A Case of Boys Being Boys?

By

Rehman Y. Abdulrehman

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of

Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree

Of

Doctor of Philosophy

Rehman Y. Abdulrehman © 2006

Permission has been granted to the Library of the University of Manitoba to lend or sell copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to University Microfilms Inc. to publish an abstract of this thesis/practicum.

This reproduction or copy of this thesis has been made available by authority of the copyright owner solely for the purpose of private study and research, and may only be reproduced and copied as permitted by copyright laws or with express written authorization from the copyright owner.

Table of Contents

Abstract	5
Introduction	
Hazing	7
Presence of Hazing in Sport	7
Media Reports and Empirical Research on Hazing	9
Secrecy	12
Role of Gender	13
Symptoms of Childhood Sexual Abuse	15
Internalized and Externalized Behaviors	16
Internalized Behaviors	16
Externalized Behaviors	17
Gender Differences in Symptoms	18
Sexually Abused Males and the Cycle of Abuse	19
Model of Sexual Aggression	20
The Cycle of Abuse in Sport	23
Correlations Between Rape and Athletes	23
Re-examining Conceptions of Sexual Abuse and Victimization	27
Hypotheses	29
Method	31
Participants	31
Materials	32

Table of Contents Continued

	Questionnaire on Hazing	33
	Forcible Date Rape Scale	34
	Sexual Victimization Survey	35
	Consent Form	36
	Procedure	36
Result	es s	38
	Hypothesis 1	39
	Hypothesis 2	40
	Hypothesis 3	41
	Hypothesis 4	41
Discussion		
	Frequency of Hazing	42
	Frequency of Abuse	43
	Age of Participants	45
	Perception and Tolerance	46
	Does Perception Alter Tolerance?	48
	Effects of Sexual Hazing on Tolerance	49
	Role of Gender	50
	Role of Defense or Coping Mechanisms	54
	Other Considerations and Accurate Responding	57
	Socially Desirable Responding	57
	The Meaning of Witness	58

Table of Contents Continued

Is Hazing Abuse?	58
Recent Incidences	59
Hypothesis 1	60
Hypothesis 2	61
Hypothesis 3	62
Hypothesis 4	63
Implications	64
References	67
Appendix A: Hazing Questionnaire	78
Appendix B: Forcible Date Rape Scale	80
Appendix C: Sexual Victimization Survey	84
Appendix D: Consent to Participate	88
Appendix E: Debriefing Sheet	90
Appendix F: Recruitment Script	91
Author Note & Acknowledgements	92
Table 1: Experience of hazing and Previous Child Sexual Abuse	93
Table 2: Frequencies of Experiences or Witness of Hazing	94
Table 3: Presence of Abuse in Hazing	95
Table 4: Age of Individuals Being Hazed	96
Table 5: Type of Sport Involved in Hazing	97
Table 6: F-Tests for Average Score on the Forcible Date Rape Scale	98
Table 7: Perception of Hazing Experiences	99

Abstract

Research and a model of sexual aggression indicate a possible cycle of abuse whereby males who were victims of child sexual abuse may be at risk of abusing others (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991). Given that many hazing incidences are reported to include sexual abuse (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Robinson, 1998), along with the fact that sexual aggression is common amongst athletes (Brackenridge, 2003; Smith & Stewart, 2003), this study aimed to empirically explore associations among these factors and other issues related to hazing. Responses from a sample of male introductory psychology students from the University of Manitoba were categorized into those who had experienced forms of abusive hazing and those who had not experienced forms of abusive hazing. Findings indicated that abuse (emotional, physical, and sexual) was present in hazing approximately half of all hazing instances. The groups responses to Fischer's Forcible Date Rape Scale (1986), which measured tolerances toward sexual aggression, were then compared. The predicted associative link between sexually abusive hazing practices and tolerance toward sexual aggression was not as strong as expected. Alternative explanations for this counterintuitive finding are explored. Participants of hazing were more likely to view their experiences as neutral or positive, as opposed to negative. Theoretical hypotheses of cognitive distortions and the influence of context and gender are discussed.

The Cycle of Abuse in Sport Hazing:

Is It Simply A Case of Boys Being Boys?

Though rates of reported sexual abuse are reported to be lower in men than in women (Wyatt, Loeb, Solis, Carmona, & Romero, 1999), the rate of sexual abuse in men is still alarmingly high. Earlier studies reported rates that ranged between one in six (Prendergast, 1993) and one in three (Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths, 1984) boys having experienced child sexual abuse. More recent studies indicate ranges of 20 to 25 percent of adult males having reported experiencing some form of sexual abuse as a child (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001; Eskin, Kaynak-Demir, & Demir, 2005), with a high of reported rates up to nearly 60 percent (Madu & Peltzer, 2001). Though the prevalence rates vary due to definition of abuse used by researchers, even the lowest reported rates suggest that the issue of sexually abused boys is clearly greater than once believed. Despite this growing awareness amongst researchers, many suggest that the study of male victims of sexual abuse has been minimal until recent (Briggs & Hawkins, 1995; Cermak & Molidor, 1996; Hack, et al., 1994; Lab et al., 2000; Price, Maddocks, Davies, & Griffiths, 2002; Valente, 2005). Symptoms of sexual abuse, such as a loss of control and overt manifestation of aggression, can produce what appears to be a cycle of abuse (Kia-Keating, Grossman, Sorsoli, & Epstein, 2005; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991); whereby the victim will be at risk to perpetrate against others (physically or sexually). Recent media attention has captured issues of sexual abuse of athletes by their coaches, such as the case of Sheldon Kennedy (Robinson, 1998) and those of sexually abusive practices that occur in athletic hazing and team bonding activities (Brackenridge, 2003; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn, Tompkins, & Hunter, 1993; Gershel, Katz-Sidlow, Small, & Zandieh, 2003; Ginsberg, 2005; Grossman, 2005; Meagher, 2005; Robinson, 1998, Smith & Stewart, 2003). Based on findings that reported a cycle of sexual aggression in sexually abused males (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001), this study examined the role of possible sexually abusive practices in hazing as associated with tolerance toward sexual aggression.

Hazing

Presence of Hazing in Sport

Hazing within sport settings is meant to serve as a rite of passage whereby new members of a team are made to feel like they have shown their desire to be a member of the team by tolerating aversive experiences (Bryshun, 1997; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn, et al., 1993; Finkel, 2002; Gershel, et al., 2003; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998). Similar to hazing, activities known as "group bonding" are maintained by the team throughout the duration of membership to the team to supposedly maintain a sense of camaraderie between team members (Robinson, 1998). Contrary to popular belief, recent investigations into hazing and group or team bonding activities within sports revealed that some of these activities are abusive (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn et al., 1993; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998). Many hazing activities, such as the shaving of players' heads, or excessive consumption of alcohol, may be considered normal within the context of sport camaraderie (Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn et al., 1998; Nuwer, 2000). Nonetheless, a large percentage of hazing and group bonding activities have been noted to include sexually abusive acts such as forceful shaving of the pubic region, and forceful insertion of objects into players rectums' (Abdulrehman & De

Luca, 2000; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn et al., 1998; Farrey, 2000; Mendelsohn, 2000; Mravic, 2000; Nuwer, 2000; O'Hara, 2000). Coloroso (2002), who examined the dilemma of bullying, considers physical acts of hazing to be a form of bullying. In light of both investigative reports and research on the type of activities that occur in hazing, it appears that some hazing activities cross the boundaries of physical bullying and appear to meet the criteria for sexual assault (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Robinson, 1998). The aforementioned studies also indicated that a majority of hazing occurred on junior teams, where members are commonly under the age of eighteen. Since these experiences are often induced by force, coercion, or threat, to individuals under 18 years of age (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998), these cases would be considered forms of child sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1990). According to Abdulrehman and De Luca (2001), male victims sexually abused as children were more tolerant toward sexual aggression as adults. This may suggest that athletes sexually victimized during hazing may be more likely to be tolerant of sexual aggression; possibly fostering a cycle of abuse.

Important to understanding how hazing may lead toward the tolerance of sexual aggression, is comprehension of what occurs in hazing. As a rite of passage, the concept of hazing is seen by some as an initiation into a new group (Bryshun, 1997; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn et al., 1993; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998). Though the term hazing was not used until the 1870's, with college fraternities, the concept of initiation into a group has long since existed amongst exclusive groups (Bryshun, 1997). Often having the initiate perform the bidding of the senior members of the organization, hazing incidences increasingly have begun to report amplified violence, humiliation, and sexual assault or

abuse toward initiates (Bryshun, 1997; Finkel, 2002; Gershel et. al., 2003). Though hazing practices have been most commonly noted in fraternities and some military organizations, increased reports have noted its occurrence within sports teams (Farrey, 2000; Mendelsohn, 2000; Mravic, 2000; O'Hara, 2000). More concerning is that hazing appears to occur not only during initiations but in what teams consider, group bonding exercises, which occur frequently during the year (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Bryshun, 1997; Robinson, 1998).

Media Reports and Empirical Research on Hazing

Unfortunately, there has been little research on the presence of hazing amongst sports teams, and even less research on the effects of those hazing experiences (Allan, 1998; Bryshun, 1997; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn et al., 1993; Nuwer, 2000). Given the secrecy surrounding many hazing incidences, documentation of these practices have mostly come to light via media reports of law suits, resulting from reported physical injuries or deaths due to hazing (Nuwer, 2000). To gain a sense of the serious nature of hazing rituals present in sport today, some examples from a variety of sports will be reviewed.

Since media reports have been the largest source of information on hazing, it could be said that the brutality of hazing is sensationalized and the rate of occurrence, inflated. The media often refers to extreme cases, such as that of an American teenager claiming his track teammates had sodomized him with their fingers (Mendelsohn, 2000). The same article that noted the above case also reported the case of another teenager who was sodomized by his wrestling team with a broomstick. A report by ESPN notes hockey players being tied up and sodomized with the blunt end of a knife, and a football team

hitting rookies with bags of coins (Farrey, 2000). Similar reports of violent sexual assault have been reported by both Sports Illustrated (Mravic, 2000), and Maclean's (O'Hara, 2000) magazine, and more recently by numerous Canadian news agencies (Byers, 2005; Canadian Press, 2005 ^{1, 2, 3}; Ginsberg, 2005; Grossman, 2005; Meagher, 2005; Zwolinski, 2005). Though these stories of hazing may appear sensationalized, they are supported by similar findings in research studies that have focused on hazing, also denoting the severity of the acts of physical violence and emotional abuse and degradation (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Bryshun, 1997; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn et al., 1993).

It appears that sexual and physical abuse has been more common in sport hazing, than many realize and can become in some ways, ritualized. Across several studies, practices including substance abuse, physical and sexual assault, and emotional and psychological manipulation appear to be present in some form or another (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Bryshun, 1997; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn et al., 1993; Wintrup, 2003). Studies from different regions in North America reveal that some sexually abusive practices have become so common they have been given titles or names that are referred to by teams, across different regions in North America (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Bryshun, 1997; Robinson, 1998). The use of common titles to describe such assaults may be testament to the frequent nature of sexual abuse in hazing.

In an examination of hazing practices in sports teams, Abdulrehman and De Luca (2000) found that fifty one percent of all hazing cases reported involved some form of sexual abuse. Reported instances of sexual assault in hazing were rarely mild in nature, and often were paired with physical violence and verbal degradation. In examining

hazing instances without sexual assault, it was noted that physical assault occurred in two-thirds of the cases examined. Examples of sole physical abuse included various forms of beatings, and other forceful activities that resulted in physical harm, including the forceful shaving of different body parts. Some coaches and players jump to the defense of hazing, stating hazing activities are in the name of fun, at most engaging in mild humiliation (Allan, 1998; Conn & Tompkins, 1994; Fish, 2001). Yet, even in the so-called mild cases of hazing, Abdulrehman and De Luca (2000) noted that initiates were subjected to a barrage of verbal abuse, and forced into acts of public degradation and humiliation. Furthermore, Abdulrehman and De Luca also noted that so-called mild instances of hazing, where no other physical or sexual abuse were present, only accounted for 22 percent of hazing incidences. The confirmation of abusive acts reported in empirical research contradicts claims that the practice of hazing is, a majority of the time, harmless.

Perhaps one reason for the secrecy surrounding abusive hazing is that many team members engage in a form of justification by normalization of their hazing activities. Several examinations of such activities noted that when questioned about the abusive activities of hazing rituals, participants simply stated that they are "normal" within the context of sport, and are a part of the game (Coloroso, 2002; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998; Robertson, 2003; Wintrup, 2003). By claiming normality and/or secrecy of these hazing assaults, allegiance to the team is supposedly maintained. But as Coloroso (2002) pointed out, in her examination of hazing as bullying, allegiance is maintained mostly because the option of reporting abuse is accompanied by severe social stigmatization.

Secrecy

Bryshun (1997), in an extensive review of hazing practices, also noted the common presence of sexual and physical violence in sport hazing practices. Aside from confirming activities noted above, his study described rookies being stripped naked, tied to goal posts and having hockey pucks shot at them, eating feces contaminated foods, being forced to eat live gold fish, and biting the heads off chickens. Bryshun also emphasized one very important aspect of hazing, and that is its secrecy. In examining the locations of the hazing events, he noted that sexually abusive practices occur most commonly in private settings, whereby the only witnesses are other teammates, or the coach. Private settings include the locker room, a senior athlete's home, the team bus, and hotel rooms. Though it appears that many hazing activities are public, and involve humiliating "pranks", public displays of hazing rarely involve sexually abusive acts, as they are likely to spark criticism. Bryshun suggested that secrecy may imply that hazers are implicitly aware of the nature of their activities, and the implications. A Canadian hockey player, commenting on his experience with hazing, admits that many hazing activities make hockey players look like "perverts" (O'Hara, 2000). Despite this partial recognition, hazing continues, and athletes who are hazed continue to maintain secrecy around their experiences. The social pressure to be hazed or be cut from the team can be a means of social control, whereby further pressure of being outcast from the sport community, or fear of being considered weak, may cause victims to not only submit to being hazed but also conceal the abusive nature of the hazing (Allan, 1998; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998; Robertson, 2003; Wintrup, 2003).

Role of Gender

Though it has been noted that hazing also occurs amongst female sports teams, the reported prevalence is lower than the physically and sexually violent acts present amongst male sports teams (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Bryshun, 1997; Chandler, Johnson, & Carroll, 1999; Conn, et al., 1993). Female athletes were most likely to engage in hazing activities that involved a form of humiliation, or at most, mild forms of physical abuse. Examples of such activities include asking for men's phone numbers at bars, or being tied to a chair and left in the hotel lobby (Bryshun, 1997; Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000). Male athletes notably engaged in hazing that was not only humiliating, but also, physically and sexually abusive. For example, instead of just being tied to a chair, male athletes may be stripped naked first, and have their pubic regions forcefully shaved (Bryshun, 1997; Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000). As discussed already, other examples of hazing involve much more drastic forms of physical and sexual abuse.

Since victims of male hazing appear to be abused by males, and much of the abuse is reported to be sexual in nature, the implied homosexual nature of the abuse often adds an additional stigma to the experience. The associated stigma makes it less likely that abusive hazing will be reported, and may also induce additional emotional turmoil within the victim of hazing, as is often the case with male victims of sexual abuse outside the context of hazing (Cermak & Molidor, 1996; Eskin, et al., 2005, Kia-Keating, et al., 2005). Perpetrators of abusive hazing often engage in verbal abuse that heighten this stigma, taunting rookies with derogatory slang referring to homosexuals and women, such as fag, sissy, and bitch (Allan, 1998; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998). This type of verbal abuse may compound the impact of being assaulted with feelings of guilt, and may

possibly raise questions regarding the victim's own sexuality, and/or masculinity. These feelings may be the source of the continuous cycle of abuse, as victims may feel they need to reassert their lost control, and masculinity (Malamuth et al., 1991).

Though most victims and perpetrators of hazing are male (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Chandler, et al., 1999), the abusive practices of hazing appear to have a collateral impact on women who may be involved with such athletes. For example, Chandler and colleagues noted that outside of hazing and team bonding activities, women were more likely to be forced into sexual acts by athletes who had participated in hazing. Robinson (1998), in an exploration of the hockey subculture in Canada, reported that rape of women was almost as common amongst athletes as was the experience of being hazed. Findings such as those reviewed thus far, along with anecdotal investigative reports, may provide the theoretical understanding of how harsh experiences of being hazed may influentially support attitudes of sexual violence amongst athletes, toward future teammates, and toward women as well. The presence of sexual aggression amongst athletes has been documented (Brackenridge, 2003; Humphrey, & Kahn, 2000; Parrot, Cummings, Marchell, & Hofher, 1994; Smith & Stewart, 2003).

The consequences of abusive hazing amongst male athletes in many ways appear to parallel the dilemma of male victims of sexual abuse. Considering that hazing in athletic teams can begin in teams whose members are younger adolescents (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Gershel, et al., 2003; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998), it may be likely that a large percentage of the victims of abusive hazing are children. Without the contextual shield of sport culture that may blind much of the public from the activities of hazing, it becomes difficult to interpret the assaults of hazing as a mild form of

camaraderie, but instead as a form of abuse. Thus it remains important to view the dilemma of hazing as a possible form of sexual abuse. In addition, it is important to explore the ways in which abusive experiences can affect boys.

Symptoms of Childhood Sexual Abuse

Regardless of the gender of the victim, deleterious symptoms of sexual abuse often continue from childhood into adulthood if victims remain untreated (Coffey, Leitenberg, Henning, Turner, Bennett; 1996; Finkelhor, 1990; Kia-Keating, et al., 2005; Mullen, Martin, Anderson, Romans, & Herbison, 1996; Romano & De Luca, 1997; Sapp & Vandeven, 2005; Steever, Follette, & Naugle, 2001; Valente, 2005; Wyatt, et al. 1999). During childhood, abuse victims manifest symptoms such as anxiety (Chaffin, Silovsky, & Vaugn, 2005; Valente, 2005) guilt, loneliness (De Luca, Hazen, & Cutler, 1993), low self-esteem, depression, behavior problems (Calam, Horne, Glasgow, & Cox, 1998; De Luca, Boyes, Furer, Grayston, Hiebert-Murphy, 1992; De Luca, Boyes, Grayston, & Romano, 1995; Sapp & Vandeven, 2005; Valente, 2005), fire-setting, cruelty to animals (Becker, Stuewig, Herrera, & McCloskey, 2004) psychosomatic problems (Price, Maddocks, Davies, & Griffiths, 2006) poor academic performance, and self-harm (Valente, 2005). Without treatment, abuse victims continue to manifest other symptoms throughout adulthood. Such symptoms include a lack of trust in others (Jehu, 1992; Lisak, 1994), depression, anxiety, hostility (Beitchman, Zucker, Hood, DaCosta, Akman, & Cassavia, 1992; Collings, 1995; Finkelhor, 1990; Lisak, 1994; Rudd & Herzberger, 1999; Spataro, Mullen, Burgess, Wells, & Moss, 2004), fear, guilt (Lisak, 1994), personality disorders (Spataro, et al., 2004), a loss of control (Malamuth et al., 1991), suicidal behavior (Eskin, et al., 2005), and difficulty with intimate relationships (Colman

& Widom, 2004). Male survivors of sexual abuse may also manifest symptoms of tolerance toward sexual aggression (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001; Malamuth, et al., 1991). Male survivors victimized by other males may also experience the stigma of homosexuality, and possible frustration with their sexual identity (Cermak & Molidor, 1996; Eskin, et al., 2005, Kia-Keating, et al., 2005), heightening the experience of trauma (Dolezal & Carballo-Dieguez, 2002; Duncan & Williams, 1998; Finkelhor, 1990).

Internalized and Externalized Behaviors

As noted above, a variety of symptoms may result from child sexual abuse. The suggestion made by Freidrich, Beilke, & Urquiza (1988) is that these symptoms and behaviors are differentially exhibited. For example, some victims will manifest the behaviors inwardly toward themselves (internally), and other victims will manifest behaviors outwardly toward others (externally). Differential manifestations of abuse symptoms are found when examining a gender difference.

Internalized Behaviors

Internalized behaviors are symptoms typically expressed by both male and female victims (Friedrich et al., 1988). Examples of internalized behaviors noted in both children and adult survivors of sexual abuse include anxiety disorders (Spataro, et al., 2004), lowered self-esteem, loneliness (De Luca et al., 1992; 1995), and depression (Calam et al., 1998; De Luca et al., 1992; 1995). Internalized behaviors are symptoms that manifest themselves in a manner that affect the victim primarily, e.g.: poor performance at school (Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993; Valente, 2005), eating disorders (Rudd & Herzberger, 1999), gender identity (Dolezal & Carballo-Dieguez, 2002; Kendall-Tackett,

Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993), suicide (Eskin, et al., 2005; Rudd & Herzberger, 1999; Valente, 2005) and even re-victimization (Gold, Sinclair, & Balge, 1999).

Externalized Behaviors

Unlike internalized behaviors (and more pertinent to this study) externalized behaviors are more commonly reported in abused males than in females who have experienced abuse (Friedrich et al., 1988). Examples of externalized behaviors include acting out aggressively, disruptive behavior, fighting, and sexual promiscuity. Finklehor (1979, 1984) noted that victims often blame themselves for the abuse and, therefore, guilt is a common symptom of sexual abuse in males and females. However, Finkelhor noted that in the case of boys, their masculinity is also threatened. Due to a combination of guilt, feelings of loss of control and masculinity, and the cultural expectation that boys are more aggressive than girls, male victims of sexual abuse may reassert their lost masculinity and control by acting out aggressively and sometimes by acting out in a sexually aggressive manner against others (Malamuth, et al., 1991).

In a study by Abdulrehman & De Luca (2001), male survivors of childhood sexual abuse were reported to be more tolerant of sexual aggression towards women when compared to those who had no experience of child sexual abuse. Tolerance of sexual aggression may be considered an internal, cognitive symptom that resulted from their experience of being sexually victimized. Internal symptoms such as these may pose a risk of external manifestation due to the development cognitive distortions that may cause the victim to perceive sexual aggression as non-aggression. Therefore, there may be few inhibitions left to deter them from carrying out or excusing others from forms of sexual aggression.

Gender Differences in Symptoms

Though both male and female victims of sexual abuse tend to experience the same symptoms; they appear to manifest those symptoms differently. For example, symptoms of depression in girls are often expressed through self-mutilation and suicide attempts (De Luca et al., 1992). Although boys who have been sexually abused may also express depression through self-mutilation and suicidal attempts, they are more likely to manifest their depression externally and aggressively (Finkelhor, 1990). Furthermore, female victims of child sexual abuse are more likely to be revictimized (Gold et al., 1999). Whereas male victims are more likely to perpetrate against others (Romano & De Luca, 1997) possibly caused by a developed tolerance toward sexual aggression (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001). This does not suggest that only male victims become perpetrators or that only female victims are revictimized. Rather, this effect may be reflective of cultural expectations of gender governed behavior. For example, it would appear that it is more acceptable for males in our society to act out aggressively, than it is for females. In the case of sport culture particularly, violence and aggression is not only accepted as the norm, but also encouraged (Berkowitz, 1992; Robertson, 2003; Robinson, 1998; Smith & Stewart, 2003).

Within the context of sport, where masculinity stereotypes are highly encouraged if not forced upon male athletes (Allan, 1998; Fish, 2001; Smith & Stewart, 2003), externalized symptoms of abusive hazing may be easily disguised, as they may be viewed as a result of the sport culture. It would appear that externalized symptoms such as acting out aggressively, disruptive behavior, fighting, and sexual promiscuity, as noted by Friedrich and colleagues (1998) may be rewarded instead of treated. The promotion of

these characteristics could exacerbate symptoms, and may also serve to promote or normalize sexual behavior that is reportedly common to hazing.

Sexually Abused Males and the Cycle of Abuse

The label "cycle of abuse" refers to the trend whereby victims of sexual abuse tend to abuse others. Considering the gender biased behavior and externally manifested symptoms of abused males mentioned above, it becomes evident that abused males may be at risk for abusing others.

In an examination of convicted male perpetrators, it has been found that a majority of sexual offenders were sexually abused as children. In a study of incarcerated males who had sexually offended against children, Romano and De Luca (1997) reported that 75 percent had histories which suggested they themselves had been sexually abused as children. In an adolescent sample of male sexual offenders, Worling (1995) also found that 75 percent had been victimized sexually as children. Though it may be perceived that examining criminal populations represents a bias in studying abuse history and current aggressive behavior, non-criminal samples of abused males still confirm the cycle of abuse pattern (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001). For example, with a clinical sample of adult male survivors, Etherington (1995) noted that abused males who were not convicted of criminal behavior displayed symptoms of antisocial behavior. Furthermore, Etherington found that these individuals engaged in domestic violence. In another study, also involving non-convicted male survivors of abuse, Lisak (1994) found anger and aggression to be a common self-reported symptom in adult survivors of sexual abuse. In

light of this evidence, the "cycle of abuse" suggestion generally is accepted by researchers (Worling, 1995).

Studies that examine the cycle of abuse, measure the phenomenon retroactively; where convicted offenders are examined for histories of being sexually abused (e.g., Romano & De Luca, 1997; Worling, 1995) or clinical samples of abuse survivors who are being treated for child abuse experiences (Etherington, 1995; Lisak, 1994). Considering that studying and predicting the future behavior of male victims of sexual abuse is difficult, retroactive analysis of this situation appears prudent. An examination of current characteristics of males, who have experienced sexual abuse during childhood, may help in identifying characteristics of previously unidentified victims, and individuals at risk for extending the cycle of abuse. Examining for the presence of sexually aggressive thoughts or attitudes of acceptance of those types of behaviors in male survivors of sexual abuse in hazing, and the characteristics related to those beliefs, provides heuristic value for identification and treatment of beliefs common in males at risk of abusive behavior. In order to advance the treatment of male survivors of abuse, and to assist in the prevention of possible future cases of abuse, investigating a model of sexual aggression seemed pertinent for this study.

Model of Sexual Aggression

According to Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka (1991) the cycle of abuse has been delineated in the form of a model of sexual aggression. Malamuth et al. (1991) tested their hypothesized model of sexual aggression by comparing common characteristics in males who exhibited sexually aggressive tendencies with those who did

not exhibit sexually aggressive tendencies. Results suggested that the explanations of sexually aggressive behavior by the model were reliable. The assumptions that comprise the model are as follows:

- (i) The acts of sexual and non-sexual aggression against women have a common causal factor.
- (ii) The common factor being that the perpetrator of sexual aggression had experienced child abuse (primarily sexual) or had home environments in which they witnessed spousal abuse, where these experiences laid a foundation for altered cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses.
- (iii) Children who are abused or witness abuse, become likely to associate with peers (who likely have experienced the same abuse/violence) who reinforce antisocial behavior and punish or discourage behavior that would delay frustration or gratification.
- (iv) Due to the feelings of lost control or masculinity, the male victim of sexual abuse tries to regain his dominance (i.e., perceived as masculinity) by acting more controlling and aggressively toward women.
- (v) Another possibility would be that being a victim of sexual abuse, the male victim of abuse then expresses his delinquency through sexually acting out.
- (vi) The latter two points may work together or separately, and are likely to be expressed in other aspects of the perpetrator's life other than aggression toward women.

According to the model of sexual aggression provided by Malamuth et al. (1991), males with hostile childhood experiences (i.e., child sexual abuse) are more likely than non-victimized males to engage in antisocial or delinquent behavior. As cited earlier, several studies support the finding that victims of child sexual abuse, especially males, manifest their symptoms externally and often aggressively (Becker, et al., 2004; Briggs & Hawkins, 1995; Collings, 1995; Etherington, 1995; Finkelhor, 1990; Hack, Osachuk, & De Luca, 1994; Lisak, 1994; Romano & De Luca, 1997; Valente, 2005). Malamuth et al. suggested that the aberrant behavior of childhood victims often lead to (a) hostile attitudes and personality and/or (b) sexual promiscuity. Results of the study by Malamuth et al. confirmed that hostile attitudes were carried into both sexual and non-sexual interactions. Also, when sexual promiscuity was paired with hostility, it produced sexual aggression. Malamuth et al.'s findings suggest that feelings of hyper masculinity were often associated with, and possibly responsible for, the hostility and promiscuity demonstrated by the perpetrator. Abdulrehman & De Luca (2001) also have noted this link, and found that abuse experiences in a sample of university men, was associated with a greater tolerance for sexual aggression toward women.

Feelings of insecurity, lack of control, fear, and anxiety, appear common in boys who were sexually abused (Hack et al. 1994). Lisak (1994) noted that many of these feelings are common in men who survived child sexual abuse. Lisak further explained that these symptoms of sexual abuse are likely responsible for masculinity issues in male survivors. According to Malamuth et al.'s (1991) model of sexual aggression, the victim interprets these feelings of insecurity and anxiety as a loss of masculinity. Considering that our culture often expects males to be in control and dominant, feelings of

submissiveness and a loss of control by way of being a victim may cause males to feel they have lost their masculinity, or in other words, they may feel feminine.

Finkelhor (1979, 1990) noted that sexual abuse is often more an issue of control and maintaining power than it is of sexual gratification. This again supports the notion that when perpetrated against, males feel that they have lost their masculinity. As described by Malamuth et al (1991), the majority of sexual aggression is attributed to overcompensation for perceived lost masculinity. It would appear that when males are sexually abused, it violates the norm that males are in control, and victims are forced to struggle with this conflict (Coffey et al., 1996; Lisak, 1994). Considering also that males may be viewed as more "rugged" and less fragile than females, society may provide less support for male victims of child sexual abuse. It would appear that culturally biased gender expectations such as these, force victims to not only deal with issues of masculinity and lack of control, but also to deal with feelings of loneliness and betrayal (Coffey, et al. 1996).

The Cycle of Abuse in Sport

Correlation Between Rape and Athletes

Several studies have drawn correlations between sexual aggression and athletes (Brackenridge, 2003; Caron, Halteman, & Stacy, 1997; Humphrey, & Kahn; 2000; Parrot, Cummings, Marchell, & Hofher, 1994; Smith & Stewart, 2003). In Robinson's journalistic exploration of several cases of sexual assault in hockey culture, she discussed that gang rape and sexual violence have almost become a part of the hockey sub-culture. According to Smith and Stewart (2003), the comparison of athletes to non-athletes

indicated that athletes had greater hostility toward women, which appears to make them likely to be at risk to engage in sexual aggression toward women. Koss and Gaines (1993) noted that membership in an athletic team was a significant predictor of sexual aggression. Caron et al. (1997) found that rather than the simple factor of membership in an athletic team, it was the behavioral characteristics of the athletes that were more significant as a predictor of sexual aggression. Caron and colleagues further added that such characteristics include an excessive competitiveness, which they suggest is a need to maintain control. The same characteristics are also suggested by Robinson (1998), as possible causes of high reported rates of rape by athletes. When we recall that a need to reestablish control by means of aggression is a common symptom of males who had histories of sexual abuse (Malamuth et al. 1991; Finkelhor, 1990; Valente, 2005), it becomes evident that a correlation between sexual aggression and previous sexual abuse (likely present in hazing) is possible. Though there have been numerous studies examining the correlation between sexual aggression and athletes, there is little empirical evidence of possible root causes of such behavior in athletes, and hence minimal empirical evidence regarding a correlation between hazing and rape (Koss & Gaines, 1993; Moore, 1991).

When hazing and rape are examined in the environment of sports (Brackenridge, 2003; Caron, Halteman, & Stacy, 1997; Humphrey, & Kahn; 2000; Parrot, et al., 1994; Smith & Stewart, 2003), it appears that some hazing scenarios fit with the model of sexual aggression proposed by Malamuth et al., (1991). Based on the assumptions of the model of sexual aggression by Malamuth et al., (1991) the following assumptions are a

summary of the literature reviewed thus far, and present the proposed hypothesized cycle of abuse perpetuated by the problem of hazing:

- (i) Increased tolerances toward sexual aggression amongst athletes have a common factor.
- (ii) This common factor, as suggested by Malamuth et al., would be experiencing a form of sexual violence, such as those common to hazing, or having witnessed other acts of violence or sexual aggression, such as those acts of gang rape, or the witnessing of others being hazed. These experiences may alter cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses toward sexual aggression.
- (iii) Since hazing is performed to make new members feel a part of the team victims are likely to continue socializing with other teammates who likely have also been victims of hazing and reinforce the belief that such activities are not aggressive, and not sexual. Continual reinforcement of these beliefs may remove the belief from the victim that they were abused, but would not remove their symptoms.
- (iv) Due to feelings of lost control, perceived loss of masculinity, and inherent stigma of homosexuality by victims, they then may try re-gain perceived control, perceived masculinity, and perhaps perceived heterosexuality by engaging in aggressive sexual acts.
- (v) It is possible that victims may express their feelings of lost control etc. by sexual acting out (i.e. promiscuity etc.).

(vi) The above two factors may act together and/or separately but also may have aggressive influences on other aspects of their life such as continuance of hazing activities to new members, group bonding activities, physical violence towards others, and reinforcing a generally aggressive environment within sport.

As hypothesized above, it can be seen that hazing may cause implicit complications in numerous areas of functioning. Not only does abusive hazing possibly create and/or maintain a cycle of violence with the practice of hazing within sports teams, but may also increase the risk of rape or sexually aggressive behaviors toward women (Caron, et al., 1997; Humphrey, & Kahn; 2000; Parrot, et al., 1994). Being sexually abused during hazing rituals likely creates a complex set of feelings and mindset within the male athlete, that are not often addressed by society or professionals, and whose negative side effects may be tolerated because of the high social status of the athletes (Smith & Stewart, 2003; Wintrup, 2003). The mindset created likely includes minimization of the trauma of victims of hazing, normalizing highly sexually and physically violent acts as a means of team bonding, minimizing the resulting feelings of anger, and normalizing, if not encouraging the resulting tolerance toward sexual aggression (be it toward other male teammates, or women) as sign of athletic prowess (Allan, 1998; Fish, 2000; O'Hara, 2000; Robinson, 1998). Furthermore, sport has become an institutionalized form of socialization for males which makes it more than just games (Brackenridge, 2003; Robertson, 2003), whereby the actions carried out by teams are often deemed as necessary by society in order to instill a sense of masculinity in those

who participate in sport (Robertson, 2003; Smith & Stewart, 2003). One solution to problems of hazing lies in its prevention, but more so, in the acknowledgement of hazing as a severe social problem (Nuwer, 2000), whereby those assaulted during hazing activities should be treated as victims of abuse.

Indeed, the remedy for the problems associated with hazing may require an entire cultural shift (Fish, 2001), whereby research plays an important role in reformulating society's ideas of male victimization, the abusiveness of many hazing practices, and the belief that aggression, physical or sexual, is not a sign of male prowess. Hazing is not a case of boys simply being boys, but rather a severe social and individual problem. The existence of hazing may likely be responsible for creation of numerous problems related to sexual victimization. One of these problems may include perpetuation of a cycle of violence and sexual aggression, whereby male victims of sexual assault are swept under the rug (Robinson, 1998; Stockdale, Visio, & Batra, 1999), because resulting implications of acknowledgment are associated with great stigma and emotional complication (Byers, 2005; Meagher, 2005).

Re-examining Conceptions of Sexual Abuse and Victimization

Over the course of time, it appears that the definition of child abuse has changed. Reviewing this concept Heru (2001) discussed how the definition of child abuse has broadened from initially only addressing battered babies to the inclusion of any form of harm to children, be it emotional, physical, or sexual. With continuous research and better education on what constitutes child abuse, there was an upsurge in the number of abuse cases reported in the 1980's. However, since the acknowledgement of the issue of abuse,

Heru would argue that in the case of sexual abuse, victimization has primarily been reserved for female victims and not male victims. By this, she refers to not only the minimal research conducted on male victims (Allan, 1998; Bryshun, 1997; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn et al., 1993), but also possible reasons for the lack of such research, which may be the culturally biased gender roles. Such cultural biases about gender and victimization make it difficult for male victims to view their abuse experiences as harmful, as males appear to be socialized early in life to interpret sexual activity as generally positive and a sign of masculinity, even in cases of abuse, where the experience was traumatic (Heru, 2001). More detrimental to the case of abused males, is the societal pressure to maintain strength, whereby disclosing abuse, may be associated with admitting weakness, a lack of control, and a loss of masculinity (Malamuth et al., 1991; Finkelhor, 1979).

Similarly, the problem of hazing faces two challenges, whereby not only are the majority of victims male, and thus less likely to be seen as victims, but are also athletes. In this context hazing is seen as a consensual activity, and the abuse occurs within the context of sport subculture. Passing off sexually abusive acts as mere horseplay, excusing abuse and assault under the guise of experimentation or typical boyish behavior, abusive hazing activities can be easily concealed as simple rites of initiation or means of promoting team bonding. Given the almost star status, at times bestowed upon young athletes in community settings, questioning any of their actions, let alone hazing appears minimal (Brackenridge, 2003; Robinson, 1998).

With limited research exploring the implications of sexually abusive hazing, the current study may broaden our understanding of male victimization, and the dilemma of abusive hazing present in sport. Empirically examining the relationship between abuse in hazing and possible sexually aggressive attitudes further expands the study of male victimization in casting a wider net of exploring the implications of abuse. In acknowledging a problem such as this, this study hopes to contribute to a small but growing body of literature that may assist in prevention of sexual aggression, regardless of it's form or label.

Hypotheses

The current study aimed to examine the relationship between having witnessed or experienced sexually abusive acts of hazing and tolerance toward sexual aggression toward women. This study also examined possible covariates of sexual aggression.

Previous studies have noted that early child sexual abuse leads to symptoms of revictimization and possible sexual aggression (Gold et al., 1999; Valente, 2005). For this reason, the possible relationship between early experience of sexual abuse and later experiences of hazing were examined. Furthermore, examining the possible relationship between early sexual experiences and later sexual aggression was also prudent as it explored the influence that earlier abuse experiences other than hazing had toward sexual aggression. Lastly, the variable of perception of abuse was examined. According to previous research, a majority of male victims (Abdulrehman, De Jaegher, De Luca, La Rosa, 1998; Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001; Abdulrehman, De Luca, & Grayston, 1999) did not perceive their abuse as abusive. It was suggested by the same authors that this

denial resulted in greater tolerance for sexual aggression. Further tests measured this variable as a possible covariate.

Given the above discussion of the possible relationship between abuse experience and possible tolerance of sexual aggression, Malamuth et al.'s model of sexual aggression may have some credence. Their suggestion, however, that sexual aggression stems from experiences of or witnessing abuse, may not necessarily be applicable to the situation of sport hazing and reported rates of rape by athletes. In order to clarify this possible relationship and the relevance of Malamuth et al.'s model of sexual aggression in the context of sport hazing, this study sought to examine certain hypotheses. Based on the literature and examination of the above relationships, as well as the assumptions of Malamuth and colleagues model of sexual aggression (1991), the following hypotheses were expected from this study:

- (i) Sexual abuse is highly prevalent in hazing.
- (ii) Victims of sexual abuse in hazing are likely more tolerant toward sexual aggression than those who had no experience with hazing.
- (iii) Victims and witnesses of hazing are not likely to perceive their experiences as abusive.
- (iv) The more positively the victims perceive their abusive hazing experiences the more likely they are to hold tolerant attitudes toward sexual aggression.

Method

<u>Participants</u>

Four hundred and nineteen introductory male psychology students were recruited from the University of Manitoba to participate in this study in exchange for partial course credit. According to a pilot study conducted (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000), approximately 20 percent of introductory psychology students from the University of Manitoba reported being witness to, or a victim of hazing. Considering this figure, it was expected that we would have had a sample size of approximately 120 individuals who had experienced or witnessed hazing. The actual number of cases of hazing or group initiation was expected to be higher considering that participants were able to denote as many situations of hazing they had experienced or witnessed. Those participants who had participated in sport but had no experience with hazing were used as a comparative group.

A primary concern of this participant sample was the ability to gain information about a generally sport related activity from a "non-sport" population. Abdulrehman & De Luca (2000), noted that this type of sample was able to capture individuals who had participated in a broad spectrum of sports. Furthermore, there was also a concern that the sensitive and controversial nature of the subject of this study would make it difficult to recruit participants directly from an athletic sample such as specific sport teams. Using an introductory sample where individuals had participated in a variety of sports also eliminated a bias against one sport (i.e. the media's and now public awareness of hazing and sexual abuse in hockey) and capture possible abusive practices in any sport.

Finkelhor (1979) noted some limitations with the use of a university sample. A lack of homogeneity may be viewed as a concern since it does not provide representativeness in age. In response to the concern of homogeneity, Finkelhor suggested that the lack of homogeneity in age provides the opportunity to assess the effects of abusive events' change over time. Considering that this study was interested in the effects of abusive events (hazing) on subsequent attitudes toward attitudes toward sexual aggression, a lack of homogeneity was beneficial. As stated in the previous paragraph, a lack of homogeneity allowed for an examination of people who have not only witnessed but participated in hazing activities from a variety of sports and athletic events, and not just one. Several studies had also noted the comfort this population has in discussing sensitive subject matters such as abuse (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001; De Jeagher & De Luca, 1997; Finkelhor, 1979, Ternowski & De Luca, 1996; Runtz, 1992). Furthermore, considering that each sport develops its own subculture (Robinson, 1998), it has been noted that the use of only one athletic team or group might have caused a problem in capturing the variety hazing practices in different sports (Humphrey & Kahn, 2000). The use of a diverse sample such as the introductory psychology students, made it possible to capture incidences of hazing from a variety of sports and organizations.

<u>Materials</u>

One questionnaire and two scales were used in this study; an open-ended questionnaire on participants experiences with hazing (see appendix A) (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000), Fischer's (1986) Forcible Date Rape (FDR) scale, and a modified version of Finklelhor's (1979) Sexual Victimization Survey (SVS). The questionnaire on hazing was used to determine cases of hazing whereby participants of the study were

victims of, or witnesses to the event. Fischer's FDR scale measured the participant's attitude toward sexual aggression. Finkelhor's SVS was used to determine if participants had previous experiences of sexual abuse which prevented errors in presuming hazing to be primary cause of sexual aggression.

Questionnaire on Hazing. This scale was developed by Abdulrehman and De Luca (2000) (see appendix A) for the use of a pilot study in light of the lack of scales examining hazing. As suggested by Nuwer (2000), the opening paragraph of this questionnaire briefly described that hazing and initiation are common, and that some individuals considered the experience positive while others found the experience unpleasant due to psychological or physical harm as a result of the hazing. The questionnaire asked participants to recall instances in which they participated in, witnessed, or were the subject of a hazing or "team bonding" incident, despite their perception of the experience being positive or negative. For each incidence the participants were asked to describe what exactly took place, the type of sport, the age of the person being hazed, and their recollection of how positive they felt this experience was. Participants' perceptions regarding their hazing experience were denoted on a likert type scale, where on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 was very negative, 3 was neutral, and 5 was very positive.

Responses that explained what took place during the hazing or "team bonding" incident were categorized by two independent raters (R.A. and K.J.) according to this study's definition of sexual abuse, physical abuse, and emotional/psychological abuse. Inter-rater agreement was 100 %. Emotional abuse denoted on the questionnaire included actions that involved degradation and psychological manipulation of the participants, in

which they would often be called derogatory names related to feminization, slurs, or where mind games were involved. Physical abuse denoted on the questionnaire included acts of physical violence and situations whereby individuals were forced into positions of abusive servitude. Finally, sexual abuse denoted on the questionnaire included forms of forced nudity, genital contact, sexual acts (simulated or otherwise) such as different forms of penetration, etc. In review of a pilot study (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001) examining such hazing practices, most sexually abusive hazing activities included more than forced nudity, with hazing that progressed into simulated or actual sexual acts and/or games that sometimes involved inflicting physical harm or pain to sex organs.

Though most cases of hazing involve elements of force (Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn et al., 1993) and hence may be considered abusive, for the interest of remaining conservative, data that did not explicitly fall into the above three categories were not categorized or analyzed in the final analysis as a form of abusive hazing. An example of such an activity not included as a form of abuse, despite elements of force and coercion (as taken from a previous pilot study) (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000), was when members of an athletic team were forced into embarrassing outfits and forced to ask women for their phone numbers.

Forcible Date Rape Scale. Fischer's FDR scale (see Appendix B) was used to determine attitudes toward date rape. The scale is comprised of a vignette (describing a date rape scenario), two accompanying questions, and 9 separate Likert-scale questions. For the purpose of this study, the original two questions following the vignette were not included. Considering that these first two questions directly referred to the vignette as that of a possible "rape" scenario, a social desirability bias could occur in the responses

of the participants. The following 9 Likert questions posed conditions, which asked participants when they felt the male's behavior in the vignette was considered acceptable. For example, the first of these nine items states, "If he had spent a lot of money on her." The choices ranged from (a) definitely acceptable to (f) definitely unacceptable. The latter 9 questions included in the scale did not mention the word "rape" and their reasonably less conspicuous nature was hoped to prevent socially desirable responding from participants. Scores of the participants were then be averaged; where by lower scores were more indicative of tolerance toward sexual aggression.

Fischer (1986, 1987) tested the FDR scale with a sample of college students. His findings indicated that the scale was successful in identifying sexually aggressive thoughts and predicting sexually coercive behavior. Reliability of this scale was also reported to be high (.93).

Sexual Victimization Survey. Finkelhor's Sexual Victimization Survey (see Appendix C) has often been used in research to identify an abused sample within a university population (Abdulrehman & De Luca, in press; De Jeagher & De Luca, 1997; Ternowski & De Luca, 1996; Runtz, 1992). The survey used in this study was a modified version of the original Finkelhor (1979) Sexual Victimization Survey which assessed the presence of childhood sexual experience, the extent and duration of the abuse experience, the age at which it occurred, if force or coercion was used, and the age of the perpetrator. Two distinct factors may interact to define an experience as sexual abuse in this study. In light of the understanding that sexual abuse is considered more an act of control and dominance rather than sexuality (Finkelhor, 1979), the present study defined abuse respectively. An experience was considered sexual abuse if (a) the behavior was due to

force, coercion, or power of one individual over another and/or (b) the perpetrator was 5 or more years older than the child (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986).

The original form, which sub-sectioned the experiences of the participant into different age groups, was simplified. For example, the original form asked the participant if abuse had occurred before the age of 7, or from the ages of 7-12, and so on. Then participants would have had to explain the extent of the abuse, the age of the perpetrator, etc., within each age range in which they reported abuse experiences. The modified version of the scale included only one section in which age is not specified. The items that followed in that section allowed participants to explain their abuse experiences, the age of onset, as well as the age of the perpetrator. The survey consisted of a mixture of open-ended and forced-choice questions that were indicative of childhood sexual experiences. No reliability or validity scores were reported for this survey, but Runtz (1992) found a Cronbach's Alpha of .90, with the University of Manitoba introductory psychology students. The reliability score for the university population should be generalizable to the current University of Manitoba sample.

Consent Form. Before the participants agreed to participate, the purpose of the study was clearly delineated for them on the consent form (see Appendix D). The form explained the details of informed consent, and that the participant had the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

Procedure

During recruitment, participants were informed that the present study intended to study those who had participated in sport, and furthermore examined the relationships between the experience in sport, possible experiences of hazing and initiation, early

sexual experiences, and sexual attitudes (see appendix F). Considering that a large percentage of individuals who have experienced abuse, do not consider themselves to have been abused (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001), informing possible participants during recruitment that the purpose of the study was to examine abusive experiences, may have resulted in a selection bias, whereby many individuals who indeed had experienced abuse may not have participated in the study simply because they did not view their experiences as abusive ones. The general description that indicated study of participation in sport, early sexual experiences, and sexual attitudes, did concisely and yet truthfully explain the purpose of the study while likely preventing a selection bias, and possible socially desirable responding which may have contaminated the findings of this study. Explaining the purpose of the surveys was also a part of the informed consent procedure whereby participants were also informed that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point in time without penalty.

Once participants had completed the surveys, they were made aware that this study examined abusive experiences, via the debriefing sheet (see Appendix E). In order to avoid future participants being informed of the intent of this study by those who have already completed the questionnaires, those who had completed the surveys were asked to avoid discussion of this study with peers until the data collection period has expired. Also, data collection sessions were clumped in time periods very close to each other, with all sessions being completed within a week. This may have prevented contamination of data and socially desirable responding by limiting the time frame in which participants may have had to discuss the contents of the surveys with peers, had they chosen to not respect the request of the researchers.

Each survey in the package had corresponding numbers in order to be able to identify the corresponding surveys of participants. In the experimental session, participants were once again informed of their right to withdraw from the study without penalty at any point in time. In order to avoid socially desirable responding that may have inadvertently occurred from participants awareness that we are examining attitudes toward date rape, the questionnaire on hazing and the SVS were completed first, and the FDR at the end. The order in which the scales were completed was crucial to this study as it may have easily influence responding, and as such no counter balancing procedures could be utilized to produce randomized results. Surveys were numbered, and participants were asked to fill them out in order, not advancing to the next questionnaire, until they had completed the previous. In order to respect the voluntary nature of this study, participants were informed once again, at the beginning of each session that their participation was voluntary, and they should only complete questions that they were willing to. Moreover, they were informed that should they have chosen to stop at any time, they would not be penalized in any way, and would still receive full experimental credit.

Results

Of the total 419 male psychology students that participated in this study, 403 participants' responses were included in the final analyses. Independent raters were used to assess descriptions of hazing experiences in order to permit measures of reliability of the ratings. Raters divided participants' responses into the primary categories of those who had experienced and witnessed hazing, and those who did not (hazed and non-hazed

categories). These groups were also subdivided into abused and non-abused groups, once again by independent raters who referred to previous sexual abuse experience, other than that of hazing, for this second subdivision. Sixteen participants had filled in experiences on the hazing survey, but had erased their responses, and thus those cases were not used in the final analyses of this study.

Hypothesis 1

Of the 403 participants whose responses were used in the final analyses of this study, 157 (39%) had experienced or witnessed some form of hazing. Of those 157 participants, 99 (63%) reported having experienced being hazed themselves one or more times, while a striking 156 (99.4%) reported having witnessed the hazing of another individual one or more times (see Table 2). Responses denoting accounts of hazing were examined for forms of abuse. In order for a hazing activity to be classified as abusive, it had to meet the criteria outlined below. Forms of emotionally, physically, and sexually abusive acts were accounted for (see Table 3). Sixty four participants (41%) indicated witnessing or experiencing hazing acts that were emotionally abusive. Examples of such acts stated by participants in this study included being forced to dress as women, perform humiliating acts such as trying to find a piece of feces in a toilet in the dark, being called names and slurs indicating a lower feminine status, while performing acts that may have been sexually suggestive or implied servitude. Eighty participants (51%) indicated witnessing or experiencing hazing acts that were physically abusive. Examples of physical abuse given by participants in this study included being beaten, forced shaving of body parts, painful manipulation of sexual organs, etc. Sixty eight participants (43%) indicated that they had witnessed or experienced hazing that included sexually abusive

acts. Some examples of sexual abuse in hazing noted by participants in this study included being urinated on, being slapped by other players' sexual organs, forced shaving of pubic regions, having their sexual organs fondled, tug of wars with sexual organs, and different forms of penetration (simulated and non-simulated) including oral and anal.

The age range for participants who had experienced and witnessed hazing varied from 5 to 35 years old, with the modal age being 16 years old (see Table 4 for frequency distribution of ages). Identifying children who had experienced or witnessed hazing, 114 (73%) were under the age of 18. Examining the type of sports in which most participants had experienced or witnessed hazing in, this study found that the majority of such experiences were in the sports of hockey (n=64, 41%), football (n=26, 17%), and volleyball (n=14, 9%) (see Table 4).

Hypothesis 2

Previous experiences of childhood sexual abuse, other than those involved in hazing, were also accounted for in this study. Finkelhor's (1979) original criteria for sexual abuse (those employed in this study) state that if an age difference of more than five years between the perpetrator and the victim, and/or a position of power of one individual over the other, and/or force, threat, hurt, or coercion were present, then abuse had occurred. According to these criteria it was noted that 40 (25%) of participants who had experienced hazing, and 41 (17%) of participants who had not experienced hazing, had previous experiences of sexual abuse during childhood (See Table 1). When examining the effect additional hazing experiences had on previous experiences of childhood sexual abuse other than hazing, it was interesting to note that participants who had also been sexually abused prior to hazing had increased tolerances toward sexual

aggression ($\chi^2 = 35.95$, p < .000) than those who were hazed but had no other previous experiences of sexual abuse ($\chi^2 = 39.52$, p < .000) (see Table 6).

In order to avoid any effects previous childhood sexual abuse experiences had on tolerances toward sexual aggression in the group of participants who were not hazed, they were removed in the comparison group. An Analysis of Variance, was conducted to compare participants' responses on the FDR (see Table 6). When we compared participants responses via covariate analysis of variance, it was noted that participants who had not experienced any form of hazing or childhood sexual abuse had greater tolerances toward sexual aggression ($\chi^2 = 36.63$, p < .002) than those who had experienced forms of sexual hazing ($\chi^2 = 40.18$, p < .002).

Hypothesis 3

When participants rated their experiences with hazing, on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being very negative, 3 being neutral, and 5 being very positive), the majority rated their experiences as neutral (n = 68, 43 %). When comparing only responses that indicated positive or negative experiences, it was noted that a greater number of participants perceived their hazing experiences to be either positive or very positive (n = 50, 33 %) than those who considered their experiences negative or very negative (n = 29, 18 %) (see Table 7).

Hypothesis 4

When examining the correlation between rating of the hazing experience and tolerance toward sexual aggression, we did not find significant results. However it was noted that the direction of the finding, a negative correlation between the two variables (r = -.116, p = .162). This suggested that there may be a trend whereby the more positive

the participant rated the hazing experience, the lower their score on the FDR, suggesting greater tolerance for the date rape scenario. The implication of the above noted findings are discussed below.

Discussion

The results of this study supported two of the four proposed hypotheses. It is evident that forms of abuse are prominent within hazing activities in sport. Moreover, results importantly point to age of those being hazed, and the effects those experiences have on their perceptions regarding the nature of such interactions. One of the hypothesized results proved to be counter-intuitive, suggesting an opposite effect than what was hypothesized, in that the experience of hazing decreased tolerance toward sexual aggression. Findings such as those noted by this study point toward the need for further investigation into this area, and implications and interpretations of these findings are discussed below.

Frequency of Hazing

One of the primary findings of this study is the high frequency of reported hazing activity. Almost fourty percent of the participants indicated that they had either been or had witnessed forms of hazing or group bonding activities. This number is significantly greater than noted in a previous pilot study (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000) which indicated a percentage of approximately twenty percent. It is important to note that the current study specifically asked for hazing or group bonding activities that occurred in sport, and not all of the participants in this study had participated in sport. This fact would suggest that if we examined only those participants who had participated in sport, the percentage of individuals who had experienced or witnessed hazing activity would be

significantly higher than what we currently reported. Despite efforts during recent years made to discourage hazing activities (Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998), and eliminate sexual abuse in sport (Donnelly & Sparks, 1997) findings of such high frequencies of hazing activities would suggest that hazing and related group bonding activities are still quite prevalent.

Frequency of Abuse

Given the negative reputation hazing has received recently (CBC.ca ^{1, 2}, 2005; CTV.ca, 2005; Gershel, et al., 2003; Ginsberg, 2005; Grossman, 2005; Meagher, 2005; Canadian Press ^{2, 3}, 2005), it may be easy to assume that all of the hazing activities noted by participants were in some way harmful or abusive. In examination of those activities, however, we find that although some activities may be considered distasteful, not all met criteria for being abusive. Many activities noted by participants included competitive games, minor teasing, and alcohol consumption, without having them extend into being abusive or harmful (e.g. going to the bar together, minor dares, such as asking women for their phone numbers, etc.). Though some of these activities may have been forced and anxiety provoking for some participants, they were not included as abusive forms of hazing in this study.

Abusive forms of hazing were categorized into emotionally, physically, and sexually abusive categories. It is important to realize that these categories are somewhat hierarchical, in that physical abuse in hazing most often included components of emotional abuse, and sexual abuse in hazing almost always included components of both emotional and physical abuse. If an act was classified as strictly emotionally abusive, then no other components were present. However, if an act was considered physically or

sexually abusive, then it is likely that other forms of abuse were also engaged in, compounding the humiliation and harm of those forms of abuse.

Emotional abuse included actions that involved degradation and manipulation of the participants, in which they were called derogatory names related to feminization, slurs, or where mind games were involved. Examples of such acts stated by participants in this study included being forced to dress as women, perform humiliating acts such as trying to find a piece of feces in a toilet in the dark, being called names and slurs indicating a lower feminine status, while performing acts that may have been sexually suggestive or implied servitude. Physical abuse included beatings, being forced into positions of abusive servitude, being tied/taped to objects, forced consumption of excessive alcohol in minimal time periods (e.g. minutes) which induced physical illness and/or vomitting, etc.. Examples of physical abuse given by participants in this study included being beat, forced shaving of body parts, painful manipulation of sexual organs, etc. Finally, sexual abuse included forms of forced nudity, genital contact, sexual acts such as different forms of penetration, etc. Some of the examples of sexual abuse in hazing noted by participants in this study included being urinated on, being slapped by other players' sexual organs, forced shaving of pubic regions, having their sexual organs fondled, tug of wars with sexual organs, and different forms of penetration (simulated and non-simulated) including oral and anal.

In most of the abusive hazing situations, the above noted acts were cumulative, in that not only were participants subjected to the forced sexual or sexually suggestive acts, but are also were subjected to emotional abuse, such as slurs and degradations for being subservient, or feminine. Physical abuse may also add to the trauma of such activities. As

discussed in the introduction of this study, being forced into sexual acts by other males may also produce feelings of stigma related to homosexuality (Allan, 1998; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998), which the emotional abuse also adds to. As previously discussed in the literature review of this study, these symptoms, including a loss of control, confusion about sexuality, and anger, are all common to otherwise noted male victims of child sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1979; 1984; Friedrich et al., 1988; Lisak, 1994). In addition to these symptoms, this study confirmed that the majority of participants in this study had experienced hazing while under the age of eighteen.

Age of Participants

As noted in the previous pilot study (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000) and others who have focused study on the issue of abusive hazing, (Nuwer, 2000, Robinson, 1998), it is noted that many participants and victims of hazing are individuals who are under the age of 18. In the present study the age of individuals who were part of hazing activities ranged considerably, with the majority of hazed participants (73 %) being under the age of eighteen. Considering the findings discussed in the previous paragraph, it then follows that a significant portion of the children involved in hazing practices noted by this study were subject to emotionally, physically, and sexually abusive practices. Through a likely lack of awareness regarding the effects of these activities, as well as a continuance of what may be considered traditional practices, many of these hazing practices are tolerated by sport communities, coaches, and parents, and sometimes encouraged (Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998; Wintrup, 2003). This highlights the issue of how our definitions of abuse can be altered based on age of the victim and social context (Wintrup, 2003).

Some professionals suggest that due to the social status of athletes in our society, we often ignore or minimize harmful or dangerous behaviors they engage in (Brackenridge, 2003; Conn, et. al., 1993; Donnelly, 2000; Robinson, 1998, Smith & Stewart, 2003). With more of the same attitudes placed on children in sport, as more and more children face significant pressures to become and stay a member of a team (Donnelly, 2000; Robertson, 2003), it is easy to see how many harmful behaviors that occur in the context of sport may also be passed of as boyish behavior, or simply a part of team bonding and initiation. These biases or blindfolds to abusive actions can be seen in the neutral to positive perceptions many athletes have of their hazing and group bonding experiences despite many of their obviously negative qualities (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000; Meagher, 2005). In this study alone, we noted that the greater number of participants rated their experiences as neutral. In addition, a greater number of individuals considered their experiences to be positive ones, rather than negative. In these situations it is apparent how the context of the abusive activity can have serious implications on perspective the victim may take.

Perception and Tolerance

Not often examined are the perceptions that change in victims of abuse as a result of their experiences. In previous studies examining victims of childhood sexual abuse, it was noted that due to contextual factors or as a means to minimize the harmful effects of the abusive experience, many victims saw their experiences as non-abusive (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000, 2001, 2003). Interestingly, many participants in this study who had witnessed or experienced hazing, much of which was considered to be abusive, did not perceive their experiences as grossly negative. On the contrary, most

participants saw their experiences as neutral, positive, or very positive. After having reviewed examples of some of the abusive experiences reported in this study, it seems difficult to understand how one may view these experiences as positive. The contextual influences in this case however, may serve to diminish the perception that these activities are in fact negative and abusive. These influences may include factors including that the abuse occurred within the context of sport, with other male team members, that it is a part of tradition, that many people are aware of the occurrence and don't view it as negative, and that it happens to many people.

Regardless of the process by which these activities come to be seen as more neutral or even positive, the findings of this study lend greater credence the Malamuth and colleagues assumption of sexual aggression. It would appear that the experience and witness of abuse may lead to an altered set of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses in regards to abuse. Though the model of sexual aggression proposed by Malamuth et al. specifically refers to sexual offenders, it may also be that the influences of sport context and hazing may affect not only athletes involved but communities and parental figures also associated with the atheletes.

Recent research on the influences of the sport culture on the perceptions of not only athletes but those around them, including parents, coaches, etc., suggest that the context of sport and the pressure to be a part of the team can be very strong influences in our society (Nuwer, 2000; Robertson, 2003; Robinson, 1998, Wintrup, 2003). In addition to internal thoughts that may have influences on perception, these numerous external societal influences also reinforce the perception that hazing is not abusive.

As is with other forms of child sexual abuse, male children and adolescents who survive abuse may also judge their experiences on the opinions of those around them (Finkelhor, 1979). For example, in many situations boys who have been coerced or forced into sexual relations with older women may be encouraged, due to social and cultural expectations, that they are simply fulfilling their sexual role and that these interactions are normal (Abdulrehman, De Luca, & Grayston, 1999; Finkelhor, 1984). Though this would perpetuate the myth that males are never victims, and are unaffected by abuse, these beliefs are deeply ingrained into North American culture and thereby often prevent male victims from reporting or even acknowledging their abuse (Finkelhor, 1979, 1984). Hence these contextual influences on perception affect not only the victims of hazing, but societal perceptions as well. In that sense, it is understandable how the combination of personal doubts, contexts and societal pressures influence victims to alter their views of a negative experience to one that is positive.

Does Perception Affect Tolerance?

Despite these perceptions it is suggested that negative symptoms of sexual abuse remain. According to Abdulrehman and De Luca (2001) both male and female victims of sexual abuse who did not perceive their experiences as abusive, still manifested deleterious symptoms of abuse despite their perceptions. In the case of the current study, the role of the abusive hazing as well as perceptions of the hazing experiences on tolerance toward sexual aggression were examined. Though no statistically significant findings were noted in regard to the relationship between perception of hazing and tolerance toward sexual aggression in this current study, there was an apparent trend. The direction of this trend suggested that the more positive the participants had perceived

their hazing experiences the more tolerant they were of sexual aggression. Given the lack of statistical significance, this finding is tentative at best. However, it does produce concern as to the implications that perceptions can have on individual's behavior and actions. According to Abdulrehman and De Luca (2001), perceiving an experience as non-abusive may serve as a defense mechanism, allowing victims to cope and function more effectively. The same may be true of the sample in this study and may be a reason why statistically significant findings were not noted.

Effect of Sexual Hazing on Tolerance

Interestingly, findings regarding the relationship between hazing experience and attitudes toward sexual aggression appear counter-intuitive, and contradict the model of sexual aggression proposed by Malamuth et. al. (1991). The experience of hazing appears to decrease tolerance of sexual aggression toward women rather than to increase tolerance. Though the initial impression may suggest that exposure to such harsh forms of abusive hazing may serve to diminish future incidents of it, this punitive perspective of this finding may only provide a surface level explanation. Greater exploration of other factors involved in this exploration may serve to offer other reasons for this unexpected finding.

The reasons for this counter intuitive finding, however, may be understood by examining the relationship previous childhood sexual abuse experiences, other than hazing, may have on tolerance toward sexual aggression. The experience of prior sexual abuse, however, appears to have the opposite effect, whereby the experience of previous child sexual abuse, aside from hazing, appears to be correlated with an increased tolerance of sexual aggression toward women. One possibility is that the number of abuse

experiences may impact on how a victim begins to perceive sexual aggression. A single experience may increase tolerance, but numerous experiences, within more "acceptable" contexts such as sport, may serve to inhibit reservations regarding abuse, and decrease tolerances toward sexual aggression. Given the fact that previous abuse (other than hazing) was perpetrated by females, and hazing abuse was perpetrated by males, it seems more plausible that gender may be a more intrusive or accountable variable in examining the differences in perception.

Role of Gender

As reviewed in the introduction of this study, gender of the perpetrator can have significant impacts on the effects of the abuse. Duncan and Williams (1998) found that being abused by males caused male victims to identify with female victims, thereby increasing levels of empathy toward girls and women. On the other hand, they also found that males abused by females, had a greater tendency to become sexually aggressive in their adult intimate relationships. Both of these findings have implications for the results of this study and may explain why the direction of our findings appear counter-intuitive. If the participants in this study who had been abusively hazed identified more with female victims, then it may explain why they were less tolerant of sexual aggression. Moreover, those participants who had indicated previous experiences of childhood sexual abuse, who were more likely to be abused by women, may have then, according to Duncan and Williams' findings, been more tolerant of sexual aggression toward woman. Since the perpetrators of abusive hazing in this study were male, and the finding that sexual aggression was common in men who were victimized by women as children (Duncan & Williams, 1998), this would suggest that it was unlikely for male victims of

hazing in our study to exhibit feelings of aggression toward the hypothetical woman in the FDR scenario.

In an examination of the effect of the perpetrator gender on the effects of childhood sexual abuse experiences, Duncan and Williams (1998) found that males who were abused by other males were more likely to report being very kind and loving (i.e. increased empathy) toward females, when compared to males who had been sexually abused by females. Moreover, these researches also noted that men who indicated being abused by women were more likely than those abused by other men, were more likely to have perpetrated sexual abuse as teens and were also more likely to have committed sexual offenses as adults. These findings seem to be consistent with the results of this study, whereby the experience of abuse by men (i.e. hazing) results in reported decreased tolerance toward sexual aggression. Yet interestingly, when we examined the relationship of previous sexual abuse experience, other than hazing, and it's relationship to tolerance toward sexual aggression, we get a rather different finding. In the cases of this study where our male participants had indicated being abused prior to hazing (whereby the perpetrators were predominantly female), this experience was related to increased tolerance toward sexual aggression of women. The findings of our study, as well as those presented by Duncan and Williams, would suggest that the experience of abuse by other men, causes male victims to become more sympathetic toward females and female victims. As Duncan and Williams suggest, this may be due to the male victim being able to relate to female victims, whose abusers are primarily male. And since male-female sexual interaction, even if coercive or abusive, appear to be more tolerated in our society due to cultural perceptions that sexual relations are welcomed by males, then the

perception of those norms as true, may serve as preventative factors or functional defense mechanisms. If this is true then we may assume that there is some credence to the previously noted and well founded research finding that men abused by women are affected just as negatively, and sometimes more so, than males victimized by other men.

Upon initial glance, the facts presented in the above paragraph may seem to form an accurate perception, however, they may serve to support dangerous ideologies if placed out of context. When Duncan and Williams further examined their findings, despite reports by male victims of abuse by women that they were more empathic toward women, their behavior was not always consistent with their reports. In fact, levels of physical aggression were about the same in those males abused by males, and those abused by females. As Duncan and Williams suggest, physical aggression is modeled by perpetrators of sexual aggression, regardless of their gender. Their finding may provide alternative interpretations for the findings of this study, as reported tolerances of sexual aggression may not reflect the actual behaviors of the participants in this study, but rather more what they would consider socially desirable responses.

There was also an inconsistency in our study that was not accounted for before the study was run, in that the perpetrators in our study were bound to be other men, given the nature of hazing activities. Yet the victim in our hypothetical scenario in the FDR, used to assess sexual aggression was a woman. Given the findings of Duncan and Williams, the effects of abuse whereby the two contexts and genders are incongruent, it seems unlikely that our results would have been as hypothesized. If in the hypothetical situation on the FDR, we asked participants to rate their tolerance toward another male being sexually

hazed, it would have been more likely then that participants who had experienced hazing, would be more tolerant of such a situation.

When hazing experiences of the participants in this study are examined, without the bias of societal norms and beliefs surrounding male victimization and hazing in sport, it is quite clear that a large percentage of these experiences meet Finkelhor's (1975) criteria for what is considered to be childhood sexual abuse. Despite the mounting evidence that many hazing activities exceed simple rites of passage, many of them still continue (CBC.ca, 2005; CTV.ca, 2005; Gershel, et al., 2003; Ginsberg, 2005; Grossman, 2005; Martin, 2004; Meagher, 2005; TSN.ca, 2005). More importantly, as discussed above, the majority of individuals involved in abusive hazing, be it those subject to or those committing the acts, do not appear to view their experiences as abusive. Research reviewed (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000, 2001; Romans, Martin, Morris, & Herbison, 1999) indicated that perception can and does play a large role in the effect the abuse has, and possibly on the manifestation or development of symptoms. Moreover, as is consistently noted by research in the area of childhood sexual abuse, symptoms of abuse, which may include depression, anger, confusion about sexual orientation, loss of control, revictimization, sexual perpetration, etc., continue on from childhood and adolescence if the victims remain unidentified and untreated (Coffey, et al. 1996; Finkelhor, 1990; Mullen, et al., 1996; Romano & De Luca, 1997; Wyatt, et al. 1999). With inaccurate perceptions of abuse (e.g. seeing abuse as non-abusive, or a "normal" experience) identified as a cognitive symptom of abuse (Abdulrehman, 2000; Abdulrehman, De Jaegher, De Luca, & La Rosa, 1998; Conte, as cited in Finkelhor, 1990), these too likely continue without treatment. These inaccurate perceptions are representative of biases in

our society and culture that make it difficult for society and male victims of abuse themselves, to perceive their experiences as such. When the societal and community attitude toward hazing is reviewed, and found to minimize the impact of abusive acts, it may be that the context of the abuse, or rather the reaction to it, may have just as significant of an impact on the victim as the abuse itself. In many cases these perceptions may serve as defense or coping mechanisms that distance victims of abuse from many feelings such as humility, anger, and stigma (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001; Lisak, 1994; Malamuth et al., 1991; Romans, Martin, Morris, & Herbison, 1999). It is thusly important to examine how participants of this study may have held particular defense mechanisms that may have had an impact on their perceptions and tolerances toward sexual aggression of women.

Role of Defense or Coping Mechanisms

Defense mechanisms are purported to be a means in which abuse survivors can cope with their experiences. According to Romans and colleagues (1999) women who had been sexually abused as children had a greater tendency to develop coping styles and defense mechanisms that were not always effective, as these women distorted the actual happenings of their experiences. For example, one of the most common defense mechanisms noted by these researchers was that of projection, where victims had a tendency to attribute the perpetrator's emotional response to his or her own emotional responses and behavior. Other coping mechanisms noted by these authors included displacement of emotion and blame, passive aggression, and somatization. Romans and colleagues noted that the more traumatic the abuse the more likely female victims were to engage in unhealthy coping or defense mechanisms. In the case of our study, where the

victims of abuse are male, who were abused by other men, it is understandable given the reviewed literature above (Dolezal & Carballo-Dieguez, 2002; Duncan & Williams, 1998), how the male-male dynamic of the abuse adds yet another layer of psychological distress to the situation. The male-male abuse scenario likely creates confusion regarding sexual orientation, stigma of being homosexual, and the loss of control and masculinity, among other feelings. It is then understandable how male victims of abuse by other males may be just as likely, if not more likely, to engage in defense mechanisms that distort the reality of their situation. Given the context of sport in which the abuse occurs, hazing activities are almost encouraged as traditional rites of passage without question (Lipsyte, 1999; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 2003; Wintrup, 2003). In this context, maintaining false beliefs to deal with the emotional trauma of the abuse likely becomes easier as such abusive behaviors are supported by those around the victims, including coaches, parents, and society, as they too only view them as mere rites of passage. Ironically, it appears that failure to adhere to these false beliefs and to cope via acknowledging the abuse that took place often places victims in a position of stigma where they may be criticized for being weak (Meagher, 2005; Nuwer, 2000; Robinson, 1998). In the situation where hazing becomes abusive, it appears victims are left with little choice but to alter their perceptions of their traumatization, or in many cases suffer the consequences and sequelae of the abuse alone. Acknowledgement of findings as noted in this study are imperative to educating the public as to the implications of some hazing activities, the diverse and sometimes transparent definition of abuse amongst men, and the role and impact sexual abuse has on male victims.

It can be understood that false perception of abusive situations as non-abusive may serve as a defense or a coping mechanism (Abdulrehman, 2000). Numerous factors can influence those perceptions within an abusive situation, with research suggesting that it may often be altered by the context of the situation, which may be comprised of the age and gender of the perpetrator (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000, 2001, 2003; Abdulrehman et al., 1999; Abdulrehman, De Luca, & Hills, 2004; Abdulrehman, De Jaegher, De Luca, & La Rosa, 1998). Context also suggests societal perceptions of those situations. For example, given encouragement of male promiscuity in our culture, it may be more likely for us to dismiss the abuse of a teenage male by an older female perpetrator as compared to the abuse of a teenage girl by an older male perpetrator (Finkelhor, 1979). According to Madu & Peltzer (2001), the way in which victims perceived the perpetrator may also have been skewed. In a study of individuals abused as children, well over fifty percent of victims viewed the individual who had invasively molested them as a "friend". In the same manner, in the context of sport, it would become difficult for many of those who had experienced abusive hazing to perceive potential and current teammates and friends as perpetrators of abuse. This is reflected in our findings as the majority of individuals abused in hazing perceived their experiences as neutral. It can also be stated that at most, even when the abuse was perceived negatively, the victim minimized the effects of the abuse (e.g. neutral), possibly in order to continue functioning in that social environment of sport.

In a similar context, the cultural belief that hazing, regardless of obviously sexually abusive components, is seen by society, and at times promoted in the sport culture, as simple rites of passage that are to enhance the bonds between team mates, and

promote cohesiveness amongst the team. Furthermore, despite obvious emotional and verbal derogation that suggests the victim is a woman or a homosexual (Abdulrehman 2001; Robinson, 1998), the victim of such acts may then prefer to perceive the event as simply a hazing ritual common to sport teams.

Discussing the cognitive symptoms regarding perception of abuse that may occur within the minds of victims of sexual abuse, makes us aware of the numerous factors and variables that may influence thinking patterns in individuals. In this study findings were in fact the opposite of what was hypothesized and factors such as gender of perpetrator, context of the abuse, previous abuse experiences, the context of that experience, etc. may have amounted to produce interesting thought patterns and cognitive symptoms regarding the abuse. The findings remind us that regardless of how confident we may seem as professionals in the area, regarding certain well researched findings, there always may be a different way to perceive and interpret results. In this case we had expected that individuals who had experienced abuse within sport hazing to be more tolerant toward sexual aggression of women. Interestingly enough, the experience of hazing made participants less tolerant of such behavior when compared to individuals who had not experienced any form of abuse or hazing.

Other Considerations: and Accurate Responding

Socially Desirable Responding. In our current study, on Fischer's FDR scale, participants noted being less tolerant of sexual aggression if they had been abused during hazing, than compared to those individuals who had no hazing or sexual abuse experiences. Given the transparency of the FDR, it is quite possible that participants responded in a way that was more socially desirable, where their behavior was not

consistent with their presented views of themselves. Given that the sample used in this study were University students, they were likely to be more acutely aware of what is considered to be socially appropriate responses, and thus may respond as such.

The Meaning of Witness. In exploring hazing experiences, an interesting piece of information is to note whether the participant actually witnessed or had experienced the hazing. In retrospect, it may have been more worthy to clarify the term witness by asking if they had actually carried out the hazing of other individuals or if they had simply observed what was going on. Nonetheless, in reviewing the examples given by participants, it appeared that it was rare that an individual simply observed what was going on. In most situations, it appeared that the participant was either the person being hazed, or was involved in hazing the person being hazed. With this piece of information in mind, when we noted that sixty-three percent of the participants in this study noted witnessing hazing activities, it is likely that they were involved in carrying them out. Thirty-seven percent specifically identified being the target of hazing or related group bonding activities. Clarification of the term "witness" in future studies would help in clarifying the hazing behavior of an individual by identifying possible perpetration of abusive hazing.

Is Hazing Abuse? Though the experiences of abusive hazing examined in this study fit the definition of childhood sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1979), it has been suggested (R. Roy, personal communication, October 2, 2006) that the issue of hazing carries with it a unique set of norms and values that may warrant a unique classification of the issues all on it's own. In that, it was suggested that since the abusive acts in hazing are expected and tolerated by participants, the consent of the situation differentiates it from the

classical definition of child sexual abuse used in this study. Finkelhor (1979, 1990) would disagree, stating that just because a child gives alleged consent does not disqualify the experience from the category of abuse. On the contrary, many children who were sexually abused indicate they had given alleged consent to the perpetrator and still found the experience to be negative (Dolezal, et al., 2002; Lisak, 1994; Madu & Peltzer, 2001). In such situations it should be noted that consent does not suggest willingness, as many times consent could be coerced (as is in the case of hazing). In other situations consent may simply be achieved due to naivety of the victim due to their age. Lastly, consent, or a positive perception of abuse, may not minimize the effects of the abuse, as it has been noted that despite perception, effects of abuse remain (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2001). More importantly, many survivors of abuse will often feel compounding guilt for giving alleged consent, in the sense that they feel they should have said no or stopped the abuse, despite their inability to do so (Dolezal, et al., 2002; Lisak, 1994; Madu & Peltzer, 2001).

Recent Incidences

The results of this study are highly applicable to not only the study of male victims of abuse, but are likely representative of similar situations and individuals across North America. In reviewing the findings of this study, we can also cross reference the experiences and general findings of this research to the current events that have transpired with hazing across Canada which have acquired the attention of the media and national sport organizations (CBC.ca, 2005; CTV.ca, 2005; Gershel, et al., 2003; Ginsberg, 2005; Grossman, 2005; Meagher, 2005; TSN.ca, 2005).

Hypothesis 1

The results pertaining to the first hypothesis are likely the most startling of this study, in that they suggest that the presence of abuse in hazing is fairly high; much more so than noted in previous studies, and a pilot study (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000) conducted on the same topic a few years back. Despite the media frenzy following the abuse disclosures of Sheldon Kennedy (Robinson, 1998), and related hazing disclosures that caused sport organizations to quickly take note and sponsor zero tolerance policies toward hazing (Canadian Press², 2005), the findings of this study suggest that such practices still occur. More importantly, it is crucial to note that the content of these hazing activities remains abusive in nature. The assault and abuse allegations that have recently arisen in Canada, also point to the presence of hazing despite efforts made by sport organizations to ban the activities. Numerous media outlets had reported the case of an eighteen-year-old rookie football player being held down and sexually assaulted with a broomstick, while other team members cheered on (Canadian Press, 2005; CTV.ca, 2005; CBC.ca², 2005; Ginsberg, 2005; Meagher, 2005; Canadian Press^{2, 3}, 2005). In another incidence noted to occur around the same time, coach of the Windsor Spitfires' junior hockey team, Moe Mantha, was suspended after he had ordered several team mates to strip naked and cram into a small over heated bathroom at the back of a bus while on a road trip (Byers, 2005; Canadian Press², 2005; CBC.ca¹, 2005; ESPN.com, 2005; Zwolinski, 2005). In an even younger age group in St. Catherines, a junior football team at Ridley College was forced to forfeit its regular session game, after team members admitted to taking part in a hazing event where members were forced to rub a hot/cold gel on their genitals (Grossman, 2005).

Given the examples of abusive hazing noted by participants in this study, as well as those in the above media reports, it is clear that if they were not to have occurred within the context of sport, or had a female been the recipient of such acts by other males, there would be no argument as to the abusive nature of such acts. This would suggest that as a society, and as clinical researchers, we need to be aware of the different contexts in which abuse may occur. In addition, we need to understand that variability in context also includes variability in age and gender, as quite often victims and perpetrators do not fit our stereotyped perceptions of them. Clearly our findings indicate that abusive practices are highly prevalent in hazing activities. The area of hazing warrants further research.

Hypothesis 2

Although the findings for this hypothesis were counter intuitive and the direction of the findings opposite to what was predicted, we can still interpret the results to suggest that the experience of abuse, varying in contexts and gender of the perpetrator, results in a variety of perceptual outcomes. Our findings show the experience of hazing may have served to sensitize victims of abuse to female victims of sexual aggression. Yet interestingly, previous experiences of sexual abuse outside of hazing, where the perpetrator was likely female, increased tolerance toward sexual aggression. This exemplifies the differential impact such factors as context, gender, and repeated abuse experiences may have on the perceptions and symptoms of abuse in the victim. It is also important to remember that although the participants in this study who were abusively hazed had decreased tolerances toward sexual aggression of women, they may have responded differently to the sexual assault of males within the context of hazing. This is noted in the comments made by those involved in the hazing situations at McGill noted

above. The athlete's responses to the hazing situation note that they had also been hazed in a similar fashion when they were rookies, and they did not perceive there to be anything wrong with their actions. Therefore, they felt it completely appropriate to continue such practices on other players (Ginsberg, 2005; Meagher, 2005; TSN.ca, 2005). A similar sentiment was also noted in articles discussing the hazing incidences in Junior hockey by Moe Mantha, suggesting that to many who play hockey, practices of stripping the players naked and forcing them into close quarters with each other was completely normal, and had been done for many years (Byers, 2005; Canadian Press², 2005; CBC.ca¹, 2005; Zwolinski, 2005). Responses to Moe Mantha's suspension due to such practices from other NHL and junior hockey players indicated that hazing activities such as the "hot box", were mild in nature compared to what else went on in hazing (Zwolinksi, 2005). The responses of hockey players commenting on these incidences were those of amusement rather than sympathy (Zwolinksi, 2005). The continuance of such abusive activities would suggest that their tolerance of sexual aggression within this context is actually quite high. Yet, as suggested by Duncan & Williams (1998), it is likely, the same students would react with a greater sensitivity to a situation where a female was subjected to sexual aggression in a dating situation.

Hypothesis 3

From the discussion above, it appears that a large majority of participants of abusive hazing may not consider their experiences abusive. On the contrary, as noted by the findings in this study, most view their experiences as either neutral or positive, as opposed to negative. Once again, we find the recent hazing incidences, and the sentiments of the players involved reflect our findings. Whereby not only are the abusive

and forceful nature of the hazing incidences minimized, but also, they are almost celebrated as tradition and a necessary part of sport. Though some regret is noted by those who carried out the hazing, it appears that the regret is associated with being caught rather than the incidence itself. Comments of sympathy are often followed by statements that try to justify their actions, minimizing the abuse, and blaming the victim of hazing for misinterpreting the nature of hazing (Meagher, 2005). The McGill athletes' comments include justifications that they too were hazed in similar fashions, but enjoyed the experience, and also that it is expected that such activities are to bring the team together. Strangely enough, even after such imminent and negative media attention, the players' comments appear to significantly lack empathy and understanding as to the derogative and imperative nature of such abusive hazing activities. The arena of sport seems to hold blinding contextual factors that prevent participants of these activities to view their experiences as abuse. Interestingly, if the findings of this study can be generalized to most sport populations, it would be expected that their perception of the same events carried out on women, or in contexts of dating, would clearly be considered a form of sexual aggression. It is this obvious twist of perception that has lead some researchers to suggest that it may lead to pathology (Malamuth, et al., 1991), which at very least warrants further attention from researchers.

Hypothesis 4

Lastly, though this study does not produce conclusive finding in regards to the effect altered perceptions of abuse have on pathological behavior, it did note a trend whereby there may be likelihood that those participants who viewed their hazing experiences as abusive were also more likely to report a greater tolerance for sexual

aggression. Though this finding does not specifically relate to the discussed hazing incidences in the media, with regards to female victims of sexual aggression, we can find some similarities when it comes to male victims of abusive hazing. In that, those athletes who made public comments regarding the minimal traumatic effect of the hazing, also noted that they had perceived their hazing experiences, which were of similar nature, to be positive (Ginsberg, 2005; Meagher, 2005).

Implications

Overall it can be stated that the effects of abuse likely vary significantly from person to person (Finkelhor, 1979; 1984), and that some of those differences may depend on personal variables, and yet others on external environmental variables. In the latter part of this study we have discussed the theoretical influence that gender of the perpetrator and the context of sport appear to have on how male victims perceive their abuse experiences. It is interesting to find that the variable of the context of sport has an influence of great magnitude. Had such activities as those that had transpired with the McGill football team transpired outside the context of sport, it may be likely that it would have been considered a form of sodomy or rape. Yet the team members (those carrying out the act, and those cheering it on) felt it completely appropriate, if not humorous, to engage in the act of forced sodomy within the context of sport. Some research of the culture of sport would suggest that such behavior is due to socialized masculinity, where barbaric acts are reinforced instead of discouraged (Lipsyte, 1999; Pronger, 1992; Robinson, 1995). Though this may be partially true, it may also be likely that societal cultural scripts regarding masculinity in sport, along with the stigma of admitting a loss of control and masculinity also prevent us from discussing, and victims from reporting, a

cycle of abuse that clearly has been going on for numerous years. Though it can be easily concluded that further research is essential and needed before more conclusive statements can be made regarding such claims on the cycle of sexual abuse in sport, it is also clear that the prevalence of abusive hazing in sport is quite high. More importantly, from those who have come forth disclosing their abuse experiences, it is also clear that the effects of such abusive hazing is not minimal, but rather quite traumatic. This implies that despite any defense mechanisms or altered perceptions of the hazing activity held by participants, the sequelae or symptoms of abuse are likely to emerge. Thusly, despite being unable to make strong or detailed statements regarding how negatively abusive hazing affects victims, there is enough literature in the field of sport and psychology (Abdulrehman & De Luca, 2000, 2001; Bryshun, 1997; Caron, et al., 1997; Coloroso, 2002; Conn & Hunter, 1993; Conn, et al., 1993; Gershel, et al., 2003; Ginsberg, 2005; Grossman, 2005; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Martin, 2004; Meagher, 2005; Mendelsohn, 2000; Mravic, 2000; Nuwer, 2000; O'Hara, 2000; Robinson, 1998) that would suggest that abuse in hazing is a significant concern. Thereby this warrants not only further research, but education of the public, professionals, and those children participating in sport, to be aware of what is considered appropriate initiation, what is considered abusive, what the effects of hazing are, and what a victim should do if they are the victim of abuse in hazing. It is realistic to assume, as research estimates, that the problem of sexual abuse is more prevalent in our society than we once believed. More recently research has noted that the rate of male victims of sexual abuse may be just as high as the rates reported for females. And more recently now, we find that research, media, and brave self-disclosures indicate a high level of sexual, physical, and emotional abuse amongst sport. What these

facts point to is that as a society, and as researchers we need to avoid complacency in asking questions as may previously have been done by health professionals (Lab, Feigenbaum, & De Silva, 2000). In the case of hazing, or more mildly put as team initiation, many consider it an age old tradition whereby a new player is made to feel a greater sense of belonging to a team. Being able to ask questions, and avoiding a shroud of secrecy of the male victimization, allows us to better identify, thusly better treat, and more importantly better prevent, different forms of sexual abuse.

References

Abdulrehman, R. Y. (2001). <u>The relationship between sexual aggression and perception of abuse in adult survivors of child sexual abuse.</u> Unpublished Masters Psychology Thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Abdulrehman, R. Y., & De Luca, R. V. (2000). <u>Sexually abusive practices in hazing: A pilot study.</u> Poster presented at the Red River Psychology Conference, Fargo, ND.

Abdulrehman, R. Y., De Luca, R. V., & Grayston, A. D. (1999). <u>Female sexual perpetrators: An exploratory study.</u> Paper presented at Canadian Psychological Association's Annual Convention, Halifax, NS.

Abdulrehman, R. Y., & De Luca, R. V. (2001). The implications of child sexual abuse on adult social behavior. <u>Journal of Family Violence</u>, 16 (2), 193-203.

Abdulrehman, R. Y., & De Luca, R. V. (2003). Does Change in Perception of Sexual Abuse Reduce Its Symptoms? An Examination of Perceptions and Symptoms in Male Survivors of Sexual Abuse. <u>Canadian Psychology 44,(3)</u>.

Abdulrehman, R., De Luca, R., & Hills, A. (2004). The Correlation Between Age of Abuse Onset in Male Sexual Abuse Survivors and Their Tolerance of Sexual Aggression in Adulthood. Canadian Psychology 45, (2).

Abdulrehman, R. Y, De Jaegher, S. C., De Luca, R. V., & La Rosa, N. (1998).

The relationship between the perception of abuse experience by the victim and the age of the perpetrator. Paper presented at Showcase '98, Winnipeg, MB.

Allan, E. J. (1998). <u>Hazing and the making of men</u>. Retrieved May 2, 2003 from: http://www.stophazing.org/makingofmen.htm

Becker, K. D., Stuewig, J., Herrera, V. M., & McCloskey, L. A. (2004). <u>Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry</u>, 43, 905-912.

Beitchman, J. H., Zucker, K. J., Hood, J. E., DaCosta, G. A., Akman, D., & Cassavia, E. (1992). A review of the long-term effects of child sexual abuse. <u>Child Abuse</u> & Neglect, 16, 101-118.

Berkowitz, A. (1992). College men as perpetrators of acquaintance rape and sexual assault: A review of the recent research. <u>Journal of American College Health, 40</u>, 175-181.

Brackenridge, C. (2003). Dangerous sports? Risk, responsibility and sex offending in sport. Journal of Sexual Aggression, 9, 3-12.

Briggs, F., & Hawkins, R. M. (1995). Protecting boys from the risk of sexual abuse. <u>Early Child Development and Care</u>, 110, 19-32.

Browne, A., & Finkelhor, D. (1986). The impact of child sex abuse: A review of the research. Psychological Bulletin, 99, 66-77.

Bryshun, J. (1997). <u>Hazing in sport: An exploratory study of veteran/rookie</u> relations. Unpublished Masters of Sociology Thesis, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

Byers, J. (2005, October 20). Hockey hazing's painful effects. 'It happens, we just want him to move on'. Toronto Star.

Calam, R., Horne, L., Glasgow, D., & Cox, A. (1998). Psychological disturbance and child sexual abuse: A follow-up study. Child Abuse & Neglect, 22, 901-913.

Canadian Press¹. (2005, October 19). Hazing shuts down McGill football.

Retrieved October 27, 2005 from the World Wide Web:

http://www.brandonsun.com/story.php?story_id=7477

Canadian Press². (2005, October 18). OHL heavily punishes Spitfires, Mantha. Retrieved October 27, 2005 from the World Wide Web:

http://www.tsn.ca/chl/news_story.asp?id=140174

Canadian Press³. (2005, October 18). McGill cancels grid season citing hazing. Retrieved October 27, 2005 from the World Wide Web:

http://www.tsn.ca/cis/news_story.asp?id=140211

Caron, S. L., Halteman, W. A., & Stacy, C. (1997). Athletes and rape: Is there a connection? <u>Perceptual and Motor Skills</u>, 85, 1379-93.

CBC.ca ¹ (2005, October 18). OHL suspends coach over hazing episode.

Retrieved October 27, 2005 from the World Wide Web:

http://www.cbc.ca/story/sports/national/2005/10/18/Sports/ohl_spitfires051018.html CBC.ca ² (2005, October 18). McGill scraps football season over hazing. Retrieved October 27, 2005 from the World Wide Web:

http://www.cbc.ca/story/sports/national/2005/10/18/Sports/redmen051018.html

Cermak, P., & Molidor, C. (1996). Male victims of child sexual abuse. <u>Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal</u>, 13, 385-400.

Chaffin, M., Silovsky, J. F., & Vaughn, C. (2005). Temporal concordance of anxiety disorders and child sexual abuse: Implications for direct versus artifactual effects of sexual abuse. <u>Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology</u>, 34, 210-222.

Chandler, S. B., Johnson, D. J., & Carrol, P. S. (1999). Abusive behaviors of college athletes. <u>College Student Journal</u>, 33, 638-645.

Coffey, P., Leitenberg, H., Henning, K., Turner, T., & Bennett, R. T. (1996). Mediators of the long-term impact of child sexual abuse: Perceived stigma, betrayal, powerlessness, and self-blame. <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u>, 20, 447-455.

Collings, S. J. (1995). The long-term effects of contact and noncontact forms of child sexual abuse in a sample of university men. <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u>, 19, 1-6.

Colman, R. A., & Widom, C. S. (2004). Childhood abuse and neglect and adult intimate relationships: A prospective study. <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u>, 28, 1133-1151.

Coloroso, B. (2002). <u>The bully, the bullied, and the bystander.</u> Toronto: Harper Collins.

Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths. (1984). <u>Sexual offences against children: Report of the committee on sexual offences against children and youths.</u> Ottawa. Canadian Government Publishing Center.

Conn, J. H., & Hunter, T. (1993). Hazing in interscholastic sports: The unkept secrets. Missouri Journal of Health, Physical Education, Recreation & Dance, 3, 48-55.

Conn, J. H., & Tompkins, R. N. (1994). In the shadows. <u>Athletic Management, 6</u>, Conn, J. H., Tompkins, R. N., & Hunter, T. (1993). Hazing activities in Missouri

interscholastic athletic programs. Journal of Legal Aspects of Sport, 3, 35-43.

CTV.ca (2005, October 19). Hazing probe prompts McGill to cancel football. Retrieved October 27, 2005 from the World Wide Web:

http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20051018/mcgill_hazing_05101

De Luca, R. V., Boyes, D. A., Furer, P., Grayston, A. D., & Hiebert-Murphy, D. (1992). Group treatment for child sexual abuse. <u>Canadian Psychology</u>, 33, 168-179.

De Luca, R. V., Boyes, D. A., Grayston, A. D., & Romano, E. (1995). Sexual abuse: Effects of group therapy on preadolescent girls. <u>Child Abuse Review</u>, 4, 263-277.

De Luca, R. V., Hazen, A., & Cutler, J. (1993). Evaluation of a group counseling program for preadolescent female victims of incest. <u>Elementary School Guidance & Counseling</u>, 28, 104-114.

Dolezal, C., & Carballo-Dieguez, A. (2002). Childhood sexual experiences and the perception of abuse among latino men who have sex with men. <u>The Journal of Sex</u> Research, 39, 165-173.

Donnelly, P. (Eds.). (2000). <u>Taking sport seriously. Social issues in Canadian sport. Second Edition.</u> Toronto: Thompson Educational.

Donnelly, P., & Sparks, R. (1997). Child sexual abuse in sport. <u>Policy Options</u>, 18, 3-6.

Duncan, L. E., & Williams, L. M. (1998). Gender role socialization and male-on-male vs. female-on-male child sexual abuse. <u>Sex Roles</u>, 39, 765-785.

Etherington, K. (1995). Adult male survivors of childhood sexual abuse.

Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 8, 233-41.

Eskin, M., Kaynak-Demir, H., & Demir, S. (2005). Same-sex sexual orientation, childhood sexual abuse, and suicidal behavior in university students in Turkey. <u>Archives of Sexual Behavior</u>, 34, 185-195.

ESPN.com (2005, October 18). Ex-NHL player Mantha suspended in hazing incident. Retrieved October 27, 2005 from the World Wide Web:

http://sports.espn.go.com/nhl/news/story?id=2196528&CMP=OTC-DT9705204233

Farrey, T. (2000). <u>Athletes abusing athletes.</u> Retrieved May 2, 2003 from: http://espn.go.com/otl/hazing/monday.html

Finkel, M. A. (2002). Traumatic injuries caused by hazing practices. <u>The American Journal of Emergency Medicine</u>, 20, 228-233.

Finkelhor, D. (1979). <u>Sexually victimized children.</u> New York: Macmillan.

Finkelhor, D. (1984). <u>Child sexual abuse: New theory and research.</u> New York: Macmillan.

Finkelhor, D. (1990). Early and long-term effects of child sexual abuse: An update. <u>Professional Psychology</u>, 21, 325-330.

Fischer, G. J. (1986). College student attitudes toward forcible date rape. Cognitive Predictors. <u>Archives of Sexual Behavior</u>, 15, 457-466.

Fischer, G. J. (1987). Hispanic and majority student attitudes toward forcible date rape as a function of differences in attitudes toward women. <u>Sex Roles</u>, <u>17</u>, 93-101.

Fish, J. (2001). Prevention of hazing requires cultural shift. NCAA News, 38, 4-5.

Freidrich, W., Beilke, R., & Urquiza, A. (1988). Behavior problems in young sexually abused boys: A comparison study. <u>Journal of Interpersonal Violence</u>, 3, 21-28.

Gershel, J. C., Katz-Sidlow, R. J., Small, E., & Zandieh, S. (2003). Hazing of suburban middle school and high school athletes. <u>Journal of Adolescent Health</u>, 32, 333-335.

Ginsberg, J. (2005). McGill football team takes responsibility for hazing. <u>The Manitoban, 93, 10.</u>

Gold, S. R., Sinclair, B. B., & Balge, K. A. (1999). Risk of sexual revictimization:

A theoretical model. <u>Aggression and Violent Behavior</u>, 4, 457-470.

Grossman, D. (2005, October 25). Ridley in hazing incident. Football team forfeits game 'grotesque, embarrassing'. <u>Toronto Star.</u>

Hack, T. F., Osachuk, T. A., & De Luca, R. V. (1994). Group treatment for sexually abused preadolescent boys. <u>Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary</u>

<u>Human Services, 75, 217-228</u>.

Heru, A. M. (2001). The linkages between gender and victimhood. <u>International Journal of Social Psychiatry</u>, 47, 10-20.

Humphrey, S. E., & Kahn, A. S. (2000). Fraternities, athletic teams, and rape: Importance of identification with a risky group. <u>Journal of Interpersonal Violence</u>, 15, 1313-22.

Jehu, D. (1992). Adult survivors of sexual abuse. In R. T. Ammerman & M. Hersen (Eds.), <u>Assessment of family violence: A clinical and legal sourcebook</u> (pp. 348-370). New York: Wiley.

Kendall-Tackett, K. A., Williams, L. M., & Finkelhor, D. (1993). Impact of sexual abuse on children: A review and synthesis of recent empirical studies.

Psychological Bulletin, 113, 164-180.

Kia-Keating, M., Grossman, F. K., Sorsoli, L., Epstein, M. (2005). Containing and resisting masculinity: Narratives of renegotiation among resilient male survivors of childhood sexual abuse. <u>Psychology of Men & Masculinity</u>, 6, 169-185.

Koss, M. P., & Gaines, J. (1993). The prediction of sexual aggression by alcohol use, athletic participation, and fraternity affiliation. <u>Journal of Interpersonal Violence</u>, 8, 94-107.

Lab, D. D., Feigenbaum, J. D., & De Silva, P. (2000). Mental health profesionals' attitudes and practices toward male childhood sexual abuse. <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u>, 24, 391-409.

Lipsyte, R. (1999, May 9). The jock culture: Time to debate the questions. New York Times, sp11.

Lisak, D. (1994). The psychological impact of sexual abuse: Content analysis of interviews with male survivors. <u>Journal of Traumatic Stress</u>, 7, 525-548.

Madu, S. N., & Peltzer, K. (2001). Prevalence and patterns of child sexual abuse and victim-perpetrator relationship among secondary school students in the north province (South Africa). <u>Archives of Sexual Behavior</u>, 30, 311-321.

Malamuth, N. M., Sockloskie, R. J., Koss, M. P., & Tanaka, J. S. (1991). Characteristics of aggressors against women: Testing a model using a national sample of college students. <u>Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology</u>, 59, 670-81.

Meagher, J. (2005, September 24). McGill hazing scandal has taken a toll on the team. Montreal Gazette.

Mendelsohn, M. (2000). Bonding or brutality? High school hazing more sadistic and dangerous. Retrieved May 2, 2003 from:

http://abcnews.go.com/onair/2020/2020_000601_hshazing_feature.html

Moore, D. L. (1991). Athletes and rape: Alarming link. <u>USA Today</u>, 9 (243), <u>August 27</u>, 1c-2c.

Mullen, P. E., Martin, J. L., Anderson, J. C., Romans, S. E., & Herbison, G. P. (1996). The long-term impact of the physical, emotional, and sexual abuse of children: A community study. <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u>, 20, 7-21.

Mravic, M. (2000). Vileness in vermont. Sports Illustrated, 92 (4), 34.

Nuwer, H. (2000). <u>High school hazing: When rites become wrongs</u>. New York: Franklin Watts.

O'Hara, J. (2000). The hell of hazing. Maclean's, 113 (10), 50-52.

Parrot, A., Cummings, N., Marchell, T. C., & Hofher, J. (1994). A rape awareness and prevention model for male athletes. <u>Journal of American College Health</u>, 42, 179-84.

Prendergast, W. E. (1993). <u>The merry-go-round of sexual abuse: Identifying and treating survivors.</u> New York, NY: Haworth Press.

Price, L., Maddocks, A., Davies, S., & Griffiths, L. (2006). Somatic and psychological problems in a cohort of sexually abused boys: A six year follow up case-control study. <u>Archives of Disease in Childhood, 86,</u> 164-167.

Pronger, B. (1992). <u>The arena of masculinity. Sports, homosexuality, and the</u> meaning of sex. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Robertson, S. (2003). 'If I let a goal in, I'll get beat up': Contradictions in masculinity, sport and health. Health Education Research, 18, 706-716.

Robinson, L. (1998). <u>Crossing the line: Violence and sexual assault in Canada's national sport.</u> Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Robinson, L. (1995). All-male sports fit all too well into our culture of violence. Now, 14, 34-35.

Romano, E., & De Luca, R. V. (1997). Exploring the relationship between child sexual abuse and adult sexual perpetration. <u>Journal of Family Violence</u>, 12, 85-98.

Rudd, J. M., & Herzberger, S. D. (1999). Brother-sister incest—father-daughter incest: A comparison of characteristics and consequences. <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u>, 23, 915-928.

Runtz, M. (1992). Coping strategies, social support, and recovery from physical and sexual maltreatment in childhood. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada.

Sapp. M. V., & Vandeven, A. M. (2005). Update on childhood sexual abuse.

<u>Current Opinion in Pediatrics</u>, 17, 258-264.

Smith, D., & Stewart, S. (2003). Sexual aggression and sport participation.

<u>Journal of Sport Behavior</u>, 26, 384-395.

Spataro, J., Mullen, P. E., Burgess, P. M., Wells, D. L., & Moss, S. A. (2004). Impact of child sexual abuse on mental health. <u>British Journal of Psychiatry</u>, 184, 416, 421.

Steever, E. E., Follette, V. M., & Naugle, A. (2001). The correlates of male adults' perceptions of their early sexual experiences. <u>Journal of Traumatic Stress</u>, 14, 189-204.

Stockdale, M. S., Visio, M., & Batra, L. (1999). The sexual harassment of men. Evidence for a broader theory of sexual harassment and sex discrimination. <u>Psychology</u>, <u>Public Policy</u>, and <u>Law</u>, 5, 630-664.

Ternowski, D., & De Luca, R. V. (1996). <u>Effects of childhood sexual experiences</u> on adult sexual attitudes. Unpublished Honors Psychology Thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Valente, S. M. (2005). Sexual abuse of boys. <u>Journal of Child and Adolescent</u>

<u>Psychiatric Nursing</u>, 18, 10-16.

Wintrup, G. (2003). <u>Sportization and hazing: Global sport culture and the differentiation of initiation from harassment in canada's sport policy.</u> Unpublished Masters Psychology Thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Worling, J. R. (1995). Sexual abuse histories of adolescent male sex offenders: Differences on the basis of the age and gender of their victims. <u>Journal of Abnormal Psychology</u>, 104, 610-613.

Wyatt, G. E., Loeb, T. B., Solis, B., Carmona, J. V., & Romero, G. (1999). The prevalence and circumstances of child sexual abuse: Changes across a decade. <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u>, 23, 45-60.

Zwolinski, M. (2005, October 20). Spitfire hazing amuses Tucker: Leaf says young players pampered. Toronto Star.

Appendix A

Gender: Male	Female
these initiations or tear include having ones be members, and other su increase team cohesion activities to be unpleas	conding" activities are common in many different sports. At times, m bonding activities turn into hazing. Such hazing activities may ody hair shaved, being stuffed naked into a small space with team ch games. Some people have found these experiences to be n, and noted them to be enjoyable. Other individuals found these sant, and some feel they have caused them physical or egardless of your view on hazing or team bonding activities, please below.
Have you ever had suc Yes No	h an event happen to you?
If so, how many times	has it happened?
Have you ever witness Yes No	ed this happening to another team member or initiate?
If so, how many times	have you witnessed this happening to others?

If you answered yes to any of the above questions, would you please describe what happened in these incidents in the following spaces provided below. (please use the back of the page if you need extra room)

Also, be sure to include the following information in each recollection:

- How old were you (or the person being hazed)?
- What sport was it?
- What actually took place?
- On a scale of 1 to 5, rate how positive this experience was for you. 1 being very negative, 2 being negative, 3 being neutral, 4 being positive, and 5 being very positive.

Incident 1:

Incident 2:

Incident 3:

Appendix B

Forcible Date Rape Scale

Read the following scenario:

A male and female college student go out on a date. Afterward, they go to his apartment and sit in front of the fireplace for a while and sip a glass of wine. He kisses her and, even though she resists his advances, uses his superior strength to force her to have sexual intercourse.

For each of the conditions in items 1 to 9 below, indicate how acceptable you consider the male's behavior in the above scenario, and mark your answers on your IBM sheet.

- 1. If he had spent a lot of money on her, his behavior was:
 - 1 = Definitely acceptable
 - 2 = Mildly acceptable
 - 3 = Not sure
 - 4 = Mildly unacceptable
 - 5 = Definitely unacceptable

1 = Definitely acceptable
2 = Mildly acceptable
3 = Not sure
4 = Mildly unacceptable
5 = Definitely unacceptable
3. If she let him touch her breasts, his behavior was:
1 = Definitely acceptable
2 = Mildly acceptable
3 = Not sure
4 = Mildly unacceptable
5 = Definitely unacceptable
4. If they had dated each other for a long time, his behavior was:
1 = Definitely acceptable
2 = Mildly acceptable
3 = Not sure
4 = Mildly unacceptable
5 = Definitely unacceptable

2. If she had gotten him sexually excited, his behavior was:

5. If she was drunk, his behavior was:
1 = Definitely acceptable
2 = Mildly acceptable
3 = Not sure
4 = Mildly unacceptable
5 = Definitely unacceptable
6. If she was going to have intercourse with him and then changed her mind,
his behavior was:
1 = Definitely acceptable
2 = Mildly acceptable
3 = Not sure
4 = Mildly unacceptable
5 = Definitely unacceptable
7. If she had intercourse with other males, his behavior was:
1 = Definitely acceptable
2 = Mildly acceptable
3 = Not sure
4 = Mildly unacceptable
5 = Definitely unacceptable

- 8. If she led him on, his behavior was:
 - 1 = Definitely acceptable
 - 2 = Mildly acceptable
 - 3 = Not sure
 - 4 = Mildly unacceptable
 - 5 = Definitely unacceptable
- 9. If he was so sexually excited he couldn't stop, his behavior was:
 - 1 = Definitely acceptable
 - 2 = Mildly acceptable
 - 3 = Not sure
 - 4 = Mildly unacceptable
 - 5 = Definitely unacceptable

Appendix C

Sexual Victimization Survey

Please write your age at the top of the first IBM sheet and begin answering Question 1 on the IBM sheet Number 1.

It is now generally realized that most people have sexual experiences as children and while they are still growing up. Some of these experiences are with friends and playmates, and some with relatives and family members. Some are very upsetting and painful, and some are not. Some influence people's later lives and sexual experiences, and some are practically forgotten. Although these are often important events, very little is actually known about them.

We would like you to try to remember the sexual experiences you had while growing up. Please indicate <u>yes</u> or <u>no</u> for the following questions with regard to any sexual experiences you had during childhood (up to the age of 17) with someone else.

YES = 1 NO = 2

- 1. An invitation or request to do something sexual.
- 2. Kissing or hugging in a sexual way.
- 3. Another person showing his/her sex organs to you.
- 4. You showing your sex organs to another person.
- 5. Another person fondling you in a sexual way.
- 6. You fondling another person in a sexual way.
- 7. Another person touching your sex organs.
- 8. You touching another persons sex organs.
- 9. Attempting intercourse (oral, anal, or vaginal).
- 10. Intercourse (oral, anal, or vaginal).

If you answered no to all questions from 1 to 10, then you don't have to complete the rest

of the form.

If you answered <u>yes</u> to any the of questions 11 to 20, then please continue to answer the following questions.

If any of the above experiences occurred with more than one individual, then answer the following questions with the experience that seems most significant to you.

PLEASE WRITE YOUR ANSWERS TO THE NEXT 3 QUESTIONS (a to c) IN THE SPACE PROVIDED BELOW.

a) How old were you the first time this happened?
b) How old was the other person, the first time it
happened?
c) Was the other person:
a stranger
an acquaintance
a friend of yours
a friend of your parents
your father or mother
your grandfather/grandmother
your stepfather/stepmother
your boyfriend/ girl friend
your uncle or aunt
your brother or sister
your cousin
your neighbor
your teacher
you baby-sitter
other (specify)

NOW CONTINUE TO ANSWER ON THE IBM SHEET

- 11. Was the other person: male = 1 female = 2
- 12. For how long would you estimate that this sexual behavior continued? (Answer for the most appropriate category.)

happened over one day of a few days = 1

happened over a period of a few weeks = 2

happened over a period of a few months = 3

happened over a period of a few years = 4

happened over a period of many years = 5

13. How many times would you estimate that this sexual behavior occurred?

only once or twice = 1

from 3-10 times = 2

from 11-25 times = 3

from 25-50 times = 4

more than 50 times = 5

Using the following scale, indicate if the other person ever

$$YES = 1$$
 $NO = 2$

- 14. threatened you <u>verbally</u>
- 15. forced you physically
- 16. hurt you physically
- 17. convinced you to participate
- 18. Looking back at this experience now, would you say this experience was

19. How confident do you feel about your memory of this experience?

not very confident 1...2...3...4...5 very confident

- 20. Do you feel that you were sexually abused as a child? yes = 1 no = 2
- 21. Have you ever been convicted of any offenses of an aggressive nature under the criminal code?

$$yes = 1$$
 $no = 2$

Appendix D

Consent to Participate

Dear Student:

We would like to ask you to participate in a study of sexual attitudes and behaviour by filling out this questionnaire. Some of the items on the questionnaire are very personal. Because they are personal, social scientists have been reluctant to investigate them in the past. If, however, researchers are to help families and society become healthier environments for living and growing up, if we are to help answer questions about important social and family issues, such as parent-child relationships, sex education, child abuse, and so forth, we need to know more about these personal things.

We hope, with this in mind, and the knowledge that everything you answer here is completely anonymous, that you will decide to participate. Please remember that you are under no obligation to participate, however. As much as we would like your cooperation, you should feel free not to fill out a questionnaire. In fact, if at any point while filling out the questionnaire you decide you no longer wish to participate, you may stop wherever you are and fill out no more. Moreover, if there are any particular questions, which you want to skip, you may do so. Simply turn in your questionnaire at the end of the period along with everyone else, and no one will be aware that your questionnaire is incomplete. If you choose to leave the study, you will not lose your experimental credit.

All questionnaires are completely anonymous. Nowhere on the questionnaire do we ask for your name, and we have carefully avoided asking questions that might identify you indirectly. All questionnaires will be guarded carefully and no one but the research team will have access to them.

Because of the sensitive nature of the research, it is important that we have your fully informed consent to use your questionnaire. If you choose to participate, please sign on the line below indication your consent. Unfortunately, if you are under 18, and thus still legally a minor, we will not be able to use your questionnaire. In that case, we would ask that you simple turn in a blank questionnaire.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

I have read the above and I agree to participate.

DATE SIGNATURE

Please turn in this consent form before proceeding to the questionnaire. No one will be aware of your identity because consent form has a blank cover sheet.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Rehman Y. Abdulrehman, B.A., M.A.

Rayleen V. De Luca, Ph.D., C. Psych.

Department of Psychology

University of Manitoba

Appendix E

Debriefing Sheet

As mentioned at the beginning of the study, we were interested in your sexual experiences, as a child, adolescent, or an adult, and the sexual attitudes you may hold. Some of the questions you answered were very personal and perhaps painful to remember. We want to reassure you that your answers are totally anonymous and that there is no way that you can be identified. Also, your answers will be totally confidential and only the examiners will have access to them. Lastly, all the answers from all the participants will be grouped together for analysis; so, individual answers will not be reported.

The aim of the present study was to assess the relationship between experiences in hazing and adult attitudes toward sexual aggression. In particular, we wanted to denote which factors in your early sexual experiences would lead an individual to be tolerant of sexual aggression. In completing these surveys, some of you may have recalled unwanted or forced sexual contact with an adult, as a child. These experiences can sometimes affect people negatively and may be something that needs to be discussed with a counselor. We would like to remind you however that if you are aware of any adult who had engaged in sexual activity with a child, it is your legal responsibility to report this to the authorities and Child and Family Services. This responsibility helps protect other children who may potentially be victimized.

Given that there will be several testing sessions, discretion as to the contents of the questionnaires you completed is essential until all testing has been completed. Please do not discuss the nature of this study with anyone else who has not completed the questionnaire yet.

Rehman Y. Abdulrehman, M. A. Rayleen V. De Luca, Ph. D. Department of Psychology University of Manitoba

Appendix F

Recruitment Script

I am here to recruit for the St. Anthony study. This study intends to study males who have participated in sport, and looks to examine the relationship between experiences in sport, possible experiences with hazing and initiation activities, early sexual experiences, and sexual attitudes. Please be advised that participation in this study is completely voluntary, and that if you choose to participate, you can withdraw at any time without penalty. If you choose to participate you will be given 5 experimental credits, as it may take you up to 2 and one half hours to complete the surveys. You may however be completed sooner. If you are interested in participating please fill out your relevant information on the sign up sheets, take a reminder from the sheets, and show up at your scheduled session time and location. Please remember to use only HB pencil when filling out the sign up sheet. If you cannot make your scheduled session time, please contact the undergraduate advisor in the department of Psychology to assist in rescheduling your session. If you have any other questions regarding this study, please feel free to ask me when I pick up the sheets at the end of your class. Thanks.

Author Note & Acknowledgements

This manuscript was submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my entire dissertation committee for being encouraging with my topic of research. More over I would like to thank them for the time they've extended to assist with revisions and advice, be it during holiday, a move, summer hours, and even during retirement. Specific thanks to Dr. Rayleen De Luca who has, over the many years, proven to be not just an astounding research supervisor, but also who has grown to be a close friend.

Lastly but not least, none of this work would have been possible without the countless hours of support and encouragement provided by my family, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude. The best of that gratitude I owe to my teachers, my younger brothers, who've taught me the best way to alleviate stress, is through laughter.

Table 1

<u>Experience of Hazing and Previous Childhood Sexual Abuse</u>

		Previous CSA			Total		
Hazed or Not		Abused		Non	-Abused	Hazed Vs. Non Hazed	
		N	%	N	%		
	Hazed	40	25	117	75	157	39
	Non-Hazed	41	17	205	83	246	61
Total							
Abused Vs. Non-Abused		81	20	322	80		

Table 2

Frequencies of Experiences or Witness of Hazing

	Exp. Vs. Witness	f	%
	Experienced	58	37
	Witnessed	99	63
Total		157	100.0

Table 3

Presence of Abuse in Hazing

Type of Hazing	f	%	f	%	f	%
	Yes		No		No Ro	esponse
Emotionally Abuse	64	41	86	55	7	4
Physically Abusive	80	51	71	45	6	4
Sexually Abusive	68	43	83	53	6	4

Table 4

Age of Individuals Being Hazed

	Age	f	%
	5	1	.6
	10	1	.6
	12	6	3.8
	13	4	2.5
	14	13	8.3
	15	30	19.1
	16	32	20.4
	17	27	17.2
	18	23	14.6
	19	7	4.5
	21	2	1.3
	22	1	.6
	35	1	.6
Missing		9	5.7
Total		157	100.0

Table 5

Type of Sport Involved in Hazing

	Sport	f	%
	Hockey	64	41
	Football	26	17
	Volleyball	14	9
	Baseball	3	2
	Basketball	9	6
	Soccer	5	3
	Rugby	3	2
	Track	2	1
	Rowing	1	.63
	Martial Arts	2	1
	Wrestling	1	.63
	Swimming	1	.63
	Lacrosse	1	.63
	Waterpolo	2	1
	Unspecified	16	10
Missing		7	4
Total		157	100.0

Table 6

F-Tests for Average Score on the Forcible Date Rape Scale

Group	N	Mean	df	F	p			
Hazed w/CSA Vs. Hazed w/ no CSA								
With Prev. CSA	40	35.95	155	16.161	.000			
With No Prev. CSA	117	39.52						
Sexually Hazed vs. Non-Hazed								
No Hazing or CSA	205	36.63	270	15.843	.000			
Sexual Hazing	67	40.12						

Table 7

Perception of Hazing Experiences

	Rating	f	%
	1 - Very Negative	7	4
	2 - Negative	22	14
	3 - Neutral	68	43
	4 - Positive	35	23
	5 - Very Positive	15	10
Missing		10	6
Total		157	100.0