Taming the "Dartmouth Animal":
Masculinity and the Coeducation Transition

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INTRODUCTION

At first glance, this snow sculpture (1969) might appear just as innocuous as all the others that emerged on Dartmouth's campus each year during the College's annual Winter Carnival. But embedded in the sculpture's imagery and underscored by its caption– "COEDUCATION: THE END OF FLAMING DARTMOUTH ANIMAL!"–is a contentious social drama that was just beginning to unfold among the Dartmouth community.

That year, the main snow sculpture holding court in the center of the Dartmouth Green was a massive dragon; a larger version of the one depicted in the photograph above. The dragon on the Green had been rigged to breathe fire–hence the reference to a "*flaming* Dartmouth

animal." However, the term "Dartmouth Animal" had a second meaning among the Dartmouth community: it referred to a Dartmouth cultural ideal; a virile, hard-drinking man who had dysfunctional relationships with women that consisted of either sex or hostility (Glass 1980). This is the notorious "animal" of the Dartmouth-inspired film "Animal House" (1978) (Overton 1992). This is the ethos of the pre-coeducation Dartmouth College.

In 1969, that Dartmouth Animal was under siege. The prospect of coeducation was on everyone's minds, particularly after a cohort of women from nearby all-women's colleges joined the Dartmouth community as temporary exchange students. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that Dartmouth men spent the first weeks of the term "either ignoring or harassing" the new faces on campus (*Timeline of Coeducation at Dartmouth*). While not everyone was opposed to coeducation, a not insignificant number of students and alumni viewed the change as a corruption of their beloved alma mater.

Just as the female figure in the snow sculpture appears to place a confident foot on the slain body of this "Dartmouth Animal," so too was there a sense among the student body that coeducation would dismantle long-standing Dartmouth culture and values. For some, integrating women into the student body was akin to an existential threat to their way of life. Indeed, the theme of Dartmouth's 1969 Winter Carnival was "Fire and Ice"–an apt metaphor for the ideological clashes that would come to define the tumultuous next decade at the College. As the community celebrated Dartmouth's milestone two-hundredth birthday that year, drastic change loomed large on the horizon. For two centuries, the College had proved itself to be a bastion of male privilege. By 1972, riding broader social changes sweeping the nation, the floodgates would be opened to the very first "daughters of Dartmouth." These women, and the generations of women to follow them, would change the face of the institution forever.

Current Study

Broadly, this thesis explores the transition to coeducation at Dartmouth–a period that both broke boundaries and sowed chaos. To understand the shifting gender dynamics and cultural negotiations of this time, I adopt Risman's (2004) theory of gender as a social structure. Gender, from this perspective, is not innate; rather, it is a socially-constructed system of stratification embedded in our sense of self, our interactions, and our organizational arrangements. Insofar as gender structures life, it also informs the unique ways individuals display, perform, and "do" their gender presentation. Gender divides and stratifies the social world. Risman (2004) posits that individuals "do" gender to maximize status and well-being within a particular context or institutional arrangement.

This thesis is particularly concerned with the construction and display of masculinity in Dartmouth's pre- and immediate post-coeducation context. This work seeks to explore the following questions:

1. How were norms and values around masculinity constructed at Dartmouth?
2. How did this construction of masculinity shift over the course of coeducation?

To explore these questions, I first establish the dominant Dartmouth culture surrounding masculinity *before* coeducation. I find that the College gave its male students an identity and cultural script to follow, in addition to privileges associated with a Dartmouth education such as status, networking, and wealth. In response to the perceived threat of female students at Dartmouth, some perpetuated acts of harassment and intimidation against the new community members. This period was marked by heightened inter-group conflict and rigid social/cultural boundaries defining what it means to be a man or woman at Dartmouth.

In the last chapter I focus in on the second question, taking a closer look at the connection between male peer bonding in fraternities and sexual violence. I test the male peer support theories put forth by Dekeseredy et al. (2001) and others.[1] These theories posit that certain all-male peer groups foster hypermasculine values that condone women abuse. In other words, an individual's bond to a dominant hypermasculine social group can promote or encourage sexual violence against women.

Throughout this analysis, I find that Dartmouth culture constructed a masculinity that was exclusive and restrictive. Consequently, this masculinity was fragile and needed to be consistently proven and defended.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter One provides an interdisciplinary review of the literature on the topic, placing this study in the context of other work.

Chapter Two gives an overview of this study's methodology, explaining data collection strategy, analytical process, and limitations of the findings.

Chapter Three through Six constitutes the results section. Chapters Three, Four, and Five proceed chronologically, providing an historical account of gender dynamics at Dartmouth before and in the immediate aftermath of the coeducation decision.

In Chapter Three, I demonstrate that, prior to coeducation, Dartmouth's all-male peer culture was defined by the "Dartmouth Animal" model. This culture fostered an idealized, almost aggressive hypermasculinity constructed in opposition to femininity.

[1] This work specifically tests the theory presented by Dekeseredy et al. (2001) although other authors have presented similar theories that fall under the umbrella category of "male peer support."

In Chapter Four, I examine Dartmouth on the metaphorical eve of coeducation. I find that many male members of the Dartmouth community reacted defensively to the prospect of coeducation. For those individuals embedded in the "Dartmouth Animal" hypermasculinity, admitting women posed a threat to the peer culture's dominant masculine construction. Further, coeducation would require Dartmouth men to relinquish a portion of the status and social capital provided by a Dartmouth education.

In Chapter Five, I focus on Dartmouth's campus climate immediately following coeducation. I reveal that a number of Dartmouth men reacted to coeducation by exaggerating their production of their hypermasculinities–effectively harassing or abusing the new women on campus.

In Chapter Six, I break from this chronology to explore more broadly the decades following coeducation. As women established their place on Dartmouth's campus, the hypermasculine "Dartmouth Animal" culture slowly weakened. With women gaining their footing, male Dartmouth students saw their monopoly on status begin to falter. In response, some Dartmouth men adjusted their primary group affiliations–from Dartmouth as a whole to their fraternities in particular. Even as Dartmouth's broader social landscape changed, these protected all-male spaces allowed men to remain committed to influential hypermasculine cultures embedded in popular party spaces. Humiliating and sexually degrading initiation rites enforced the notion that sexuality is a core component of masculinity and male bonding and implicitly encouraged sexual violence.

Emerging from this analysis is a confirmation and complication of Dekeseredy et al. (2001)'s male peer support theory. To reiterate, they suggest that male bonding plays a role in encouraging violence towards women. Namely, they posit that in certain hypermasculine,

all-male peer groups, harassment and sexual violence is ingrained in the peer culture. This thesis first confirms this model in Dartmouth's pre-coeducation context. I find that during this period, Dartmouth fostered a hypermasculine culture in which male empowerment was enhanced by the degradation and othering of women. My research then adds a new dimension to this model, as it explores how an extreme construction of masculinity shifts when women are integrated as equals. While coeducation disrupted Dartmouth's hypermasculine culture, it did not eradicate it. Rather, this culture–and the harassment and violence it encouraged–remained concentrated and preserved in the fraternities.

In Chapter Seven, I summarize the contributions of my work and suggest that the implementation of coeducation at Dartmouth is reflective and representative of larger gender shifts playing out in the mid-twentieth century. That is, as women's rights expanded, women gradually began integrating themselves into previously male-dominated spaces and communities. Broadly, my findings add to a body of work that seeks to better understand the origins and effects of traditional masculinities. In particular, this analysis emphasizes the role of social groups and peer bonding in the formation and performance of masculinity.

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

This chapter will provide background information and an interdisciplinary review of the literature relevant to my analysis. I begin with a brief overview of coeducation transitions in higher education over the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I situate my analysis in gender theory, drawing upon Risman (2004)'s theory of gender as a social structure. I then bring a boundary-work lens to this theory of gender to explain how symbolic and social divisions shape the gendered world. I provide a brief summary of the literature on gender socialization in single-gendered settings and mixed-gender settings. Finally, I shift focus to

explore hypermasculinity and hypermasculine cultures, connecting these concepts to the male peer support models I use in the final chapter of analysis.

Shifts to Coeducation in Higher Education

Founded in 1769 in rural Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College has historically cultivated a more traditionally masculine student culture (Forcier 2005:54, 56). The rural, isolated setting, coupled with the historically small, insular, and homogenous student body has contributed to the mythic virility of the Dartmouth man (Forcier 2005:110). Indeed, for the majority of the College's early history, women were excluded both from a Dartmouth education, as well as from participation in much of American higher education. Colleges and universities were not considered an appropriate place for women; as recently as 1873, some intellectuals went so far as to argue that women possessed smaller brains that would struggle with the mental stimulation demanded by college coursework (Perkins 2019).

The national shift toward coeducation occurred gradually, starting in the latter half of the nineteenth century and booming between the 1960s and 1970s. In the United States, the earliest *coeducational* institutions of higher learning emerged from communities of abolitionists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Methodists, and others committed to overall equality (Goldin and Katz 2011:383). Coeducation was more common in what was then considered "the West," and would now be considered the Midwest–parts of the country with newer communities of Western settlers; spaces less imbued with rigid, longer-standing traditions that in some cases promoted coeducation simply because it was cost-effective (Goldin and Katz 2011:383). Higher education saw a shift over the course of the Civil War, when casualties brought down college enrollment and coeducational institutions were deemed more cost-effective (Perkins 2019). Separately, as

the number of primary and secondary schools rose across a developing United States, women with backgrounds in higher education could meet the rising demand for teachers (Perkins 2019).

The post-World War II era witnessed the first boom in coeducation in American universities. Veterans returning to universities came with their wives, bringing a new feminine presence to previously male-dominated college campuses (Forcier 2005: 107). In 1946, President Truman appointed the first presidential commission on higher education, which called for new policies to make public education at all levels accessible, regardless of identity (Nidiffer 2007:378). By the 1960s, changes in the social and cultural landscape of the United States had begun to take root, gaining power and visibility. Student unrest was increasingly common on college campuses and was proving remarkably influential in many universities' decision making (Forcier 2005:15). In particular, developments in the Civil Rights movement and attention sparked by Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* brought conversations about women's issues to college campuses like Dartmouth (Forcier 2005:14). In the 1960s, as American universities increased their reliance on federal funding, the federal government also enforced stricter gender equity requirements. Private colleges like Dartmouth grew more concerned about complying with these gender rules (Forcier 2005:16).

As this thesis will explore, Dartmouth eventually admitted women in 1972, following in the footsteps of other influential liberal arts colleges like Princeton, Yale, Amherst, and Williams (Goldin and Katz 2011:378). On the surface, the integration of women into these elite spaces suggested successes of the feminist movement and progress of national gender equality initiatives. On these campuses, however, coeducation transitions would often be far from smooth. Reactions to women on campus–positive or negative, accepting or defensive–revealed the fault lines of gender construction in these communities and in this historical moment.

Situating this Work in Gender Theory

Given this thesis' focus on gender dynamics and displays, I must first contextualize my framework within broader theories of gender in sociology. Risman (2004) identifies four distinct social scientific theoretical traditions that have emerged to explain gender. The first posits that gender is not innate, but is the product of individual social learning. The second tradition, a reaction to the first, focuses on how the social structure–rather than biology–constructs gender. The third, also a reaction to the first, likewise emphasizes the social aspect of gender construction, but places greater weight on social interactions and expectations surrounding gender production (West and Zimmerman 1987). The more recent approaches characteristic of the fourth tradition are integrative, conceptualizing gender as a socially-constructed stratification system (Risman 2004:430). The latter three traditions are emblematic of postmodern feminist theories, which largely posit that gender is not innate; rather, it is something individuals must perform or "do."

Risman (2004) takes these ideas one step further, arguing that we should consider gender as a social structure deeply "deeply embedded in society" with a recursive effect on individuals (Risman 2004: 432). Following Giddens's (1984) structuration theory, she notes that, as a social structure, gender shapes individuals, but individuals simultaneously shape the gender structure (Risman 2004:432). In essence, men and women are not passively influenced by gender; they reinforce and alter the rules and assumptions that govern gender performance as they enact that same gender performance.

This structural perspective helps to elucidate another of Risman's observations: men and women are not just "coerced" into differential social roles; they often choose their gendered paths. From a structural theory of action perspective, actors–men and women– are "purposive,

rationally seeking to maximize their self-perceived well-being under social-structural constraints" (Risman 2004:431). In essence, individuals assess themselves and their choices by considering those in comparable structural situations. A performance or display of gender is a rational choice to maximize well-being, given a particular context.

Critical to this theory, Risman argues that the gender structure also has a "cultural component." Social life is largely routine; individuals often can't articulate why they act or choose their gendered paths (Risman 2004:432). Rather, there are "cognitive image rules," or interactional expectations, that we bring to any situational context: we "do" gender instinctively, guided by our knowledge of particular social rules. Broadly, this thesis explores the instances in which instinctual, embedded gendered behavior blurs with gender performances that are "[conscious]" or done with "intent, rebellion, or even irony" (Risman 2004:433). Put simply, I am examining how masculinity "done," consciously or unconsciously, in the context of a college incorporating women into its male-dominated culture? In this work, I attempt to trace the way that individuals are shaped by and, recursively, shape these gender rules and guidelines.

Gender Achievement and Inequality

An examination of the gender structure would not be complete without a consideration of the link between gender achievement and inequality. West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that as the socially-constructed, distinct "male" and "female" gender categories inform our behavior and shape our view of the world, we reproduce and legitimize "one of the most fundamental divisions of society" (126). In other words, the mere existence of gender–as a force that shapes and divides the social world–both reinforces, and is justified by, the unequal division of labor and other roles that are prominent in any social organization (West and Zimmerman 1987:128).

Put another way, Epstein (1992) proposes that the construction of gender imposes a specific definition of reality on the social world–that men and women are intrinsically different, and that social and cultural norms must reflect that difference (232). This belief in a difference between the genders results in inequality; men are advantaged, while women are disadvantaged (Epstein 1992:237-238). Tilly (1998) similarly argues that dichotomous categories such as male/female can be used by dominant groups to marginalize other groups and sequester their resources (176). Indeed, gender categories help to resolve issues of "allocation": Social categories inform "who is to do what, get what, plan or execute action, [and] direct or be directed," often distributing power in markedly unequal ways (West and Zimmerman 1987:143).

This inequality, however, is part of the reason individuals are invested in gender performance. Gender is so entrenched in the social structures of society that it profoundly shapes our identities, informing our definitions of self, dignity, and security. Thus investment in, and adherence to, gender boundaries affects our authority and hierarchy (Epstein 1992:238; Lamont and Molnár 2002:168). Engaging with this structure in a particular way, given a particular context, gives us social, financial, or cultural power. Defying the social scripts jeopardizes that power. In this way, the production and "laws" of gender are reinforced; in some cases by the very people who are disadvantaged by them.

Status. A discussion of status is then integral to an examination of the construction of gender. Ridgeway and Markus (2022) define status as "a sociocultural schema people use to manage situations in which they are cooperatively interdependent to maximize their personal outcomes from the collective effort" (4). Status is a way of organizing social groups, granting worthiness, respect, and honor. Status, then, is about hierarchy and belonging—two core pieces of human identity. "Status beliefs" link social groups to worthiness and competence, reproducing

inequality (Ridgeway and Markus 2022:16). As discussed above, gender is tightly bound to status, dictated by these beliefs. Engaging with and performing gender in a particular way, given a particular context, can provide a sense of honor or respect. These status beliefs are often deeply embedded in culture, and are therefore normalized as simply what "most people think" (Ridgeway and Markus 2022:16).

At Dartmouth, status is particularly useful in understanding the protection and maintenance of masculine identities. In the pre- and immediately post-coeducation context, gender groups were clearly delineated. As I will show, gender—and the particular construction and performances of gender— were tightly linked to a sense of belonging and worthiness within the Dartmouth community. Status beliefs surrounding gender then influenced their production of these identities. Further, transitions from one social situation to another–for instance, from single-gender education to coeducation–often highlight status concerns, as individuals aim to fit in and to belong to a central social group.

Gender and Boundary-Work

A boundary-work perspective is helpful for this analysis, as individuals' gender display is informed by their understanding of, and reaction to, the perceived boundaries generated by and generating gender. Further, examining the boundaries defining categories like "men" and "women" and the activities/behaviors associated with each can elucidate the origins and manifestations of inequality.

Risman (2004) contends that gender operates as a fundamental organizing principle in society, shaping individuals' experiences and identities. Implicit in this perspective is the notion that there exist socially constructed "boundaries" between men and women–that they have

distinctly different societal expectations/norms/behaviors for different gender identities. Following scholarship on boundary-work, this paper will describe two distinct gender boundaries of equal importance: *symbolic* gender boundaries and *social* gender boundaries. Together, these are the "complex structures–physical, social ideological, and psychological–which establish the differences and commonalities between women and men, among women, and among men, shaping and constraining the behavior and attitudes of each gender group" (Gerson and Peiss 1985:318 in Lamont and Molnár 2002:175-176). This is the lens through which I will analyze shifts in gender display and performance at Dartmouth College.

Symbolic gender boundaries delineate individuals into two distinct groups—male and female—fostering a sense of similarity and affiliation. Individuals experience symbolic gender boundaries when they automatically and unconsciously categorize others into a gender binary. They then unconsciously attach to this gender identification a litany of meanings and rules—essentially, assumptions and expectations about their identity and behavior (Lamont and Molnár 2002:168).

Social gender boundaries are the real-world displays or manifestations of symbolic gender boundaries. Applying a gender lens to Lamont, and Molnár's (2002) work, social gender boundaries are "objectified forms of social difference [on the basis of gender] manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources… and social opportunities" (168). We see social gender boundaries through divisions and differences in the workplace (e.g., gender pay gap, different treatment toward men and women), at home (e.g., different expectations surrounding housework, parenting), and in interactions (e.g., expectations that men hold the door open for women, that women are more sensitive or emotional). We also see social gender boundaries implicitly, through the punishment and stigmatization that arises when individuals

violate either symbolic or social gender boundaries–another example of the repercussions of inequality (Lamont And Virág 2002:176).

Social capital. Individuals are invested in these boundaries and social groups because they have the potential to benefit, materially or symbolically, from them. This is what Bourdieu (1986) terms "social capital." Following Bourdieu (1986), social capital can be understood as the actual and potential resources or credit that an individual gains from group membership (16; 21). These "profits" can be both material or symbolic (Bourdieu 1986:22). Material profits are the goods or services gained from useful relationships–access to a social network, to various spaces, to resources, to knowledge, etc. (22). Symbolic profits, similar to status, are derived from the *association* with a group–a sense of belonging and identity. Together, "social capital" refers to the real and possible rewards of a group membership.

Coeducational Transitions

Coeducational transitions offer a unique context in which the social landscape shifts and social and symbolic gender boundaries change along with it. The transition prompts renegotiations of gender identity and production, fueled by status and social capital concerns.

Gender socialization in educational settings. Schools are critical for the formation of young people's gender identities. Schools offer an environment outside of the home where individuals can learn and shape the "cognitive image rules" that dictate our performance and enactment of gender. As Aragonés-González et al. (2020) argues, the school environment is the "principal socialization agent in which the hegemonic models of society are reproduced and transmitted"; a microcosm of the same gender structures at play in the adult world (1). Gender dynamics in a school setting reinforce gendered cultural norms through teacher/professor

instruction, language in textbooks, and gendered interactions between authority figures and the student body (Aragonés-González 2020:1). Following Risman (2004), gendered cultural norms are also reinforced by, and created through, peer-to-peer interactions, including those within educational settings.

Single-gender educational settings. Single-gender school environments, like Dartmouth before coeducation, complicate the construction and performance of gender. Developmental intergroup theory (DIT) posits that the social factors that make gender salient, such as single-sex schooling, will lead to greater gender stereotyping (Bigler and Liben 2007:162). In other words, gender separation/division further legitimizes and perpetuates constructed gender differences. Real-world data seem to support this notion: two studies of over 2,500 students found that students from single-sex high schools had greater awareness of gender categories, and both high school and college students had more mixed-gender anxiety (nervousness about interaction with the opposite gender) and fewer mixed-gender friendships (Wong, Shi, and Chen 2018). Thus, single-gender schools seem to promote a greater sense of difference between genders.

Mixed-Gender Educational Settings. Given this perspective, it's perhaps unsurprising that a significant portion of the literature on gender in education underscores the role of coeducational institutions in promoting gender equality within these settings. Pérez-Rodríguez (2008) argues that coeducation can facilitate more equal, respectful patterns of conduct between men and women (in Aragonés-González et al. 2020:2). Functional coeducation has the potential to soften rigid divisions in gender construction. Coeducation *intends* to "develop personality without gender constraints correcting cultural and ideological sexism and women's social inequality" (Aragonés-González et al. 2020:2). Bringing men and women together, then, might disrupt the cultural and social structures that lead to the creation of extreme gender scripts.

However, mixed-gender education does not necessarily facilitate less polarized gender norms. Research from the 1980s and 1990s has demonstrated that in its conventional form, mixed-sex education may present significant drawbacks for women and girls, including lower self-esteem at graduation, lower engagement in college activities, and lower likelihood of pursuing certain male-dominated professions (Canada and Pringle 1995:161). Studies have shown that women in coeducational classes are *more* stereotyped, not less; a pattern that differs from DIT (Pahlke et al 2014:1065). Canada and Pringle 1995 posit that these outcomes are caused, in part, by the gender politic that emerges when a college transitions from a single-gender to a mixed-gender education (181). This new gender dynamic can disrupt the cultural status quo and force individuals to re-negotiate their gendered identities and presentations.

Hypermasculinity

These re-negotiations can be particularly extreme and consequential when pre-transition peer cultures have established rigid distinctions between genders. Before coeducation, Dartmouth's all-male peer culture exemplified extreme gender disparity. In Chapter Three, I will show that, before coeducation, Dartmouth operated under a hypermasculine culture; that is, an "overemphasis and exaggerated adherence to traditional male gender roles" guided the norms, behaviors, and beliefs of the community (Zernechel and Perry 2017:3).

Hypermasculine cultures are not limited to educational contexts. Scholarship on the topic largely focuses on four groups: social fraternities, athletic teams, gangs, and the military (Harway and Steel 2015:375-376). In these communities, gender boundaries–both symbolic and social–are rigidly delineated. These boundaries are defined by extreme masculine values like

dominance and authority (Rosen et al. 2003:326). In these all-male spaces, individuals may uphold traditional masculine ideologies and be rewarded for displays of aggression (Malamuth et al. 1995: 376; Waterman et al. 2020:58).

Male peer bonding that can occur in single-gender organizations has been cited as a form of hypermasculine socialization in these cultures. Male bonding can promote a traditional gender structure, with its gendered rules and scripts. Indeed, a substantial body of literature shows that hypermasculine cultures often arise from male-only peer groups (Rosen et al. 2003:326). Flood and Dyson (2007) studied violence against women in sports and argued that the "codes of mateship and loyalty in tightly knit male groups in some sports, although valuable for teamwork, may both intensify sexism and encourage individuals to allow group loyalties to override their personal integrity" (40). Harway and Steel (2015) likewise advocate for approaching masculinity with a *cultural* lens. They emphasize that media depictions and cultural role models can "endorse events that exhibit increased aggression, strength, dominance, and sexual conquest"–all hypermasculine qualities (376). These cultural models can then be reproduced within all-male peer groups, where men adopt these norms and values. Peer socialization and gender construction, then, become inextricably linked (Flood and Dyson 2007:41).

Male Peer Support Models

Scholarship on "male peer support theories" indicates that these hypermasculine cultures may institutionalize sexual violence. From this perspective, in certain hypermasculine all-male social networks, peer bonding can legitimate woman abuse (Dekeseredy et al. 2001:2). Sanday (1996) puts it another way: "Cross cultural research demonstrates that whenever men build and give allegiance to a mystical, enduring, all-male social group,"–like in sports, gangs, military,

or–relevant to this work–fraternity culture, "the disparagement of women is, invariably, an important ingredient of the mystical bond, and sexual aggression the means by which the bond is renewed" (1990). Schwartz and DeKeseredy (2000) among other researchers, find that male peer support, particularly male peer guidance, is a strong predictor of (admitted) male sexual abuse in dating (Dekeseredy et al. 2001:10).

This thesis uses the theoretical framework for a gendered social bond/male peer support theory of university women abuse developed by Dekeseredy, Schwartz, and Godenzi (2001). Their work adapts Hirschi's social bond theory, which contends that criminal acts (such as sexual violence) arise when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken. Put another way, individuals with strong bonds to peers and social institutions might be less likely to deviate because these bonds promote prosocial behaviors. Dekeseredy et al. (2001) instead argue that an individual's social bond might be to *anti*-social peers or institutions, such as hypermasculine cultures, which can promulgate violence. In these cultures, fear of having masculinity called into question or being labeled homosexual might encourage anti-female behavior. Men in hypermasculine cultures who engage in female victimization are then *conforming* to these cultures, not deviating from them. This theory suggests that in hypermasculine peer groups, "abuse is a byproduct of men's attempts to maintain a social bond with a conventional or traditional social order marked by gender inequality" (Dekeseredy et al. 2001:11). In these cultures, it is the men who *do not* engage in female victimization who are deviants and whose bond to the dominant social culture is weakened (Dekeseredy et al. 2001:5).

CHAPTER 2: METHODS

This work uses a methodological approach that can broadly be thought of as "analytical history." Using sociological frameworks to identify key patterns and themes, this research will attempt to better understand coeducation and constructions of masculinity at Dartmouth through data available in the historical record. Rueschemeyer and Mahoney (2003) argue that analytical history has two clear advantages over most quantitative research: "it permits a much more direct and frequently repeated interplay between theoretical development and data, and it allows for a closer matching of conceptual intent and empirical evidence" (318). In essence, analytical historical approaches better allow researchers to continually analyze and refine ideas based on the available evidence, creating a more direct and meaningful connection between historical theories and the facts and patterns of behavior uncovered in the historical record.

My strategy is not strictly causal, but is similar to that undertaken by other historical social scientists in a broad "genetic approach" to this subfield. The genetic approach "grounds causal analysis in the specification of generative processes"–essentially, it explores how an outcome is produced (Ermakoff 2019:592). This approach uses the question "how?" to answer the question "why?" in analyzing the process by which a change takes place (Ermakoff 2019: 592). This work, then, will attempt to examine *how* various mechanisms shaped Dartmouth's social climate and gender boundaries during Dartmouth's coeducation transition in order to better understand *why* coeducation at Dartmouth followed a rocky path to semi-normalcy.

Data

Data for this project comes from the Rauner Special Collections Library archives at Dartmouth College. Much of this data was first compiled in the spring of 2023 for a three-month

project through the Historical Accountability Fellowship at Rauner. In compiling this history, I approached the data with an ethnographer's perspective. I attempted to place myself in the historical context to fully encompass the range of perspectives and experiences from that time. This involved sifting through a trove of sources in the Rauner Special Collections Library, taking note of everything from recurring or opposing sentiments, to significant events, to student art–in short, trying to embed myself in the zeitgeist.

Strategy for selecting relevant archival data. I began compiling this history by reading through Rauner's two "Coeducation" vertical files, which provide a broad overview of the key events and widely-known stories from the coeducation era. From the documents in these files, I made notes of keywords–names, dates, events–that I wanted to explore further. I then searched for these keywords in the Rauner Special Collections "archives and manuscripts" database, the general Dartmouth library database, the Dartmouth photographic files database, and on Google, to ensure I was filling in obvious gaps. Other database searches that did not follow clearly-defined threads focused on (1) gender attitudes–Dartmouth men's conception of themselves, reflections on women, etc; (2) male peer support–male groups, such as fraternities, social clubs, sports teams, and what role they played in students' lives– (3) coeducation, women's experiences at Dartmouth, and (4) instances and patterns of sexual violence at Dartmouth. I primarily used articles from *The Dartmouth* (student newspaper) and other student publications; local, non-Dartmouth publications; files from various Dartmouth organizations, faculty, and staff members; official notices from the College, etc.

The chronology I compiled for the Historical Accountability research consisted of 132 sources. In total, I would estimate that I looked through roughly 700-800 files over the course of

the project. This thesis, which has a more narrow focus, uses 52 unique sources from the Rauner archives.

I made sure to include materials that offered a diversity of perspectives. This includes diversity of media–newspaper articles, official college notices, oral histories, articles written by alumni years post-graduation, etc,–diversity of time periods–information from before coeducation, during and immediately following coeducation, and the decades after coeducation–; and diversity of gender, race, and attitudes toward the College. I compiled these materials in chronological order to get a clear picture of how coeducation unfolded at Dartmouth over the years.

I intentionally did *not* include materials that either did not fall into my topics of interest or were redundant/repetitive to materials I had already included. To gain a comprehensive and precise understanding of the established campus climate in the decades before and after coeducation, I broadened my focus to between 1930 and 1995.

Note on citations for archival data. It is important to note that data has been preserved in the Rauner archives in a variety of formats. Occasionally, and particularly when data is organized in a themed folder (rather than an unsorted personnel file or in an organization's files), only fragments of memos/articles are included. The "relevant" portion was cut out and preserved, while the rest of the document/newspaper/article was discarded. This explains why some of my data (a limited portion) may lack descriptive information like author/date/publication. This very rarely was an issue. I have confidence in the reliability of these sources, given that they have been selected and organized by informed archivists.

Analytical Process

From the data compilation process I created a hyper-detailed historical chronology in which I did my best to accurately portray sentiments about women and experiences of women at Dartmouth directly before, during, and in the decades following coeducation. I attempted to reconstruct the social scene, including certain social interactions, as well as key events that shaped the campus climate–from all relevant and available perspectives.

This thesis primarily adopts a deductive research approach. The central aim of this work is to apply the gendered social bond/male peer support framework developed by Dekeseredy et al. (2001) to Dartmouth's social climate post-coeducation. To reiterate, they posit that, in all-male social networks, woman abuse is legitimated by attachments to male peers. To test this theory at Dartmouth, I first studied Dartmouth before coeducation, looking for evidence of (an) all-male social network(s) and the hypermasculine subcultural expectations these networks typically foster. More specifically, I noted patterns of hypermasculinity as defined by Ricciardelli et al. (2010) and others: extreme and stereotypical masculine behavior including discourses of appearances, affects, sexualities, behaviors, occupations, and dominations. I looked for data revealing the role that gender played in this earlier Dartmouth social climate. How did Dartmouth men construct their masculinity? How did that affect the broader gender structure?

I then examined instances of sexual violence in the historical record. This kind of data can be difficult to uncover in the archives. While I included documented instances of sexual violence, I also slightly expanded Dekeseredy et al. (2001)'s framework, which refers specifically to physical sexual violence (rape), to include instances of sexual and gender-based harassment. Like physically violent behavior, gender-based harassment can also have a markedly harmful effect on the recipient, and it often implies–or explicitly states–*threat* of violence.

To examine *male peers'* role in legitimating this behavior, I focused on discourse and conduct between groups or networks of men. For instance, I noted instances in which groups of men *collectively* participated in sexual violence or harassment. I noted how groups of men responded to widely-known incidents of sexual violence or harassment (With compassion? Defensiveness? Sexist stereotypes?). I particularly focused on discourse and conduct within Dartmouth fraternities, which are quintessential all-male social groups. These groups would provide insight on how dominant norms around masculinity were built and upheld at Dartmouth.

In reviewing this chronology, following Lamont and Molnár (2002), I also tracked instances in which symbolic or social gender boundaries were either particularly salient and defined or permeable. I examined how much social overlap men and women had at Dartmouth; before, during, and decades after coeducation. I examined whether these social spheres were highly delineated or more integrated–what understandings did Dartmouth men and women hold surrounding what is "male" and what is "female."What kinds of judgments, associations, feelings surrounded these symbolic delineations? Following Epstein (1992) Risman (2004), I also noticed how these boundaries affected power dynamics, and how these dynamics manifested. To study this, I asked: were certain spaces and groups restricted? Where and when did students feel unsafe?

Limitations

Like all archival research, this data falls short of revealing the whole picture. I have access only to those stories that made their way into the archives; some perspectives will, inevitably, be left out. In other words: any perspective that was not preserved cannot be retrieved. Students, faculty, administrators, and other community members may not have wanted their

perspectives publicly known for a variety of reasons: apathy, safety concerns, privacy concerns, saving face, etc. Some additional data may also have been hidden or destroyed by the College to protect students' confidentiality (primarily in punitive matters or medical information). However, I have confidence that the material kept in Rauner still conveys meaningful information that illustrates the realities of Dartmouth's campus climate. Further, the selective deposit and survival of this data reveals important details about which stories and perspectives were silenced or hidden.

Incidents of sexual violence in the historical record prove particularly difficult to examine or chronicle. Sexual violence is an incredibly sensitive, often deeply traumatic topic, and the surviving history rarely represents the full scope of the experience, dynamics, and community response (if there is one). With these kinds of incidents, I used other clues in the data to understand a fuller picture: student body/faculty responses and administrative responses to these occurrences (memos, community workshops, student rallies, etc.), community dialogue through journalism and art, and any other materials I deemed relevant.

This kind of historical data can also prompt questions of reliability. Some student publications serve as platforms for student voice and opinion but have no strict fact-checking system in place. This makes it difficult to determine the accuracy of the information included, even when that information is presented as fact. Throughout the data-gathering process I was cognizant of these limitations, and I weighed the value of different sources accordingly. In my analysis, I am transparent about sources' reliability. I chose to present a range of sources because I believe it is still worthwhile to include material that hasn't been formally "confirmed." At best, this material adds new information that might not be shared in the Dartmouth or other official publications. At the very least, fabrications or gossip still reveal community sentiments or buzz

about a particular topic or event. With the appropriate transparency and background, then, I believe these sources can shed light on essential aspects of the Dartmouth campus climate.

The next few chapters will use the Rauner Special Collections archival data to present the most comprehensive history to date on the coeducation transition at Dartmouth College. I organize it broadly into four sections: the first details gender boundaries and dynamics era *before* the coeducation transition (Chapter Three); the second examines the coeducation decision, and the social climate immediately after women matriculated to Dartmouth (Chapter Four); the third looks at Dartmouth in the decade following coeducation (Chapter Five); and the fourth looks at the legacies and conflicts left by coeducation last quarter of the twentieth century (Chapter Six).

CHAPTER 3: HYPERMASCULINITY; DARTMOUTH BEFORE COEDUCATION

In this chapter, I establish the gender dynamics and construction at Dartmouth immediately before coeducation. I show that the all-male Dartmouth peer culture was defined by a potent hypermasculinity. I introduce the idea of the "Dartmouth Animal," a term used by Dartmouth men to describe a mystical embodiment of the norms and values of their peer culture. Men at Dartmouth were socialized to perform a masculinity that emphasized aggression, sexuality and constructed itself as behaviorally and ideologically opposed to women. To illustrate this, I provide an exploration of the case study of Dartmouth's Winter Carnival, one of the main weekends when women visited the Dartmouth campus before coeducation and an event that highlighted gender boundaries. I end the chapter with a discussion on the Dartmouth administration's response (or lack thereof) to this peer culture, as well as a brief analysis of why women seemed to go along with behavior that demeaned and objectified them.

Hypermasculine Cultures

Hypermasculine cultures are characterized by a particular brand of masculinity, termed "hypermasculinity" – an adherence to, and upholding of, traditional but exaggerated male ideals and role norms (Zernechel and Perry 2017:3; Ricciardelli et al. 2010:64). This takes the culturally normative form of masculinity– "hegemonic" masculinity– to an extreme. Broadly, *hegemonic* masculinity can be represented via:

> …discourses of appearances (e.g., strength and size), affects (e.g., work ethic and emotional strength), sexualities (e.g., homosexual vs heterosexual), behaviors (e.g., violent and assertive), occupations (e.g., valuing career over family and housework), and dominations (e.g., subordination of women and children) (Ricciardelli et al. 2010:64-65).

Hypermasculinity aligns with these discourses while also taking them a step further. In their study on the effects of peer groups on intimate partner violence in the Army, Rosen et al. (2003) operationalize hypermasculinity using the Group Disrespect Scale. This scale measures the degree to which a group climate is characterized by "rude, aggressive behavior; conversation that degrades women; consumption of pornography; sexualized discussions; and the encouragement of group drinking behavior" (Rosen et al. 2003:1055). Note the addition of group drinking as a marker of hypermasculinity; behavior that I will later demonstrate to be a key component of the culture at Dartmouth.

Crucially, hypermasculine cultures are not monolithic, nor are they fixed in their norms and representations of masculinity. These norms or representations can shift with time and context, following structural changes in a society or community (Ricciardelli 2010:65). As always, expectations around gender are simultaneously upheld by community members and

embedded deeply in the subculture's social structures, informing the way individuals "do" or "perform" their genders (Risman 2004:432). It follows that, just as hypermasculinity constructs and shapes a culture, so too does that hyper-masculine culture instill or perpetuate hypermasculinity among its members.

I highlight Dartmouth's hypermasculine culture to establish that Dartmouth fostered the kind of problematic culture described in the Dekeseredy et al. (2001) male peer support model. In short, hypermasculine peers can produce a culture that justifies or even encourages sexual violence against women. Understanding the construction and dynamics of Dartmouth's peer culture helps illuminate its influence on student behavior. Hypermasculinity is not formed in a vacuum, and its ideologies produce tangible consequences outside the community. Namely, later chapters will explore how men who are socialized into this hypermasculine culture, and who internalize damaging ideologies in the context of peer bonding, can adopt behaviors that victimize Dartmouth women.

Hypermasculinity before coeducation. In the decades before women first matriculated to Dartmouth (in 1972), the campus culture, on the whole, was markedly hypermasculine. This was partly influenced by the limited exposure Dartmouth men had to women on campus. The community was insular: geographically isolated, small, tight-knit, and united by tradition. Women–particularly college-aged women–did not maintain a consistent presence on the campus. Unsurprisingly, research has shown that hypermasculine peer cultures, and their archetypal hypermasculinity, often emerge from male-only peer groups, like those present at Dartmouth before coeducation (Rosen et al. 2003:326). As two journalists described it in the 1960s, the College functioned as a "male stronghold" or a "fortress for the male ego" (Morisseau 1960 in Jaresova 2012:24; Associated Press 1969 in Jaresova 2012:25).

Dartmouth's hypermasculine peer culture during this period can be represented via exaggerated versions of Ricciardelli et al.'s (2010) hegemonic "discourses." Alumni reflections in the historical record reveal hypermasculine discourses of *appearance* and *affect*. William Wynkoop, a 1938 graduate, wrote that he considered Dartmouth to be "very much a gung-ho macho college." In an interview, he said, "These are he-men… you've got to be a he-man" (Drexel 1991:4). Leonard Glass, a member of the class of 1965, wrote about his experiences at the College in an article in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* titled "The Dartmouth Animal and the Hypermasculine Myth." He reflected that during his undergraduate years at Dartmouth he cried only once, aware that feeling sad was not part of the virile affect that Dartmouth culture approved of and perpetuated. Even affection or intimacy were "problematic," he wrote, revealed only under the influence of alcohol, sports, or fraternity life: "Outside of these, we learned to tread carefully" (Glass 1980).

Discourses of *behaviors* and *occupations* also come across in these alumni recollections. Rage, violence, and heavy drinking were a part of Dartmouth's cultural standards. Glass described Dartmouth men as virile nearly to the point of violence. He explained that at Dartmouth, "Anger or physically threatening behavior was tolerated and, to be truthful, even displayed with tacit pride" (Glass 1980). Drinking, too, was integral to the student body culture; this much is clear in documentation like fraternity records, student narratives, and articles in both Upper Valley newspapers and national newspapers. In one particularly harrowing and widely-reported incident in April of 1929, police investigated eight Dartmouth students who allegedly fed liquor to an eight-year-old boy. The child was later found unconscious near his home, and was eventually taken to the hospital for alcohol poisoning (Claremont Eagle 1953). This incident took typical college-student bacchanalia to an extreme. Without a doubt, this

behavior aligns with the Group Disrespect Scale's "encouragement of group drinking behavior" item as yet another indicator of Dartmouth's hypermasculine culture (Ricciardelli et al. 2010).

A key point must be made here: these anecdotes are not strictly representative of every member of the Dartmouth student body. Certainly, most of the student body did not sympathize with the actions of the eight students who provided alcohol to the young boy. Following that incident, the College, for its part, expelled two students, suspended one other student, placed three students on probation, and gave the two others warnings (Claremont Eagle 1953). *The Dartmouth*, too, ran an editorial in response to the incident, writing, "It is the job of every man on the campus to give battle to that fatuous stereotype of the hard-drinking, hard-cursing Dartmouth man" (TIME 1953). As is the case in any community, there are exceptions to the cultural themes highlighted. I include incidents like this one not as an indictment of the character of each individual Dartmouth student, but as reflective of larger cultural patterns I notice in the historical record. Stereotypes like those described in the aforementioned *Dartmouth* editorial, regardless of their universal applicability, reveal the ways in which outsiders perceived the Dartmouth community. While stereotypes are not always accurate representations, they are useful for understanding the dominating public narratives regarding Dartmouth.

Discourses of *domination* and *sexuality* are perhaps most telling in the historical record. Dartmouth men had a notably skewed relationship with women that manifested in extreme othering and, in some cases, a near-violent sexuality. Hypermasculinity is commonly linked to exhibiting aggression towards women and men who defy traditional gender norms (Zernechel et al. 2017:3) In his senior thesis, Arthur Allen Drexel (Dartmouth class of 1991) found that the prototypical Dartmouth man from this time period "earned his 'butch' credentials, at least in part, by having–or proving to others that he had–copious sex with women" (Drexel 1991:27). In his

assessment of what he called the "hypermasculine myth," Glass '65 confirmed that Dartmouth masculinity and hypersexuality went hand-in-hand: "At Dartmouth the guys are tough, virile, and unbelievably horny, barely contained until their infrequent orgiastic encounters with women. That much was the verbalized common wisdom. The unspoken corollary was: and there is no sexual life or feelings in between, except as part of the build-up for the next blast" (Glass 1980).

Wynkoop, too, recalled this "hyper-masculine myth" when he described that a "favored ritual" of Dartmouth students was a road trip to a nearby bar called "Bucket of Blood." At this dive, local folklore claims, nude waitresses "had been trained to pick up the tips off the table using their vaginas." Its popularity with Dartmouth students was simple: "It was a place to get drunk and also to pick up girls" (Drexel 1991:30). It is more than likely that the lore about this place was just that–lore. Regardless, in light of the skewed relationship many Dartmouth men shared with women, it's significant that this lore–that functionally objectified and hypersexualized women–remained so pervasive. Taken together, it seems likely that sexualized discussions, conversations degrading women, and consumption of pornography–all items on the Group Disrespect Scale–were not only common, but had become embedded in the College culture.

Individual Investment in the Group

Regardless of whether Dartmouth students' personal values aligned with this hypermasculine culture, adhering to the group norms was a sort of personal investment. An individual's group memberships contribute to their social identity in meaningful ways. Group membership can provide a framework advising an individual on appropriate ways to think, feel, and act–guidance that is particularly crucial during the adolescent years, when identity formation

is more malleable (Hornsey 2011:208). In the Dartmouth context, participation in the student culture seemed to provide them with status within the community, consequently shaping individuals' relationships to their gender and their construction and performance of masculinity (Risman 2004:432).

Construction and Dissemination of Group Norms

The Dartmouth animal. Group cohesion was facilitated by reference to a widely-known prototype of an "ideal" Dartmouth man; the so-called "Dartmouth Animal." Hogg and Reid (2016) explain that these social group norms (the social "guidance" mentioned in the above paragraphs) are "elaborated, maintained, and changed through communication about, and contextualized by, group prototypes" (23). These prototypes are akin to pseudo-mascots that embody the group ethos as a cultural touchstone. As Glass recalled it, the "Dartmouth Animal" was a cultural ideal; a manly man; a heavy drinker whose relationships with women consisted entirely of either sex or animosity (Glass 1980). This "animal" represented the Dartmouth *ethos* and their gender aspirations–the ultimate hyper-masculine man. This nomenclature wasn't just used by a sliver of the student body. In an 1992 article written by Robert Overton, member of the Dartmouth class of 1965, he confirmed that "This image of the Dartmouth Animal was so strong that, years later, there was no doubt in anybody's minds about what college was being portrayed in [the 1978 film largely based off of Dartmouth] Animal House" (1992). Interestingly, in an apparent confirmation of his fellow alumni, Chris Miller, one of the creators of "Animal House" and a member of the Dartmouth class of 1963, once said in an interview about his time at Dartmouth, "Women were something to be attacked and swallowed on weekends" (Jacobbi

1983). The “Dartmouth Animal" functioned as the ultimate group prototype: it was a widely-understood, metaphorical embodiment of Dartmouth's hypermasculine values.

This prototype was a crucial gear in the social mechanics that perpetuated Dartmouth’s hypermasculine culture. It united the student culture with a reference point that both reflected and informed group norms. Whether consciously or unconsciously, members of the group could look to the “Dartmouth Animal” mythos to understand the boundaries between behavior condoned and behavior reviled by the group. To put it simply, the “Dartmouth Animal” caricature upheld the dominating norms of the peer culture. Embodying the attitudes, behaviors, and values of a particular group–that is, embodying the “prototype”--maximizes an individual's status, influence, and power within the group (Hornsey 2011:211). In this context, the more prototypically masculine an individual student’s behavior, the more influence he would have among the community.

Dartmouth students appeared to be particularly responsive to this pressure to conform to these hypermasculine expectations. Lincoln Mitchell, Dartmouth class of 1958, reflected on the impressionability of college freshmen in a 1957 article in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine.* He wrote:

> A man arrives at Dartmouth and naturally assumes that he is expected to act as–and be–a gentleman. Yet, he is also confronted with the role that has become traditional for the Dartmouth undergraduate: the hell-raising, harddrinking, anti-academic, T-shirted, virile individualist of the North Country… this is the average individual's personification of a Dartmouth student.

Here, Mitchell highlights the Dartmouth socialization process. Regardless of the norms and values a freshman brings to the College, he inevitably feels the assimilating pull of traditional Dartmouth culture. Thus the hypermasculine Dartmouth stereotype reproduces itself.

Gender Boundaries Before Coeducation

This pre-coeducation "Dartmouth Animal" deepened the symbolic and social gender boundaries between men and women. Symbolic gender boundaries, to reiterate, describe the categorical divisions between "men" and "women," as well as dictate the assumptions and expectations associated with that gender classification. Social gender boundaries, on the other hand, are the real-world displays of gender boundaries.

It should be clarified that these gender boundaries did arise, in part, from Dartmouth men's lack of exposure to women: as I have established, before coeducation, women were rarely a part of the campus social scene. Overton '65 credited his and his peers' skewed relationships with women to a "simple lack of contact." When Dartmouth men *did* see women, it was for so-called Big–"or small," he added –Weekends, when women were bused to Dartmouth from nearby all-women's colleges (1992). Because college-aged women only visited Hanover in these explicitly social visits–not in the context of the classroom or everyday college interactions–Dartmouth men seemed to find it harder to form normal, equal relationships.

"Othering" women. The sheer lack of exposure to women, coupled with the vulgar, oversexed "Dartmouth Animal" norms, positioned women as in opposition to, and socially less-than, men in the Dartmouth social strata. In the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine,* Glass '65 reflected that his own view of women was often reductive and objectifying. Dartmouth men, he explained, tended to dichotomize women in a "madonna/whore" split. In this view, women were placed into only one of two rigid stereotypes: "The madonnas are maternal, idealized, and

sexually unexciting. The whores are held in contempt; they are good for sexual conquest and as audiences for exhibitionistic display but unthinkable as mothers, sisters, or daughters" (Glass 1980). Overton admitted that during his years at Dartmouth, he too, maintained a similarly distorted view of women: his understandings of women were "composed of wildly diverse and contradictory concepts: Object of Fantasy… Angel… Bitch… Confidante; and above all, Challenge" (1992). This view afforded no room for fulfilling, long-term romantic partnerships with women, nor even the ability to view women as nuanced, real people. Indeed, Overton's impression of women as *challenge* implies stark symbolic gender boundaries. In his mind, Overton constructed women as almost diametrically opposed to men; a perfect complement to the caricatured idealism of the "Dartmouth Animal."

Sexuality. Indeed, objectification and in some instances, sexual violence, played a major role in the formation of symbolic gender boundaries. Women, largely, were conceived as objects of desire for Dartmouth men's hypersexual fantasies. For instance, men referred to the buses shuttling women to campus as "meat wagons" or "fuck trucks" (Jaresova 2012:27; Merton 1979). According to Glass, the Dartmouth man's ambitions with women were addressed in the "real words" to the pep rally song "Dartmouth's In Town Again": "...Our pants are steaming hot, We'll give you all we've got. Virgins are just our meat, Rape, rape, rape!" He called this song "a sort of cultural ideal, albeit not to be implemented literally" (Glass 1980).

As yet another example, consider the 1965 snow sculpture in Figure 1 (attached below). In this image, a caveman-like figure wielding a bat drags an unmistakably female figure by her hair. This is a reference to the widely-known iconography depicting a caveman dragging his female counterpart back to his cave. Ruddick (2007) refers to this motif as "courtship with a club"--an apt representation of Dartmouth value of "sexual *conquest*" (italics mine) Glass

described or the "object of fantasy"/ "bitch" dichotomy of women that Overton remembered as common among the student body (Ruddick 2007:45; 1980; 1992). The caption, "Snow Job," is a phrase defined as an intense effort to persuade–perhaps referring to the caveman's attempt to compel the woman back to his cave. It could also be a play on "blow job." Either way, the sculpture implicitly communicates a blurring of the line between sex and violence.

Fig. 1 (Snow Sculpture 1965).

Winter carnival: gender boundaries highlighted. No "Big Weekend" highlighted these gender boundaries like Winter Carnival, an annual event that began in 1910. College women flocked to Dartmouth–on the so-called "meat wagons"–for a few days of winter sports events and socializing. This was the largest influx of women the campus would see all year. For a half century, from 1928 to 1972, a highlight of the weekend was the crowning of the "Queen of Snows." This was essentially a beauty contest, wherein a number of prominent members of the Dartmouth student body (referred to as "snatches") selected Carnival Queen candidates out of the pool of female visitors (Rauner Special Collections Library Blog 2016).

This, too, served to heighten the symbolic and social gender boundaries. This pageant emphasized women's physical attractiveness over anything else and insinuated that men–the

so-called “snatches”–held the ultimate authority in determining their beauty and value. In this manner, the Winter Carnival Pageant constructed assumptions regarding power dynamics and enacted them through public objectification.

Figure 2. This Winter Carnival poster from 1948 hints at the sexual underpinnings of the “Big Weekend” (Winter Carnival Posters 1948).

Figure 3. Winter Carnival “Snow Girl” contestants and winner (center) 1945 (Winter Carnival Queens 1940s).

Figure 4. Betty Glendinning, 1932 Queen of Snows, standing beside Theta Chi's "snow girl," which won first place in snow sculpture (Winter Carnival Queens 1930s). Notice that the snow figure is nude, her breasts amplified. She is depicted sitting in a submissive position, her head tilted slightly up at the viewer. Again, this is yet another example of sexuality at the forefront in Dartmouth men's perception of women.

These symbolic gender boundaries made it more difficult for men and women to understand each other as equals. Reflecting on his time at Dartmouth, Overton wrote that, in retrospect, "it seems amazing that any of us ever formed solid lasting relationships with members of the other sex, or indeed with anyone who didn't smell vaguely of wood smoke and take inordinate pride in his reproductive and excretory functions" (1992). In essence, the gender boundaries were so starkly delineated–the assumptions and expectations surrounding what it means to be a man and a woman differed so greatly–that a normal, equal relationship proved deeply challenging.

Dartmouth Administration's Response

Notably, the Dartmouth administration did little to nothing to rein in this behavior, effectively institutionalizing these gender boundaries. In her work on sexual violence in

universities, Sanday (2007) writes that when university guidelines regarding campus behavior "are little more than vague descriptions on ambiguous jargon or the equivalent of a mother telling a child not to misbehave," that behavior becomes a cultural or social norm (in Harris and Schmalz 2016:1229). The Dartmouth administration's responses to "Dartmouth Animal" behavior had just this effect. On Big Weekends, recalled Overton, intimidation was a popular strategy among Dartmouth men for impressing dates. They would "show one's date what animals we were, with our wild, beer-drenched parties, foul language, and general vulgarity…Whether this approach ever succeeded, I don't know. It certainly never worked for anybody I knew, but that didn't keep legions of Dartmouth students from trying" (1992). Further, wrote Overton, "The amazing (and depressing) thing is that…the College as a whole endorsed it. Students perpetrated numerous acts of insensitivity and humiliation toward their dates, and the administration certainly knew about them, but did little or nothing to stop this behavior" (1992).

Without Dartmouth oversight, this behavior was implicitly accepted and cemented into the "Dartmouth Animal" culture. Overton recalled that Dartmouth students largely took pride in the effect their intimidation had on their female visitors. It was apparently said that the "Dorm Mothers" at Connecticut College (an all-women's school whose students would sometimes visit Dartmouth) would counsel their female students to not spend their first Big Weekend in Hanover, instead urging women to try Yale or Williams first, and only later take on Dartmouth. "The truth of the story is irrelevant," wrote Overton. "What is important is that the tale was part of our oral tradition, an item of pride" (1992). Armstrong et al. (2006) theorize that a community's culture responds to institutional arrangements–disciplinary and organizational guidelines that shape the norms of that community. Overton's reflection, here, shows that when Dartmouth responded with

apathy to this problematic behavior, that problematic behavior then became embedded in their peer culture (Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney 2006:496).

Women's Perspective: Complacency?

This then begs the question: why did women put up with behavior that intentionally intimidated, objectified, or belittled them? Part of the answer lies in status and authority. As with any symbolic or actualized barrier that divides or orders the social world, gender boundaries are inextricably linked to authority. As Epstein (1992) explains, "Some of the reasons that people become invested in boundaries is because their sense of self, their security, their dignity, all are tied up to particular boundary distinctions, and these personal investments are bound up with authority and hierarchy" (238). Gender boundaries, then, guide individuals' presentations of their identities–what it means or looks like to be a "boy" or a "girl"–and likewise, these boundaries influence or inform which identities wield power in a particular context or space. Women who violated gender boundaries–undermined expectations and behavior associated with their gender–could experience punishment and stigma (Lamont and Molnár 2002:176).

The female Winter Carnival visitors had implicit incentives to go along with the frequently obnoxious antics of their Dartmouth hosts. For one, they were outnumbered: they were visitors to a student culture defined by marked hypermasculinity. In this period of Dartmouth history, prototypically "masculine" men possessed an almost hegemonic power in the social world. Even beyond the college context, Dartmouth men–often white and wealthy–possessed far more status and social capital than the female visitors. Despite some positive changes for women's liberation in the 1960s, women continued to experience significant barriers to personal freedoms in the workplace and in society as a whole. In the mid-twentieth

century, outspoken rejection of male behaviors might have been akin to social suicide–particularly at Dartmouth, where the Dartmouth administration did very little to discipline poor behavior. Approval from Dartmouth men, on the other hand, meant greater status and social capital—in the context of Winter Carnival, embodied in the crowning of the "Queen of Snows." As highlighted by Risman (2004), individuals, regardless of gender, are "purposive, rationally seeking to maximize their self-perceived well-being under social-structural constraints" (431). As the Harris and Schmalz (2016) observe that, to avoid social isolation, some college women will accept a submissive role, consequently becoming "co-constructors of their own oppression" (1229).

This chapter has examined Dartmouth's pre-coeducation hypermasculine culture and the skewed, problematic gender dynamics it fostered. Chapter Four will build upon this dynamic between the "Dartmouth Animal" and women in the period immediately before coeducation. With coeducation on the horizon, women at Dartmouth would be understood as more than just weekend visitors. Rather, their imminent incorporation into the Dartmouth community was viewed as a threat to the dominant, hypermasculine culture.

CHAPTER 4: THE "INVASION"; THE LEAD-UP TO COEDUCATION

This chapter provides an overview of the conversations leading up to the official coeducation decision. Initial discussions positioned the integration of women into the student body as a solution to a hypermasculine, unintellectual Dartmouth culture. This prompted fears among the student body that coeducation would threaten long-standing tradition and culture. The prospect of coeducation was consequently framed as an out-group (women) infiltrating and corrupting an in-group (current Dartmouth men). This heightened tensions between Dartmouth

men and the non-matriculated women exchange students on campus. Toward the end of the chapter, I provide a brief discussion of self-categorization theory to understand the depersonalization and polarization that defined this period in Dartmouth history.

Initial Conversations

Most of the serious discussions about coeducation at Dartmouth framed the integration of undergraduate women as a solution or challenge to the College's hypermasculine peer culture. The first real proposal came in 1936, after administrators and faculty expressed concerns about student social life, particularly in fraternities, student conduct, and drinking (Forcier 2005:61). Dartmouth students had a social/academic balance that seemed highly influenced by the lack of a female presence on campus: on weekdays, they focused on academics, and had little exposure to women. Alternatively, on weekends, they maximized their social activities–they either attended local parties or mixers with the female visitors mentioned in Chapter Three, or they left campus (a practice termed "weekending") to go visit those women at their homes or colleges (Forcier 2005:61). The admission of women, perhaps, could normalize those gender relationships–all while bringing in extra funding from tuition. However, the College took the matter no further, and the conversation was pushed aside.

When the notion was revived in the 1950s, discussions still centered around students' gender relations and general conduct. In 1953, President Dickey established the Commission on Campus Life and its Regulation, to, in part, review treatment of women guests and "to examine facilities in Hanover outside fraternities and dormitories for the entertainment of women guests and the consumption of alcoholic beverages" (Forcier 2005:107). The commission suggested that compatible women "in the vicinity"–at, say, a sister college nearby–might improve those

undesirable aspects of Dartmouth student life (Forcier 2005:110). A few years later, in 1958, two Dartmouth deans argued that coeducation could be considered as a strategy to compel students to be "more responsible"; likely a reference to the stereotypical "Dartmouth Animal" behavior mentioned in Chapter Three. Even after President Dickey stood his ground against coeducation, 300 students and 127 faculty members signed a petition in support of a serious consideration of Dartmouth's future coeducation (Forcier 2005:120). The Dartmouth senior class, however, voted against coeducation in 1961, putting the matter temporarily to rest yet again.

In the period directly before coeducation (1965-1971), arguments for the integration continued to view women as a kind of "civilizing force" for "Dartmouth Animal" behavior. In a 1965 interview, Dean of the College Thaddeus Seymour observed that coeducation was framed as an improvement for the preexisting male population–not as an exciting new opportunity for women:

> No one has talked about 'educating women'... Every discussion about coeducation at Dartmouth has asked, 'Would coeducation make this a better men's school? To be talking about it in those terms is to totally miss the point of coeducation… Guys are always talking about coeducation in terms of whether it would enable them to get a better education (Forcier 2005:185-186).

A 1965 article in *The Dartmouth* titled "Alumni and Faculty Divided on Coeducation," also highlighted the intended "civilizing" or normalizing effect of greater female presence on campus: "the present Dartmouth experience [is] unnatural and unhealthy because of the absence of normal relations with women and the prevalence of attitudes which overemphasize masculinity… Dartmouth students would be able to see women as persons rather than as weekend toys" (Forcier 2005:194). John Kemeny, who served as president of Dartmouth during

the coeducation transition, echoed this sentiment in his oral history. Convinced that coeducation was "absolutely necessary," he explained, "I did also feel that there was a strong danger that we'd be turning out a generation of male chauvinist pigs who would not be able to work with women as equals in their professions" (Kemeny Oral History 1984). Although these remarks were progressive and aimed at improving the College's culture, the lack of focus on women's experience would serve to cement their second-class status among the student body. Further, this framing–the hope that the mere presence of women would fundamentally change the College's culture–fed right into fears of a "feminine invasion."

Defensiveness: The Feminine "Invasion"

Indeed, despite some students' support, the notion of coeducation was largely met with defensiveness–an assumption that female students would pose a real threat to Dartmouth culture. Jaresova (2012) noted that amid the possibility of coeducation, "It seemed appropriate for many to characterize the Dartmouth environment as a sheer battleground for the two sexes, in which women seemed to be literally invading a male territory" (23). Newspaper coverage of coeducation highlighted this framing. In 1944, the Des Moines Evening Tribune commended Dartmouth for "[holding] out against the onslaughts of the female" (Forcier 2005:104). In a 1945 Letter to the Editor in the *Boston Herald,* Dartmouth alumnus A.H. Bacon invoked the image of a loyal, dedicated Dartmouth alumni base that would rally to protect its collective alma mater: "The Dartmouth spirit is a virile affair not afraid to champion any cause however unpopular, if it is in the public interest to do so. There is no feminine attribute in it. The winter carnival at Hanover furnishes all the feminine touch the undergraduates need." If the College were ever in

financial need, he said, “send out the SOS call and the funds will come rolling in from the most loyal alumni in the USA” (Forcier 2005:105-106).

As the prospect of coeducation became increasingly realistic, the language used to describe it grew more defensive and explicitly warlike. A 1950 photo essay in The *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* titled “A Man’s College?” read, “The Dartmouth man loves to dwell on the masculine tradition of his college, and the public too has come to think of Dartmouth as one of the last *strongholds of the encircled male*” (Italics mine; Forcier 2005:107). In 1960, when Dartmouth announced its plans to admit women in only the summer terms, Journalist James Morisseau echoed the photo essay’s phrasing, calling Dartmouth a “male stronghold” (Jaresova 2012:24). Later, in 1969, after over a thousand women from 18 different colleges attended Dartmouth’s second “Coed Week,” the *Associated Press* invoked this same language. A January 1969 article entitled “Girls Stormed Dartmouth Walls” described Dartmouth as “reeling under an assault by an upwards of 1,500 miniskirted coeds” (*Associated Press* in Jaresova 2012:25).

Intergroup Conflict

This kind of language and positioning heightened the sense of an in-group/out-group dynamic, priming Dartmouth men and women for conflict well before the College had officially voted in favor of coeducation. A host of studies have shown that just the *perception* of belonging to two distinct groups can promote discrimination favoring an in-group. Explains Tajfel (1986): “The mere awareness of the presence of an out-group is sufficient to provoke intergroup competitive or discriminatory responses on the part of the in-group” (13). Framing the prospect of coeducation as a feminine “invasion” on a male “stronghold” not only establishes two distinct

groups (Dartmouth men/women), but, from the outset, it positions these two groups at extreme odds with each other, provoking an even greater discriminatory response.

Indeed, the Dartmouth community might have been so preoccupied with this "invasion" precisely *because* it threatened their social capital on the Dartmouth campus. Following Epstein (1992), it appears that for many students, their identity as a *Dartmouth* student was tightly linked to their male identity, which in turn affected their dignity, security, and authority (238). From this perspective, the prospect of coeducation meant more than simply mixed-gender classrooms. If Dartmouth admitted women, "Dartmouth" would lose its synonymy with "masculine"–which, in turn, would threaten their masculinity and, consequently, their sense of self. Framing coeducation as a kind of "war" was a sort of twisted act of self-preservation.

From a boundary-work perspective, symbolic boundaries between Dartmouth men and women helped Dartmouth men to acquire status on campus and in the real world and gain access to social opportunities (Lamont and Molnar 2002:168-169). When coeducation was perceived as a threat to their access to those material and nonmaterial resources, many Dartmouth community members attempted, defensively, to make those boundary distinctions between men and women even stronger; to create even more separation between men and women. This separation would eventually help justify the unwelcoming climate when women eventually matriculated to the College (discussed in Chapter Five).

Sending a Message to Coeducation Advocates

Indeed, this defensiveness revealed itself even before the official coeducation vote, when non-matriculated female students came to Dartmouth as "special" or exchange students. In 1965, the first twelve women were enrolled in undergraduate and graduate courses at the College

(Drexel 1991:32). In the years following, more women would join their ranks, some to act in the female roles in drama productions, and others through a program with Skidmore College (Timeline of Coeducation at Dartmouth). In the 1969-1970 school year, even more women came to Dartmouth as exchange students from nearby women's colleges, but the exposure did not appear to make a dent in the "Dartmouth Animal" culture. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that men spent the first weeks of the term "either ignoring or harassing" the new female students (Timeline of Coeducation at Dartmouth).

Reflecting on their yearlong experiences at Dartmouth years later, some women students recalled unsettling incidents that made them feel palpably unwelcome. Karen Crawford (then Karen Goodman), who attended Dartmouth during the 1970-1971 school year, wrote that her least favorite Dartmouth experience was eating in the dining hall: "Jeers, cat calls and food fights were the norm when a co-ed entered the hall" (Alumni Transfer Student Surveys). Katherine Rines (then Katherine Duff), here for that same year, wrote that a challenging experience for her was "never knowing when the guys would stage an event" to demoralize, denigrate, terrify or simply annoy the women. Her third night on campus, for example, she said she was "blindfolded and kidnapped with a fraternity pledge class, and left in the middle of a field with the pledge class" (Alumni Transfer Student Surveys). She described another event from the spring term that further tested her strength. At around one a.m., as she was studying in the 1902 Room in the library, a cherry bomb went off underneath her chair. She quickly tried to clear the area, but her foot got caught on her chair, and she tripped into the wall. Afraid to "lose it" in a room filled with men, she just "smiled bravely." Telling them she needed to leave to catch her breath, she managed to just make it out the door before she burst into tears. "We were constantly tested," she said of the incident (Alumni Transfer Student Surveys).

Some 1969 Winter Carnival snow sculptures also sent a clear message to the advocates of coeducation. The "COEDUCATION: END OF THE FLAMING DARTMOUTH ANIMAL" sculpture in the introduction, for instance, highlighted the fear that women would symbolically kill the dominant hypermasculine culture. Another snow sculpture from that year (Figure 5, attached below) used similar iconography. It depicts two women–unmistakable with their long hair and impossibly perky breasts–straddling and lying beside the figure of a dragon, or the "Dartmouth Animal" ("Snow Sculpture 1969"). Next to the sculpture, a sign reads "FROM WHAT I'VE TASTED OF DESIRE…" a reference to a Robert Frost poem about the end of the world. The message is clear: women, depicted hypersexually, are a threat to Dartmouth culture.

Figure 5.

In one 1969 article in *The Dartmouth* titled"Co-eds Speak Against 'Dartmouth Animal': Decry a Lack of Undergraduate Breeding," hostility towards these women shines through even typical journalistic standards. All thirteen women the authors interviewed asked that neither their names nor addresses be published, but the article included their photographs to "provide some clues" (Holbein and Pudlin 1969). They describe one woman as "an attractive offering." Reflecting on their experiences with Dartmouth culture, the women generally agreed that "what

they had heard about the Dartmouth animal was true. They were appalled by the undergraduates' ability to treat a woman courteously." One woman decided to leave campus shortly after arriving due to the "surprising hostility of her classmates," while another credited her decision to come to Dartmouth to "temporary insanity" (Holbein and Pudlin 1969). While the article highlights these women's challenging and alienating experiences at Dartmouth, the tone used by the authors–derisive; almost joking–and the mere fact that this article was published, reveals how little some Dartmouth men empathized with these experiences.

Indeed, this behavior continued into the following academic year, 1971-1972, which saw about 75 women exchange students on campus (Merton 1979:58). Anne Ellis (then Anne Andrews), recalled men coating the toilet seats of Cohen Hall (where many female exchange students were staying) with honey. In another episode, they displayed an ax in the door of a dorm hall where women were housed (Alumni Transfer Student Surveys). This harassment and intimidation communicated a very clear message: that Dartmouth men had power over these women; that these women were not welcome as equals on their campus.

Self-categorization theory. It is helpful to apply a lens of self-categorization theory to this behavior. Hogg and Reid (2006) explain that self-categorization theory focuses on the social categorization processes that cause people to identify with groups, exhibit group behaviors, and view themselves and others in group terms. They explain that when we categorize groups of people, "we reconfigure our representation of them to conform to the context-dependent prototype of the category—once categorized, people are viewed through the lens of the relevant group prototype and are represented in terms of how well they embody the prototype" (10). The

objects of social categorization are depersonalized, viewed as embodiments of their assigned category.

Applied to the pre-coeducation context, incoming women of Dartmouth can be understood as pre-categorized–not just as women, but as, collectively, an invasive threat to a traditional Dartmouth culture. This, in part, explains some of the harassment and obnoxious behavior: when these women are viewed as unassuming individuals seeking a better education–the reality–this behavior is understandably inappropriate and absurd; but when women are viewed as part of the *group prototype*–as existential threats to a particular blend of Dartmouth masculinity–then this abusive behavior is a kind of twisted, misinformed self-defense.

The Coeducation Decision

On November 21, 1971, at 6:30pm, President Kemeny announced on the College radio station that the Trustees had voted for the matriculation of women (Timeline of Coeducation at Dartmouth). On November 22, 1971, the trustees' decision in favor of coeducation would make the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Boston Papers*. Fifty television stations aired Kemeny's announcement, and the Dartmouth admissions office was flooded with requests for applications ("A Woman's Place"). This decision, however, was not a surprise: it followed years of discussions and advocacy. In April of 1971, for instance, the Dartmouth faculty voted 111 to 18 in favor of coeducation. Also around this time, students wrote a petition demanding that the Board of Trustees commit to coeducation by the following fall (Timeline of Coeducation at Dartmouth).

The Dartmouth community, for its part, remained divided. In their reporting on the story, The *New York Times* wrote that the divisions between those in favor of and opposed to

coeducation “went deep” (Farber 1971). In his oral history, President Kemeny recalled that seventy-four percent of students were in favor of coeducation, with only twenty-six percent opposed. Unfortunately for the women, much of that twenty-six percent, Kemeny noted, felt “violently” opposed to the prospect of female integration. Those students, he said, were centered in a small number of fraternities (Kemeny Oral History 1984).

While this decision meant that women would officially matriculate to the College, the integration process would be gradual. When Dartmouth women first arrived on campus, the ratio of men to women was significantly lopsided: nine men to every one woman (Timeline of Coeducation at Dartmouth). This reflected a similar ratio in the faculty, with only 26 women faculty members out of 315 total that year (Jaresova 2012:58). This ratio among the student body was deliberate–partially a compromise, partially intended to appease those alumni and students who were “violently” against the integration of women. The limited number of women also made it easy to reverse coeducation, if the administration decided that the change was not having the desired effect. In his senior thesis, Allen Arthur Drexel argued that this ratio, in conjunction with the fact that Dartmouth was the last among the Ivy League colleges to integrate women (save Columbia, although it had an adjoining women’s school), “demonstrated the great reluctance with which Dartmouth alumni and college officers relinquished their school’s all-male heritage” (Drexel 1992: 40).

At the Convocation address in September of 1972, President Kemeny addressed, for the first time, official Dartmouth students of both genders. Addressing the male students, he said:

> I have heard many of you complain for years that the kinds of relationships you develop where you see women only as dates, and most often during hectic weekends, are unnatural relationships between men and women in this day and age. You argued this

> point very eloquently and very convincingly, and you won your arguments. Now you have to prove that you meant it. If you treat Dartmouth women as curiosities, or simply as more easily available dates, you will make a mockery of that which has been said over the past three years (Kemeny 1972).

His address underscores many of the themes outlined in this chapter. Coeducation resulted from mounting pressure over the course of at least twenty years. Coeducation, many hoped, would correct the skewed gender relations that had been part and parcel of the Dartmouth experience. However, President Kemeny's warning in the last sentence hints at the culture's deeply embedded gender boundaries.

President Kemeny then implored the entire class of 1976 to "find the relationship we are all looking for, the natural relationship of men and women working side by side and treating each other as equals" (Kemeny 1972). Chapter Five will examine the realities of the "relationship" Kemeny references. I will show that concerns that women would threaten Dartmouth culture served to justify harassment and abuse of these newly-matriculated students.

CHAPTER 5: MATRICULATED WOMEN AND THE "DARTMOUTH ANIMAL"

When women officially matriculated to Dartmouth, tensions escalated. Even as they integrated into the Dartmouth community, women were understood as a corruption of Dartmouth tradition and hypermasculine norms. This sense of threat and creation of intergroup conflict shared by some Dartmouth men manifested in harassment and intimidation targeted toward Dartmouth women. This chapter will explore that behavior. I argue that, like the construction of threat and conflict described in Chapter Four, these acts of intimidation were men's attempts to preserve or defend status and identity. I also show that this harassment was self-reinforcing: in

terrorizing these women, they depersonalized them; this depersonalization then limited a sense of possible compassion towards them and justified further intimidation. I conclude this chapter with a brief discussion of the Dartmouth administration's response to this behavior.

Harassment on Campus

Overview. The new Dartmouth women, greatly outnumbered on campus, were not immune to chaos. A few vocal, sometimes violent male students had viscerally negative reactions to women on campus. As Kemeny himself admitted in his oral history,

> Several of the [male Dartmouth students] took it on as a sort of mission to make life miserable for women students when they first arrived, in a wide variety of different ways, from verbal abuse to sort of raids on women's dormitories and just by doing everything possible that a minority of students can do to make the women feel unwelcome… (Kemeny Oral History 1984).

Particularly in the first year of coeducation, harassment was widespread and varied in method. Perhaps the most visibly unwelcoming responses to coeducation came in the form of banners tacked around campus. In 1974, signs hanging from the windows of Russel Sage Hall read "KEEP SAGE ALL MALE," "No COEDs" and "It's a damn commie plot" (Russel Sage Hall 1974). In her oral history, Grant Williams, a Black woman from the first coeducational class, even recalled seeing "Death to co-ed" signs hanging from that dormitory (Traver 2022:37). Three years later, as a freshman at the College, Gina Barecca, class of 1979, would see newly-painted "Better Dead Than Coed" banners on fraternity row (Barecca 2011:4-5).

Public banners were only the tip of the iceberg; as John Myer, Dartmouth class of 1978 reflected, "[Dartmouth] women had to be tough as nails. The men really gave them a rough time"

(Jacobbi 1983). According to Martha Hennessey '76, a member of the first coeducational class, rocks painted with messages saying "cohogs[2] go home" were thrown through dorm windows (Traver 2022:39). Mary Ellen Donovan, who came to Dartmouth in 1972, recalled, "It was not uncommon—I'd say it happened several nights a week—for drunk guys to come by and scream, 'Hey you cohogs [i.e., coeds]! Get out here and spread your legs. That's all you're good for, anyway!' They did things like pee on our bicycles. There was a lot of trashing (Jacobbi 1983). Dartmouth men put old fish in Hinman mail boxes with notes that read "Guests and fish stink after three days." Recalled Hennessey, "…Things like that were happening enough that it felt threatening" (Traver 2022:39).

One of the 1972 snow sculptures also put this attitude toward Dartmouth women on display. Figure Six shows this sculpture: an apparently nude woman in a vulnerable seated position is depicted across from Eleazar Wheelock. Wheelock, sitting on a stump (perhaps a reference to the stump of the Dartmouth "Lone Pine") points a gun at her head, execution-style. Everything on the left of the snow sculpture serves as a kind of symbolic representation of Dartmouth culture. Wheelock, who founded the College; a barrel labeled "RUM"[3]; the tree. The woman is positioned in opposition; a symbolic face-off with over two-hundred years of all-male tradition. The gun needs no interpretation. It clearly communicates the sentiment that women were at odds with this culture.. One can only imagine the effect that this image, in all its violent symbolism, might have on newly-matriculated Dartmouth women.

[2] "Cohogs" being a portmanteau of "coeds," meaning female students, and Quahogs, the Atlantic clam—a reference to female genitalia

[3] Note also that below "RUM" appears to be the letters "KKK." I believe that this snow sculpture was created by Kappa Kappa Kappa, or Tri-Kap; Dartmouth's oldest fraternity.

Figure 6.

In July of 1978, after six years of established coeducation, the Dartmouth Admissions Office surveyed students to better understand the school's gender dynamics.[4] One survey question asked students to imagine that they were speaking to a female prospective student: "What would you tell her about being a woman at Dartmouth?" it asked (Dartmouth Admissions Survey 1978).

"Don't be," one woman wrote.

"Be strong," said another.

"That you, at times, need to muster up a great deal of inner strength."

"Are you ready for a baptism of fire?"

"It's hard, and the rewards are dubious at best and negative at worst… I've learned about loneliness here."

[4] It is worth noting that In 1978, Dartmouth admissions still enforced a gender ratio of one woman to every three men

"It is not always easy being a woman at Dartmouth–I've had times of confusion, pain, frustration, anger at people's attitudes and actions. Yes, this happens anywhere but often I feel that Dartmouth is certainly more sexist than many other places."

Another woman echoed these sentiments, writing explicitly of the animosity she faced *as a woman.* Being a woman at Dartmouth, she explained, is "hard and potentially dangerous": "Those that reject Dartmouth's hostility to women can either be strengthened or destroyed by dealing with it—and those who do not reject it may internalize it to the degree where they feel such hostility is warranted" (Dartmouth Admissions Survey 1978).

Even when compared to other universities at the time, Dartmouth seemed to foster particularly fraught gender relations. In 1979, the Brown University Coeducation study compared student views at Brown University, the State University of New York at Stony Brook, Wellesley, Princeton, and Dartmouth. It found that sixty-four percent of Dartmouth women had said that they had been made uncomfortable by "a sexual joke told by a peer of the opposite sex" as compared with only forty-one percent of women at other schools. In addition, seventy-five percent of Dartmouth women recorded experiencing discomfort because of an "intellectual put-down" by a peer of the opposite sex, as compared with forty-six percent of female students overall (Stern 1979). Qualities unique to Dartmouth, then, were at least in part to blame for this harassment.

Interpreting Harassment: Preserving Status Structures

As I established in the previous chapter, before coeducation, a not insignificant portion of Dartmouth men viewed women as threats to the College's masculine spirit, and thus to their own masculine identities. Once women *matriculated* to the College, this threat became all too real.

Victor Zoanna, a member of the class of 1975, recalled that alumni and undergraduates feared that women would "dilute the pool of manhood," writing that "the whole context for the decision of coeducation was one in which women would hurt the school in some way…" (Drexel 1991:45). Martha Hennessey, who matriculated with the first coeducational class in 1972, reflected on her experience of the sentiment Zoanna describes: "It was made very clear to us all at the time that [...] You are supposed to act like the guys. You're supposed to laugh at our sexist hurtful jokes. You're really not supposed to stick out. We don't really want you here, so pretend like you're not here" (Traver 2022:18).

Within Dartmouth's hypermasculine peer culture, masculinity was intricately tied to status. Consequently, in threatening their masculine identities, Dartmouth women also jeopardized Dartmouth men's status at Dartmouth. "Status" is the result of intergroup comparison–in this case between established Dartmouth men and new Dartmouth women (Tajfel and Turner 1986:19). Status functions as a "cultural intervention to manage a fundamental tension"--a way to hierarchize groups and sort the clutter of the social world (Ridgeway and Markus 2022:4). At Dartmouth before coeducation, status was clearly defined: men and women were separate; *masculine* qualities earned values like respect and esteem, while feminine qualities were appropriate almost exclusively in sexual contexts. Following coeducation, earlier conceptions of status were disrupted. In coming to Dartmouth, women were granted more legitimacy, complicating status beliefs. Men were incentivized to maintain the earlier status structure and preserve its patterns of inequality (Ridgeway and Markus 2022:16).

The harassment and intimidation perpetuated by many Dartmouth men in the 1970s can be understood as an attempt to maintain the status structure from pre-coeducation Dartmouth. Social psychologists have demonstrated that status can be motivating. Status concerns can

encourage or reflect prejudice and group stereotypes (Ridgeway and Markus 2022:4). Status beliefs about women, embedded within Dartmouth culture, might drive prejudice and justify the abuse of Dartmouth women (Ridgeway and Markus 2022:16). As Tajfel and Turner (1986) explain, "Whenever social stratification is based on an unequal division of scarce resources—such as power, prestige, or wealth—and hence there is a real conflict of interests between social groups, the social institution should be characterized by pervasive ethnocentrism and outgroup antagonism between the over- and underprivileged groups" (11). In the Dartmouth context, we can interpret these "scarce resources" as social capital: the power, prestige, and wealth garnered from a white masculinity and an elite, Ivy League education. A Dartmouth background connected students to a social network of similarly powerful, high-status individuals. Allowing women to matriculate to Dartmouth expanded those privileges to a group that was historically denied them. The abject antagonism and resentment Dartmouth women faced, then, could be understood as a reaction to Dartmouth men's increasing sense of powerlessness.

Indeed, the warlike language first used to describe the *prospect* of coeducation became more realistic when women finally integrated into the Dartmouth community. War imagery in descriptions of, and reflections on, the campus climate highlighted feelings of conflict and threat from both women and men. In their responses to the 1978 admissions survey, many women described the gender dynamics in war terms—as a "huge battle" that would require great fortitude. A woman at Dartmouth was a "fighter" who could either hold strong or acquiesce. "Someday I'll write a book," said one woman. "[Dartmouth] can break you down or make you tough" (Dartmouth Admissions Survey 1978). In response to a question asking "how coeducation is working at Dartmouth," one woman responded, "It's not—put it back to all-male and save womankind from a fate worse than death." Another woman wrote, "Women can exist

and even be happy at Dartmouth, but only by accepting their oppression or by so totally bucking it that they spend their lives fighting" (Dartmouth Admissions Survey 1978).

Self-Reinforcing Cycle of Harassment

Intergroup conflict is self-reinforcing; conflict causes depersonalization of the opposing group, which in turn, legitimizes the conflict. Tajfel and Turner (1986) hypothesize that "the more intense is an intergroup conflict, the more likely that the individuals who are members of the opposite group will behave toward each other as a function of their respective group memberships, rather than in terms of their individual characteristics or individual friendships" (8). Dartmouth men attempted to differentiate themselves from Dartmouth women by continuing the Dartmouth tradition (described in Chapters Three and Four) of viewing women through the lens of their group prototype—treating them not as unique students, but as a monolithic, hypersexualized, objectionable class. These attitudes are implicit in the widely-used terms "coeds" or "cohogs," which reduced women to demeaning labels. These attitudes also come across in Dartmouth women's reflections of alienation and discrimination. For instance, in the 1978 the Dartmouth admissions survey, women described their time at Dartmouth:

"It is a frustrating and unnecessarily painful experience. I'd tell [a prospective female Dartmouth student] to wait until the [gender] ratio changes—or else purport herself to be discriminated against, ridiculed, and victimized by the double standard."

"At worst, it is a shattering, alienating experience of how insensitively humans and institutions can treat other humans."

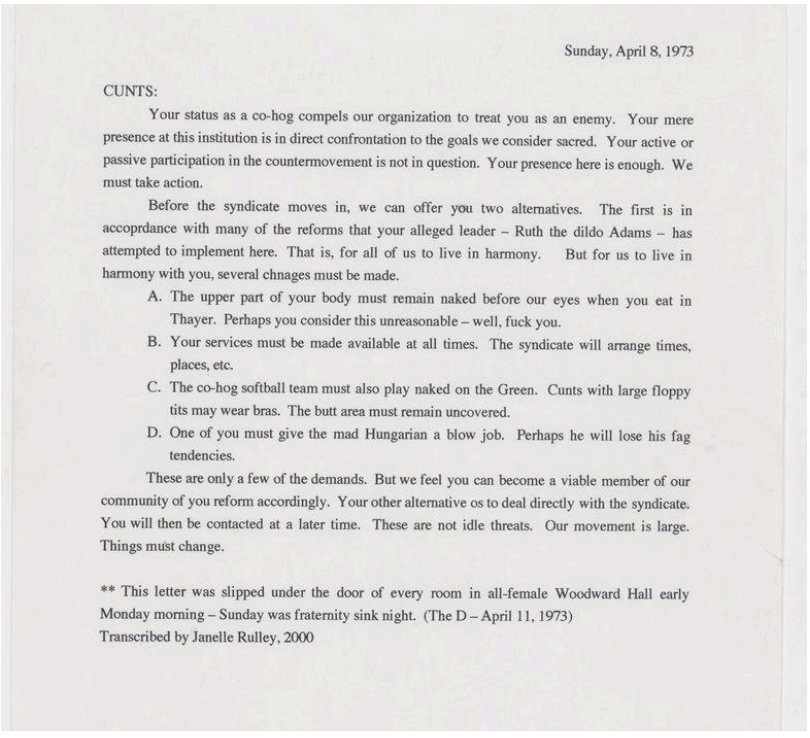
Conflict may only exaggerate these feelings. The more men antagonized Dartmouth women–the greater the intergroup tensions–the more both genders might stick to their respective groups and the harder it might be to find common ground.

Depersonalization. Dartmouth men used cognitive tools and labels to depersonalize Dartmouth women and justify abuse. Dartmouth men continued to reflect and perpetuate the "madonna/whore" stereotype established prior to coeducation. Reflected John Myer, class of 1978: "Women weren't treated as people, they were treated as women. They were sex objects and were typecast as either prudes or prostitutes"—the two group prototypes (Jacobbi 1983). Dartmouth women from this period confirmed Myer's assessment. For instance, Dartmouth women widely recalled being rated on scorecards numbered 1-10 as they entered the dining hall (Drexel 1991:43). Nancy Jeton remembered the men "[holding] up the numbers like judging figure skaters…for how ugly the women were… It was not the most pleasant experience" (Traver 2022:30). In the 1978 admissions survey, one woman reflected that "most guys view girls as meat to be had, and if they can't get it, they verbally abuse women who happen to be around." Another woman wrote that an incoming woman should "be prepared to accept yourself first as things opposed to men, as individuals second… this school has not yet mastered the job of developing woman as having her own integrity" (Dartmouth Admissions Survey 1978). Betsy Morse recalled men rifling through the Freshman portrait book, circling the most attractive women, then searching for their dorm rooms (Traver 2022:52). This behavior—reducing women to sex objects to be scored and circled– strips women of their individuality. In so doing, it solidifies the symbolic gender boundaries that might have faded with coeducation, putting more distance between Dartmouth men and Dartmouth women.

Harassment: elevating within-group status. Another instance worth noting is the infamous "Sink Night Letter," in April of 1973. The morning after "Sink Night," the culmination of rush, when pledges commit to their fraternities, a letter addressed to "C***s" was slipped under the door of every room in the all-female Woodward Hall (Jaresova 2012:128). It demanded that women make certain changes in order for "all of us to live in harmony." Among the demands:

1. Women go topless in the dining hall ("Perhaps you consider this unreasonable – well, f*** you");
2. Women's "services" be made available at all times;
3. The women's softball team play naked on the green ("C***s with large floppy tits may wear bras. The butt area must remain uncovered"); and
4. Women perform oral sex on President Kemeny, so that he might "lose his f** tendencies.

The letter further commanded women to "reform accordingly" or "deal directly with the syndicate." "These are not idle threats," it warned. "Our movement is large."



Sunday, April 8, 1973

CUNTS:

Your status as a co-hog compels our organization to treat you as an enemy. Your mere presence at this institution is in direct confrontation to the goals we consider sacred. Your active or passive participation in the countermovement is not in question. Your presence here is enough. We must take action.

Before the syndicate moves in, we can offer you two alternatives. The first is in accoprdance with many of the reforms that your alleged leader – Ruth the dildo Adams – has attempted to implement here. That is, for all of us to live in harmony. But for us to live in harmony with you, several chnages must be made.

A. The upper part of your body must remain naked before our eyes when you eat in Thayer. Perhaps you consider this unreasonable – well, fuck you.
B. Your services must be made available at all times. The syndicate will arrange times, places, etc.
C. The co-hog softball team must also play naked on the Green. Cunts with large floppy tits may wear bras. The butt area must remain uncovered.
D. One of you must give the mad Hungarian a blow job. Perhaps he will lose his fag tendencies.

These are only a few of the demands. But we feel you can become a viable member of our community of you reform accordingly. Your other alternative os to deal directly with the syndicate. You will then be contacted at a later time. These are not idle threats. Our movement is large. Things must change.

** This letter was slipped under the door of every room in all-female Woodward Hall early Monday morning – Sunday was fraternity sink night. (The D – April 11, 1973)
Transcribed by Janelle Rulley, 2000

Figure 7: "Cunts" (1973).

While this behavior was intended, in part, to intimidate Dartmouth women and preserve their status and social capital, extreme and threatening behavior also served to solidify individuals' status *among* their fellow Dartmouth men. Goldman and Hogg (2016) argue that "where group membership is important and central to self-conception, perceptions of a) how prototypical one is of one's groups and b) the probability that one can secure acceptance by the group through one's behavior, interact to affect how much someone supports or engages in more extreme intergroup behaviors on behalf of the group" (544). Research on group polarization has shown that individuals who identify more strongly with a group as a key aspect of their identity are more likely to adopt behavior or attitudes that polarize the "out-group" (Goldman and Hogg 2016:544). Applied to the Dartmouth context, we can assume that Dartmouth men who consider Dartmouth—in particular, an all-male Dartmouth—to be a key part of their identity might be more likely to adopt extreme anti-women behaviors, like the "Sink Night Letter" and other harassment recalled by the Dartmouth alumnae.

This extreme behavior is also self-reinforcing. In their study of fraternity and sorority members, Goldman and Hogg (2016) identified that less prototypical members of a group may feel encouraged to continuously affirm their identity and attachment to the group by serving as "pro-norm deviants" who have more exaggerated behavior toward the out-groups (Goldman and Hogg 2016:545, 550). In essence, pressures to conform may encourage less-prototypical members to take more drastic measures to demonstrate their loyalty and affinity to the group. In the Dartmouth context, less-masculine men–or those men who were more insecure about their masculinity–might victimize women to affirm their identity and commitment to the male in-group. This might explain some of the more extreme acts of harassment and intimidation (such as the Woodward letter) from the post-coeducation years.

Dartmouth Administration's Response

As Dartmouth women joined a campus culture that largely disapproved of their presence, the Dartmouth administration could have intervened to rein in harassing behavior and normalize gender relations. However, tales of harassment and intimidation from those first few years went largely unpunished or even uninvestigated by the Dartmouth administration. Women said that these incidents were frequent enough that the campus climate felt threatening (Traver 2022:39). Wendy Shepherd, a member of the first coeducational class, remembered thinking, "Where the hell was the administration?" after noticing anti-coeducation banners flying from a dorm room (Traver 2022:65). Without a doubt, the administration was aware of these escapades: in President Kemeny's oral history, he recalled Dartmouth men abusing female students and raiding their dormitories. Still, in the early years, the Dartmouth administration allocated few resources for supporting women and disciplining the perpetrators of these abuses. Instead, women were forced to create their own support systems (Traver 2022:60). When going out at night, they stuck with a group or with their partners. Joanne Conroy, class of 1977, remembered learning to "do the Heisman and shut your door to your dorm, so a guy didn't try to get in your room when he was walking you back home" (Traver 2022:53). In her memoir about her experience at Dartmouth, Gina Barecca '79 reflected that the early women of Dartmouth "learned exactly what girls and women are still learning today: how to challenge institutions of power from within and how to invent a site for yourself even when no blueprint exists for you inside a granite-hard establishment" (Barecca 2005:6).

In some instances, the Dartmouth administration actively undermined efforts to welcome women to campus. Carroll Brewster, Dean of the College at the time of coeducation, was

notoriously hostile to women and sympathetic to the debauchery of Greek life. Even as an administrator, he spent time at fraternity parties and, according to President Kemeny, "would often participate in some of the anti-women songs and remarks that were made there" (Kemeny Oral History 1984). Some students, seeing Carroll Brewster more as a peer than an administrator, called him "Brew Deanster." In his oral history, President Kemeny revealed that he felt his efforts to protect women and to clamp down on fraternities were "sabotaged" by Brewster (Kemeny Oral History 1984). In one instance, a fraternity "took a truly outrageous set of steps"--raiding a woman's dormitory, waking the women up in the middle of the night and "doing all kinds of outrageous acts." Ordinarily, Dean Brewster would level punishment for these kinds of infractions; but he was out of town at the time. The Dean of Freshmen took a temporary disciplinary role and put the fraternity on probation for a year. When Brewster got back into town, he reversed the action. More widely, he had a reputation as a "male chauvinist"[5] (Traver 2022:66). One woman from the class of 1976 who worked with Brewster on the Committee on Standing and Conduct recalled how Brewster "would try to put his hand on my leg and rub it up my leg during the time I was there" (Traver 2022:66). Those days, a common song circulated about Brewster: "*Little Carroll Brewster running through the forest, scooping up the coeds and biting them on the ass*" (Traver 2022:66).

The most notorious incident with Brewster came in 1975, with the annual inter-fraternity "Hums" contest, an acapella competition held during Green Key weekend. The brothers of Theta Delta Chi performed their original song, "Our Cohogs," to the tune of the nursery rhyme "This Old Man":

Our cohogs, they play four

They're all a bunch of dirty whores

[5] Notably, Brewster himself was a Dartmouth alumnus.

With a knick-knack, paddy-whack

Send the bitches home

Our cohogs go to bed alone (Jaresova 35).

Lyrics also alleged that Dartmouth women "all love those Tri-Kap dicks" and that they all "belong in a big pig pen." At the end of the song, women remembered Brewster laughing "hysterically" (Drexel 47). As the judge of the contest, Brewster voted the song most creative and original (Drexel 47). Women recalled bursting into tears following the incident (Drexel 47). Even after President Kemeny eventually fired Brewster, the administration fell short of supporting its female student body.[6]

The following year, 1976, rumors spread that Theta Delta Chi was planning on singing "Our Cohogs" again at the Hums competition. A group of women wrote a petition with thirty names and brought rotten tomatoes to throw during Theta Delta Chi's performance. The dean who replaced Brewster warned them that they would be suspended for throwing just one tomato. Once again, Theta Delta Chi was awarded first place for "Our Cohogs" (Traver 2022:67). When it could have played an active role in diminishing the "Dartmouth Animal" culture and promoting cooperation between the genders, the Dartmouth administration often refrained from action or in some cases undermined gender equality.

This inaction, combined with resilience of the "Dartmouth Animal" hypermasculinty, allowed this unwelcoming behavior to continue largely unchecked. In the next chapter, I focus my analysis on Dartmouth fraternities, as one of the central communities perpetuating threatening behavior on campus. I also examine one of the most damaging forms of harassment

[6] Kemeny admitted later that if the Board of Trustees hadn't backed his decision to fire Brewster, he likely would have resigned (Kemeny Oral History 1984). The following year, Brewster became president of Hollins University, an all-women's college in Virginia (Merton 1979). His portrait still hangs in Baker Library's 1902 room.

faced by Dartmouth women: sexual violence.

CHAPTER 6: SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND FRATERNITIES

In this chapter, I break from the chronology to examine sexual violence, one aspect of the construction of masculinity. I argue that Dartmouth men seeking to affirm their hypermasculinity, seeking to reclaim the power and status that provides them, might behave in more extreme, violent, or abusive behavior toward the incoming women. Critical to this discussion is a focus on the male peer bonding in the fraternities. Applying Dekeseredy et al.'s (2001) Male Peer Support theory and consequent scholarship, we can understand fraternity members' propensity for sexual violence as a product of their bonds to a hypermasculine peer social institution. In other words, social bonds to patriarchal institutions, or institutions with gender equality as a norm, can foster and legitimize sexual violence against women (Martin and Hummer 1989:458-459; Dekeseredy et al. 2001:4). I show that through pressures to achieve high status and to conform to a social group solidify allegiance to a harmful group culture. Lastly, I take a closer look at hazing practices as key rituals that bind masculinity, peer bonding, and sexuality.

Sexual Violence at Dartmouth

Sexual violence was not uncommon at Dartmouth; the historical record reveals a number of instances of abuse in the post-coeducation era. Immediately following the transition, these experiences were largely kept hidden, and the campus "rape culture" seemed to be a sort of open secret (Traver 2022:75). The first mainstream, public discussions about rape and assault at Dartmouth were held in the spring of 1979, following three widely publicized assaults on campus On April 4, 1979, the captain of the Hanover Police Department, William Moore, and author Linda Sanford held a panel discussion on rape that was attended by sixty students. Of

those attending, one-third indicated that they knew a Dartmouth student who had been raped (Houston 1979).

In the admissions survey conducted the year before, one respondent recalled Dartmouth women showing a movie called "Rape Culture," followed by a discussion. She explained that they discovered that "12 women in the small audience had been raped while here – either in fraternities or otherwise." She added, "Whether or not they reported these rapes–I think it indicates something about Dartmouth's receptivity to women" (Admissions Surveys 1978). Another respondent confirmed that a woman's experience at Dartmouth "will be damned hard… you'll be harassed by men who want only your body." Yet another wrote that a female student would "have to put up with the 'female as prey' attitude of a majority of male students" (Admissions Survey 1978). "Be prepared to defend your virginity if you still have it, all the time," added another (Admissions Survey 1978). Wrote another, "I'd tell her about the girls I know who have been raped, I'd tell her about the male orientation of the school… She'll be hassled constantly by ass-searchers" (Admissions Survey 1978).

In May of 1979, following the first "Take Back the Night" march at Dartmouth, in which around 200 individuals marched across campus to "reclaim" spaces where sexual violence had occurred, the Dartmouth Women's Alliance (DWA) compiled a list of demands they felt were of "great importance to the women at the College" (Open Forum 1979). On the list, which included active recruitment of minority women, an expansion of the Women's Studies Program, and free daycare facilities, was the demand for a "crisis facility and grievance procedures for rape and other forms of sexual harassment and abuse of women" (Open Forum 1979). They wrote:

> Rape is a problem at the College which has long been pushed aside. Although members of the community are well aware of the occurrence of rape on campus, the extremely low

> number of reported rapes testifies to the inadequacy of current procedures. A rape crisis center is an absolute necessity (Open forum 1979).

These demands confirm that rape was a central issue that they believed the College was not addressing with nearly enough vigor.

In the 1970s and 1980s (roughly the first fifteen years following the coeducation transition), experiences of sexual violence are told largely through alumnae reflecting on their Dartmouth experiences in oral histories or essays years after they graduated, not while they were actively students. To understand this discrepancy, one must consider the fact that the American public was not widely aware of date rape until the mid-1980s (Koss and Rutherford 2018). Before this period, rape was generally understood of as a act committed by violent strangers, and individuals who were raped by close friends or acquaintance often doubted their experiences. One 1984-1985 survey administered to more than 6,000 college students across 32 universities found that fewer than one in three women who reported having experienced behaviors of date/acquaintance rape answered yes to the statement "I believe I was a victim of rape" (Koss and Rutherford 2018). The study also revealed that only three percent of women who experienced unwanted sex acts reported it to the police, and forty-two percent of these women told no one about the incident (Koss and Rutherford 2018). Not understanding their experiences as "rape" at the time they occurred could explain why these stories might come to light only years later.

Following the publication of this study and more efforts to raise awareness about date/acquaintance rape in the mid-1980s, campus conversations surrounding rape shifted. As reported in the *Valley News* in 1989, Mary Hegarty '89 remembered walking down the hallway of a fraternity house when she saw a piece of paper posted on a door reading. "Steve: Did you

read the definition of date rape that the D [the college paper] put out? By that definition, do you know how many women I've raped here?" (Valley News, 1989). This new perspective on rape and assault paved the way for more conversations about sexual violence from the Dartmouth administration.

The first concrete data about sexual violence at Dartmouth came in 1987, with the creation of the Sexual Assault and Sexual Harassment (SASH) Committee, following decades of student advocacy. Chaired by Mary Turco, the Committee was responsible for "reviewing College policies and protocols in this area, for guiding all educational activities concerning sexual assault and harassment, and for helping students access the resources of the College" (Sexual Assault and Sexual Harassment Committee 1987). In the 1989, Phyllis Riggs, the Agenda Officer for the SASH Committee, released "A Survey of the Incidence of Sexual Coercion, Date and Acquaintance Rape, and Sexual Harassment in a College Population." She surveyed 262 female Dartmouth undergraduate and 259 male Dartmouth undergraduates and found that thirty-three percent of women surveyed reported unwanted attempted intercourse during their time at Dartmouth and forty-nine percent of women surveyed reported unwanted sexual contact during their time at Dartmouth. The survey estimated that 1,234 young women experience unwanted sexual intercourse at Dartmouth each year. The survey also concluded that the actual numbers of incidents were severely underreported, estimating that no more than a tenth of women who had experienced "nonconsensual completed sexual intercourse" (a polite term for rape) had contacted the coordinator of sexual awareness and abuse programs. These incidents occurred most frequently in residence halls and fraternities, often with an acquaintance, non-romantic friend, or a casual date (Riggs 1989).

From the 259 men surveyed, Riggs found that five percent reported having sexual contact with a woman against her will during the past academic year and eleven percent reported this behavior during the time they had been at Dartmouth. Three percent reported attempting sexual intercourse when the woman did not give her consent during the past academic year, and 3.5 percent reported engaging in unwanted completed sexual intercourse during the past academic year (Riggs 1989).

Notably, wrote Riggs, "the men's lack of appreciation of the physical, and especially the psychological trauma that women experience as a result of unwanted sexual experiences is disturbing" (1987:258). More than half of the women reported being psychologically injured as the result of unwanted completed sexual intercourse. By contrast, only four percent of men thought that women might be psychologically injured from this experience; 86.2 percent of men surveyed believed women suffered no consequences from unwanted sexual contact. Nearly half reported their belief that unwanted completed intercourse results in no harm of any kind to the women involved (Riggs 1989). Clearly, rape was still a major issue on campus, and men reporting abuse were oblivious to the lasting damage these experiences caused.

Even after the publication of the SASH survey, the campus climate was far from harmonious. In March of 1992, four reported sexual assaults in the span of a month prompted a campus-wide conversation about sexual violence. A *Valley News* reporter covering the story approached a random woman in a student cafe. The woman described how, in her first week at Dartmouth, she was pinned down on a bed by a senior she had met less than half an hour before. The second woman the reporter approached told of an acquaintance following her into the bathroom of a fraternity, trying to push her into a stall and forcing himself on her. The article stated that "Every female student interviewed on a recent day had a story to tell, from being

fondled at a fraternity party to being raped by an ex-boyfriend at Dartmouth." Senior Kelly Kruse, quoted in the story, told the reporter that "Almost every woman on this campus has experienced some kind of sexual harassment or sexual assault." ("Dartmouth Women Say Sexual Assault Is Prevalent" 1992).

Hypermasculinity and Rape Culture

These incidents of sexual violence can be understood as a product of Dartmouth's hypermasculine culture. The values and norms fostered by this culture justified and legitimated rape. These so-called "rape cultures" emerge in communities with widely-held assumptions that men are aggressive and dominant whereas women are passive and acquiescent (Boswell and Spade 1996:134). Dartmouth culture before and immediately following coeducation seemed to ascribe to an even more exaggerated version of these traditional gender roles.

The culture of sexual assault at Dartmouth can also be linked to the rowdy and disrespectful conduct often associated with the "Dartmouth Animal" prototype. Research has demonstrated an association between this brand of uncouth behavior and propensity for sexual violence. In their study of one private coeducational university, Boswell and Spade (1996) likewise found that men at parties hosted by fraternities identified as "high-risk" for rape treated women less respectfully and engaged in more behaviors that degraded women than men in "low-risk" fraternities (137). Rosen et al. (2003) likewise found that a climate high on the Group Disrespect Scale (mentioned in the first section; characterized by rude, aggressive behavior; consumption of pornography; sexualized discussion; and the encouragement of group drinking behavior) was associated with higher rates of inter-partner violence (1065). In his Master's thesis on Dartmouth coeducation, Toben Traver (2022) likewise interpreted the College's high

incidence of assault as a sort of sexual expression of frustration or disrespect, writing that some Dartmouth men "turned to sex as a means of enacting vengeance" for the feminine "invasion" brought on by coeducation (Traver 2022:75). Aggressive, rowdy conduct, coupled with internalization of traditional gender norms, created group norms that implicitly encouraged female victimization.

Fraternities: the Epitomization of Hypermasculinity at Dartmouth

It should first be established that much of the abuse and harassment experienced by the first few decades of Dartmouth alumnae was centered around, and perpetuated by, fraternities. As one respondent underscored in the 1978 admission survey, "Fraternities are the dominant social force and they are degrading and often dangerous to women" (Admissions Survey 1978). Dartmouth women recalled that in the first coeducational year, fraternity men would frequently surround women's dorms and yell obscenities at them. Occasionally, rooms were broken into and vandalized (Merton 1979:59). Women would sometimes return to their dorms to find wastepaper baskets full of vomit (Jacobbi 2012). Butterfield, a dorm that housed women and backed Fraternity Row, was a notable target for this harassment. In 1973, Beta Theta Pi was placed on social probation for "selectively carousing through the women's floor" in this hall (Drexel 1991:48).

Naomi Baline Kleinman, another member of the first coeducational class, said in her oral history that men would punch out the panes of glass on the door to the dorm, or would come to the women's hall and kick in trash cans, yell and scream at the women, and once or twice, set a memo board on fire (Traver 2022:51). Stephanie Valar, a member of the class of 1976, recalled one of these raucous, mess-making "raids" from Beta fraternity men in the early hours of the morning: "I mean it was an attack. I don't know what else you'd call it" (Traver 2022:51).

Fraternities were largely hostile spaces. Susan Dentzer, who came to Dartmouth in 1973, remembered a spring evening her freshman year when she was in a fraternity basement listening to a jukebox with some friends. A member of the hockey team came up to her with two beers and proceeded to pour each of them over her head. “This is for being a fucking cohog,” he said pouring the first, followed by, “This is for being a fucking woman at Dartmouth,” pouring the second (Jacobbi 2012). Hennessey agreed that “being in the basement of a fraternity felt very threatening” (Traver 2022:37). In her oral history, Annie Triplett Johnson ‘76 recalled visiting a fraternity basement on a Saturday, when women from other colleges would typically come visit. One of the men asked her where she went to school. “Well, I go to Dartmouth!” she responded.

He looked at her and said, “Well, you might be a perfectly nice person, but I wish you’d get your goddamn ass off my campus.” She turned around, walked out of the basement, and never went back. Martha Hennessey, recalling a similar incident, said, “If I had a nickel for each time this happened, I could have paid my tuition” (Traver 2022:75).

Even outside of the physical fraternity building, the Greek system had a negative impact on women. According to two women in the class of 1979, “Women have reported having their shirts ripped off by men they don’t know when walking down fraternity row, or of being purposely urinated on or vomited on while in fraternities” (Hemeren 1979). “We all have bad memories from those years,” said Mary Ellen Donovan ‘76 in an interview with Boston magazine. She recalled sitting in a computer center cubicle on “Hell Night,” a particularly brutal night for fraternity hazing. She turned around in her seat to find a man painted in green, wearing only an open bathrobe and exposing himself. “Dartmouth was intimidating for everybody,” she added (Jacobbi 2012). In his oral history, even President Kemeny remarked on the “miserable behavior of some of the fraternities and their members” (Kemeny Oral History 1984).

Sexual violence, too, seemed centered around fraternities. Hillary Smith ‘78, recalled hearing stories of friends and acquaintances being gang raped in fraternities. “I mean, in some cases it was clear that we were just being ignored, but it was also–I felt under siege” (Traver 2022:43). Martha Hennessey ‘76, too, remembered hearing stories about women gang raped in fraternities, but she never really knew about it. “I went places I knew,” she said. “But still it never really felt safe. It felt like I was prey” (Traver 2022:75).

Consider, too, that much of the student protest aimed at increasing awareness of or preventing sexual assault targeted the fraternities. All the “Take Back the Night” rallies held over the years marched down fraternity row. Their protest aimed to publicize the dangers to women on Webster Avenue by “reclaiming” these spaces (Hemeren 1979). The first of these rallies, in 1979, was even held on the same night as that year’s fraternity “sink” night–the night when Dartmouth men were sorted into their fraternity houses (Hemeren 1979). Some of these marchers were heckled by fraternity men (although not all fraternities or fraternity members participated). In 1979, some members of Kappa Kappa Kappa (now Kappa Pi Kappa) were heard telling marchers to “Go home, witches!” (Hemeren 1979). At the 1980 march, members of Sigma Nu Delta sang “Men of Dartmouth,” and other fraternity brothers were reported to screech and shout obscenities at the group (D’Souza 1980).

The largest of these marches was held in April of 1986, following a series of incidents allegedly involving Beta Theta Pi. On a Saturday night, three days before the march, Carol Caton ‘86 alleged that Lenny Fontes, a Beta brother, slapped her buttocks and made an offensive remark (which Fontes denied). The following Tuesday, Caton and Fontes both happened to be dining at Bentley’s Restaurant in downtown Hanover. Caton approached Fontes to discuss the incident, and after arguing for a period, Caton slapped Fontes for making, according to Caton,

"an offensive remark." Fontes then grabbed Caton by both arms and pushed her back against a wall, at which point the restaurant staff likely broke up the dispute (Rumberger 1986). A few hours later, at around 2:30 am, Caton was walking by Butterfield dorm, directly behind Beta Theta Pi, in the direction of Webster Avenue. A tall, thin male with brown hair suddenly jumped from behind a tree and struck her on the left side of her face (Rumberger 1986; Dartmouth College, Public Affairs News Releases). The attacker then ran off toward the Rockefeller Center and Caton was taken to Mary Hitchcock Memorial Hospital where she was treated for a facial wound (Rumberger 1986; Dartmouth College, Public Affairs News Releases). While Caton's description of her attacker did not match Fontes, some accused another Beta brother of punching Caton for retribution. Beta president, Richard Pepperman '87, denied these accusations (Rumberger 1986).

The incident prompted a spontaneous Take Back the Night march the next evening. At nine o'clock in the evening, seventy members of the community met to plan the march. Someone asked how many people in the room had been attacked or harassed, or had close friends who had been. Almost everyone raised their hand (Ellsworth 1986). A few hours later, the vigil began. By the time the marchers reached Fraternity Row, an estimated 1,000 people had joined. In an article in the Dartmouth *Womyn's Re/view* a few months later, Kelley Ellsworth made a poignant connection between the scale of this march and the issue of violence against women on campus: "What does that turn-out say about the situation at Dartmouth if, at 1 a.m. on a Wednesday night, nearly 1,000 people gathered to protest violence against women?" Answering her own question, she wrote, "Clearly there is a problem here that is usually unaddressed" (Ellsworth 1986).

Following the march, the College began taking a closer look at its student culture, as well as its procedural responses to sexual assault and harassment. In the Women's Support Task Force Report of 1987, the administration revealed that it undertook an "assessment of the needs of Dartmouth women and a review of the programs provided by a number of other institutions across the country." In the summary of the findings, the report stated "We feel that the pervasiveness of the Greek structure, a structure within which women are at a particular disadvantage, is also exercising a harmful influence" (Women's Support Task Force Report 1987). Five years later, in 1992, Scott Straus '92 who had been a member of a fraternity for one year before leaving in 1989, would remark in an essay titled "An Argument Against Fraternities: How Fraternities Support and Perpetuate Sexual Violence" that after watching that year's Take Back the Night vigil he was "struck by the consistency with which fraternities were associated with instances of sexual assault… Fraternities were named as the location of assault, as the inhabiting structure of (male) assaulting consciousness and male domination, and as the foreground for assault" (Straus 1992).

Indeed, research has shown that fraternity members are more likely to be sexually aggressive than other men in college (Waterman et al. 2020:58). Some researchers studying sexual assault have drawn links between this behavior and membership in groups subscribing to "patriarchal ideologies" such as fraternities (Rosen et al. 2003:1046). In their research on fraternities, Martin and Hummer (1989) found that these communities are "vitally concerned" with masculinity—in particular, with a narrow conception of masculinity that highlights, among other qualities, competition, dominance, conflict, willingness to drink alcohol, and sexual prowess with regards to women (460). It's worth noting here that these attributes are largely identical to the "cultural ideals" of the pre-coeducation "Dartmouth Animal" outlined in Chapter

Three. “Wimpishness,” homosexuality, and effeminacy contradict this ideal and are vehemently avoided (Martin and Hummer 1989:460).

Fraternity men and gender boundaries. One of the reasons why fraternities may have played an outsized role in harassing or intimidating Dartmouth women has to do with preservation of symbolic gender boundaries. As I explained in an earlier section, coeducation threatened the social capital provided by being a Dartmouth man. In response to this perceived threat, some Dartmouth men attempted to strengthen those gender boundaries–putting on a more exaggerated performance of their masculinity. Fraternities are the ideal setting to preserve this more extreme masculinity. As Harris and Schmalz (2016) explain it, “Fraternities are in many ways one of the last powerful exclusively male organizations in existence” (1229). More and more research has revealed an association between female victimization and the amount of time a man spends with patriarchal peers (Dekeseredy et al. 2001:8). Further, fraternities are unique in that they exert complete control over whether an individual is accepted into the social group. This allows them to restrict their membership to perpetuate, at least on the surface, a visage of a narrow masculinity. Androgynous men, or men who do not initially resemble at least some aspects of the hypermasculine ideal (in appearance, attitude, behavior, etc), are excluded from the fraternity in-group.

Hypermasculine Socialization in Fraternities

Here, I will explore *why* fraternities are optimal spaces for cultivating and perpetuating hypermasculinity. I show that, although men with pre-existing traditionally masculine beliefs self-select into these spaces, these communities likewise perpetuate and enforce these beliefs among their members (Malamuth 1995:58). The *socialization* of masculinity in fraternities can

help to explain how socially constructed beliefs around hypermasculine ideologies are formed and maintained (Malamuth 1995:58; Rosen et al. 2003:1046).

The socialization of masculinity in fraternities is facilitated by two key, interconnected factors: pressures to conform and concerns about status. Fraternities are selective social spaces that often emphasize the codes of brotherhood and loyalty. While these values strengthen the tight-knit fraternity community, Flood and Dyson (2007) posit that they can also encourage individuals to sacrifice their personal integrity to group loyalties (40). Boswell and Spade (1996) likewise suggest that fraternities may require more conformity than other social groups. Dekeseredy et al. (2001) further argue that these groups often foster a "taboo against unbonding," which can also encourage conformity (7).

Access to status and symbolic power. This pressure to bond and conform arises, in part, because fraternity spaces provide their members with social power. Dekeseredy et al. (2001) write that "Attachment (male bonding) is a key means of getting and maintaining patriarchal power, and in many environments there are explicit social norms dictating that a man should not be a loner who does not belong to such groups" (7). Fraternities promote male bonding (of a sort), but they also offer their members high status in the campus social scene and provide a network of social connections during and after college. Indeed, Malamuth et al. (1995) showed that men who endorsed male role norms about status–beliefs that men should strive for high social status–were more likely to join a fraternity than other men (62, 64).

Indeed, joining a fraternity imbues individuals with a social capital, making group membership a valuable social accessory and encouraging adherence to group norms–even if it contradicts with individual morals. In the fraternity context, the material profits of social capital include greater access to a physical party space, alcohol, study resources, or even access to

networking and career advancement opportunities. The symbolic profits, on the other hand, are derived from the *association* with a fraternity; including, for instance, the affirmation of one's masculinity. Straus '92–again, a former member of a Dartmouth fraternity–touched on this precisely this symbolic profit in his 1992 article: "As they are currently constituted… fraternities are designed to entitle and empower men and to instill heterosexist, masculinist ideologies" (Straus 1992). In the same process of socialization (which will be explored in the coming pages), membership to these organizations simultaneously empowers men and instills ideologies that systematically disadvantage women and set the stage for sexual violence.

Fraternity parties. These dynamics are most evident in the fraternity party scene. Fraternities foster both social capital and status by holding a near-monopoly on central socializing spaces on campus. Female students enter the college social scene with an understanding of the social hierarchy–their logical desire to adhere to social norms and gain status dictate party attendance (Harris and Schmalz (2016:1230). Rather than risk social isolation, some women will put themselves in the fraternity party context even if it makes them vulnerable (Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney 2006:484; Harris and Schmalz 2016:1230). Sexual violence and harassment arises, in part, when fraternity brothers manipulate this social pressure to exhibit bad behavior without serious repercussions.

An example of this in the Dartmouth context was recorded in the student publication *Spare Rib* in 1993. As some female students walked into the Sigma Alpha Epsilon Saigon party, one fraternity brother was overheard saying to a group of other men, "Should we make them blow us before they go in?" (Spare Rib 1993). This quote is impossible to fact-check, but if real, it exemplifies the way fraternity men abuse the social power they wield over these female party goers. This example echoes Boswell and Spade's 1996 study examining collegiate rape and the

fraternity party scene (not at Dartmouth). At one fraternity party they observed, a fraternity brother commented that "This environment is horrible and so unhealthy for good male and female relationships and interactions to occur. It is so segregated and male dominated… It is our party, with our rules and our beer. We are allowing these women and other men to come to our party. Men can feel superior in their domain" (140). This reflection reinforces the idea that the elevated status provided by hosting parties can create an unequal sense of superiority that can significantly warp gender relations.

Another example of the protective effects of higher social status is Martha Hennessey's experience being raped in a fraternity in her senior year at Dartmouth (1976). A drunk fraternity brother grabbed her keys and wouldn't return them. "He turned into an animal," she recalled in her oral history. He picked her up and threw her against the fireplace. "I was really beaten up," she recalled. No one intervened, and no one watching said anything. When she finally escaped, physically and emotionally traumatized, she decided not to name her attacker for fear of retribution from fraternity brothers. However, when word of her assault got to the Dartmouth administration, the male students *did* turn on her. She recalled, "It was my worst nightmare… I was the bad guy. 'How dare you pull rank,' when somebody beats you up, and you go to the Trustees. That was the message I was getting [...] So it was... It very nearly broke me. It was pretty horrible" (Traver 2022:75). The *actual* retribution she experienced–the brothers "[turning]" on her–exemplifies the material profit of fraternity membership: her rapist benefitted from the solidarity and loyalty generated by his social connections within his fraternity.

Intrafraternity rivalry. Fraternity members then defend their social capital and status through interfraternity rivalries, such as competition for desirable pledges, pledge class and size, size and appearance of fraternity house, etc (Martin and Hummer 1989:466). Interfraternity

rivalry, in turn, strengthens us/them, in-group/out-group divide, exacerbating in-group loyalties and further encouraging conformity. In these unique social settings–in which concerns over status blend with intense pressure to conform–individuals are more likely to adopt the normative values of the group, particularly in relation to definitions and performance of masculinity (Boswell and Spade 1996:45). This, in turn, can disrupt normal gender relations and create to a climate that facilitates sexual violence.

Conformity pressures. These social "profits" are made possible through group solidarity and conformity which, in turn, can heighten the propensity for sexual violence in a patriarchal culture (Bourdieu 1986:22). Put another way: "Men who behave in ways that deviate from the patriarchal status quo may lose their investment toward getting rich or being one of the campus cool guys" (Dekeseredy et al. 2001:7). If men decide to leave their fraternity, they face hostility, anger, and contempt from former members–all social controls that encourage and reinforce conformity to the patriarchal institution. To remain a member of a the social group and avoid being labeled as girly or homosexual by other fraternity members (both threats to the fraternity's masculine norms), Dekeseredy et al. (2001) theorize that some men will use violence or date rape drugs to compel or force sex out of women who would not otherwise want to have sex with them (7). Thus, sexual violence can become institutionalized as a way of conforming or expressing loyalty to a high-status social group.

Two former Dartmouth fraternity brothers emphasized this notion in their reflections on their own experience with Greek Life. Peter Fischer '79 wrote in a 1979 op-ed, "In fraternities of my experience (Psi U, Theta Delt, Bones Gate, Delta Chi, Kappa Sig, Phi Delt, etc.) women are Objects of Conquest, medals signifying successful sexual campaigns" (Fischer 1979). Scott Straus '92 echoed his reflection on his own article on his fraternity experience. When women are

excluded from fraternity membership, meetings, residence, and party-planning, he wrote, they are then "figured and permitted inside the fraternity either as objects whereby brothers can prove their masculinity and fraternal loyalty, or as a brother's girlfriend who is off-limits to the others" (Straus 1992). Both men touch on all of Dekeseredy et al.'s points outlined in the preceding paragraph: fraternity brothers might use sex or flirtation as strategies to demonstrate and affirm their masculinity to the rest of their fraternity. Sex and sexuality, in other words, become a norm to which brothers should conform, thereby becoming wrapped up in the socialization process.

Observations from Dartmouth women can also offer some insight on the links between fraternal conformity/loyalty and sexual violence. One such reflection came during Dartmouth's first Take back the Night March. On April 8, 1979, around 200 students, faculty members, and townspeople walked down fraternity row carrying lighted torches and candles. At the end of the march, the crowd listened to speeches by student organizers (Hemeren 1979). Judy Ornstein '79, in a speech she co-wrote with Paula Sharp '79, announced to the crowd, "We hereby declare fraternity row a danger zone in need of being reclaimed by female members of the community." She added that "An attitude which is not merely chauvinistic, but overtly abusive toward women is institutionalized" in fraternities (Hemeren 1979). While this behavior is not universal, Ornstein said, fraternities were responsible for keeping the incidents secret–hinting at the strong loyalties and strict allegiances found in these spaces.[7] "Even if [fraternity members] do not abuse women themselves, they tolerate such abuse on the part of their brothers," she explained (Hemeren 1979). Loyalty to their fraternity, in other words, created a climate in which sexual violence could pervade.

[7] Again, it is worth emphasizing that this behavior was not universal. For instance, around 15 members of Alpha Phi Alpha, an all-Black fraternity, joined in the march. The president of that fraternity, Victor Hodgkins, said they joined because "We are supporting these women, and, like them, we are being abused." He also wanted to "let the community know we're different" from other fraternities, he said, referring to Alpha Phi Alpha members (Eschman 1979).

Another example of the strong loyalties of the fraternity brotherhood came thirteen years later. In April of 1992, Scott Russell '92, a senior and former president of the Sigma Nu fraternity, was found guilty of sexual misconduct by the Dartmouth Committee on Standards (Reboe and Cohen 1992; Russell 1992). Two weeks later, Russell had been indicted in the Grafton County Superior Court in the spring of 1992 on six counts of providing alcohol to minors. Hanover police had been investigating an allegation of aggravated felonious sexual assault when they had discovered the alcohol crimes (Reboe and Cohen 1992). Russell, it should be noted, was never arrested and a grand jury failed to indict him. He also wrote in an op-ed in *The Dartmouth* that the Committee on Standards hearing "dwelled on meaningless information," and "the conviction was based solely on the false accusations of a single person and was completely unsubstantiated by fact" (Russell 1992).

Despite his suspension, Russell continued to live on Webster Avenue. According to the Student Handbook at the time, suspended students were required to leave the campus within 48 hours, and were not allowed on College property, including fraternity housing, for the duration of their suspension (Herszenhorn 1992). Russell, it was revealed, had remained in the Sigma Nu fraternity house, which was not considered College property after breaking ties with the College in late February (Reboe and Cohen 1992). Nicole Reboe and David Cohen responded to the situation in an article in the student publication *The Bug:*

> Sigma Nu's protection of Russell reveals the true meaning of the fraternal brotherhoods. The brothers of Sigma Nu did nothing to remove Russell from the house since he was convicted. They were comfortable with his remaining in the house, living there for the rest of the term, partying there on weekends, and potentially threatening the safety of women entering the house while he was there… (1992).

Reboe and Cohen suggest Sigma Nu's greater loyalty–to the brotherhood–reflects a complicity in his alleged violence. Again, what remains in the historical record does not preserve the entirety of the context surrounding this incident nor does it explain the reason the members of Sigma Nu decided to allow Russell to remain in the house (and, ostensibly, on campus). But this incident does underscore one of the powerful truths of fraternity participation: fraternity loyalty and group membership provides a greater power and protection than individual identity. Argues Sanday (2007), whose scholarly work has largely focused on fraternity culture, this is the reason that fraternities value collectivism over individuality (161). This solidarity lays the groundwork for harmful behavior to be integrated into group behavior.

Hazing: the Ultimate Hypermasculine Socialization

In the previous section I established that fraternity members' socialization–the ways they connect with each other and learn the largely patriarchal norms of the group–is tightly bound with sex and sexuality. This, in turn, creates an environment that facilitates sexual violence. Hazing, a relatively common practice among fraternity members, is a ritual that solidifies the connection between peer bonding, sexuality, and masculinity.

Cimino (2017) defines hazing as "non-accidental, costly aspects of group induction activities that: (a) do not appear to be group-relevant assessments/preparations, or (b) appear excessive in their application" (135). This practice is not limited to fraternities and sororities, although the majority of Greek-affiliated students report behavior identifiable as hazing (McKee 2022:33). In these rituals, so-called "pledges" are often stripped of their individuality and are humiliated or infantilized. Hazing practices can broadly be sorted into three categories (with obvious overlaps): mental hazing, which is intended to stress or demean a pledge; physical

hazing, consisting of physically violent acts; and sexual hazing, in which pledges are sexualized or targeted in sexually harassing activities (McKee 2022:36-37).

There is no clear consensus among researchers as to the function of hazing rituals, but most theories share common themes: hazing bonds and demarcates the in-group, establishing a hierarchy through dominance (physical, mental, or sexual). Secrecy surrounding these ceremonies makes it difficult to gather data on Dartmouth's hazing rituals, but some evidence has been preserved. As reported in *Rolling Stone* in 1992, Dartmouth's Alpha Delta fraternity required pledges to serve brothers, clean the fraternity after parties, as well as drink and fetch beer if commanded. Pledges were verbally denigrated with gendered language: they were called "girls," "weak," "wimps," "faggots," and names referring to female genitalia (Konigsberg 1992). Enduring this kind of humiliating behavior without breaking, researchers argue, is a way to express commitment and conform to the masculine values of the group (McKee 2022:40; Cimino 2011).

Indeed, these rituals are powerful tools for socializing new pledges and enforcing a uniform, hypermasculinity among group members. Reflecting on his Dartmouth fraternity experience, Scott Straus '92 points to fraternity initiation–hazing–as the method by which these institutions instill men with masculine ideologies and enact the "othering" of women (Straus 1992). He writes:

> … having established their capacity for brotherhood, brothers during initiation are institutionally sanctioned to be abusive. Because the pledges are figured as "feminine," the brothers, during initiation, act out and support abuse and coercive behavior toward women and the "feminine." Pledges who find themselves disempowered and labeled "feminine" must, in order to prove their fraternal worthiness, demonstrate their (hyper)

masculinity in terms of heterosexual conquest, alcohol consumption, and disinterest in or animosity toward women (1992).

Rituals, like hazing, are intended to "affect psychological states" in order to restructure meaning (Ortner 1978:5 in Sanday 2007:153). Straus' analysis of the hazing he experienced shows just that: the symbolic destruction of the feminine and the glorification of the masculine. More broadly, Sanday (2007) sees hazing rituals as part of a transformative process in which a part of the self is sacrificed in exchange for the communal identity of the house. As I have already established, this devaluation of individuality sets the stage for damaging group norms to become solidified, even when they are against the morals of individual brothers.

Sexual hazing. Sexual hazing, in particular, is the ultimate process by which sexuality becomes closely tied to masculine socialization. Little information about sexual hazing has been preserved in the historical record–likely due (at least in part) to the secretive nature of the organizations as well as the vulnerable positions of the pledges. However, a few concrete descriptions of hazing practices have been preserved.[8] In 1978, Nick Stonnington '78 created a short documentary-style film about his fraternity for a Dartmouth class. In one scene, several brothers lay naked on their stomachs; a pledge then comes into the room with a hot dog in his mouth. The pledge proceeds to dip the hot dog into the anus of each other (Merton 1979). Straus '92 also revealed that at several fraternities, pledges were locked in a room and required to watch porn–in some cases, while naked (Straus 1992; Konigsberg 1992). For one fraternity in around 1992, pledges were required to perform cunnilingus upon a simulated woman's body — called a "munching box," (Straus 1992).

[8] These should not be considered representative of hazing practices as a whole; rather, they are the only descriptions that remain in the historical record.

This behavior is intended to make the pledges uncomfortable and assert dominance through that discomfort. The power dynamic at play in sexual hazing establishes and preserves the social hierarchy–older brothers have more social clout than the pledges. McKee (2022), in conjunction with other researchers on the subject, argues that sexual hazing is a way for members to express power over pledges in order to prove their own masculinity (118). Through this ritual, masculinity becomes inextricably linked with sexual dominance and aggression.

In 1988, the general public received another insight into Dartmouth fraternity hazing when a tape of Alpha Delta's "Hell Night" (a part of their hazing ritual) was smuggled out of the house and made its way to Dartmouth deans. Dartmouth student Liza Veto heard the recording and transcriped portions of it for publication in the student magazine *The Bug.* Each intoxicated pledge had been blindfolded and brought into a room, one at a time, and was then confronted by several brothers who told him to pull down his pants and underwear and sit on a block of ice (Veto 1993). Each pledge was questioned in detail about his past and present sexual activity:

"The brothers have been wondering… We never see [pledge] with any girls. Are you a virgin? Are you a virgin, [pledge]?"

"No."

"Would you tell us how you lost your virginity? To who [sic]? What's her name? Did she lick your dick?"

Some interrogation was even more prying: "Did she moan? Did she like it? Did she wrap her legs around you? Did she arch her back? Did she claw at your back?"
They were asked about current sexual partners and were told to give explicit details about those encounters, including the names of the girls. They were asked in similar detail about masturbation.

In another instance, a brother asks, “Do you have any sisters, pledge?”

“Yes”

“How old?”

“Twenty.”

“Do you ever fantasize about having sex with your sister?”

“No.”

“Have you ever seen your sister naked in the last three years?”

“Nope.”

At some point, pledges were forced to perform fellatio on some phallic object. According to the *Bug* transcript, one brother said, “Well, in the Sex Room, we try to let you kinda experience what a girl goes through when she sucks your dick. So… tilt your head back… open your mouth…”

“This isn’t gonna hurt, pledge, caress it with your tongue.”

“Open your mouth… relax your throat…”

“Pledge, you look like you’ve done this before. You’re sure you’re not a homo…”

This transcript outlines typical examples of sexual hazing. Of the sub-themes of sexual hazing McKee (2022) identified, “sex-related interview questions” “forced vulnerability,” and “sexualized touch” are at play here (116). Brothers are naked, their genitalia pressed unpleasantly against ice blocks, while being interrogated about sexual history, including with family members. This situation is designed to create discomfort and vulnerability. These practices share the same function: to assert dominance by promoting extreme discomfort.

Beyond intimidation, sexual hazing has a secondary effect on the new members: it links peer bonding and masculine socialization to a dominating sexuality. Traumatic experiences have

been shown to unite or bond communities (Bastian, Jetten, and Ferris 2014:1975). The new pledges connect with each other through this sexual humiliation. Bonding, then, and the production of their masculinity, becomes linked with sexuality. Even after the hazing period ends, sexuality remains a core aspect of other socialization activities. Consider this reflection from Straus '92:

> At Wednesday night house meetings, brothers' heterosexual accomplishments are celebrated and often awarded. These sex acts are recorded and celebrated among the brothers as "scores" or "scams" – commodified women's body parts. In one house, a "beaver award" is given to the brother who completed the "most interesting" sex over the past week. Instances of sex rooms, awards for personal conquest, and pervasive airing of pornography create an atmosphere where women's bodies are considered the rightful sexual property of men and where men are actively encouraged to obtain this property.

In these public discussions about sex and women's bodies, the business of sexuality expands from the individual to the group. Explained Dan Rottenberg, member of the Bones Gate Fraternity and Dartmouth class of 1993, ".. house institutions and traditions which objectify women, however, are [...] difficult to remove. Weekly stories of sexual conquest at meetings and institutionalized derogatory references to women are currently built into the fabric of our system" (Rottenberg 1992). Sexuality, particularly a dominant, aggressive, or othering form of sexuality, is then explicitly or implicitly encouraged by the collective pressure of the group.

This linkage between masculine socialization and dominat sexuality is perhaps most apparent in the case of gang rape. Few stories of gang rape are preserved in the archival record, but one harrowing incident stands out. Mystery surrounds this incident, and most of the

information I have comes not from Dartmouth sources, but from articles in *Esquire* and *The Rolling Stone*, which called the incident "hushed up" (Konigsberg 1992).

According to *Esquire,* which provided the most detail, in the spring of 1978, a woman in her late thirties or forties who was on leave from a mental institution arrived to the Upper Valley to attend her daughter's graduation ceremony (Merton 1979). At a restaurant in White River Junction, she crossed paths with three Dartmouth seniors. It is not clear what happened at the restaurant–the Dartmouth men allege that she approached *them.* But "what happened next has been established beyond doubt," wrote *Esquire*: the men drove the woman to their fraternity house on Webster Avenue, and performed various sexual acts with her, apparently "sharing her with their brothers." They then sent her to a second fraternity, and then to a third, at which point, *Esquire* writes, "certain men of Dartmouth introduced light bulbs and fire extinguishers into the action" (Merton 1979). When campus police found the woman, she was reportedly wandering down Webster Avenue wearing only a Dartmouth T-shirt (Merton). In November of 1978, an English professor leading the crusade on the abolition of fraternities would reference the incident in a speech condemning these comunities. The *Dartmouth* reported, "Epperson described an incident involving three fraternity members and a woman mental patient in which the woman ended up performing a strip tease and other sexual acts in several houses before one student saw she was unhealthy and called the hospital" (Lunch and Marcinkiewicz 1978).

This incident of gang rape, or any experience of shared sexuality, has less to do with personal pleasure than with peer bonding. Benedict (1994) theorizes that gang rape results *not* from sexual urges, but from a need to sustain standing among male peers (5). Straus–having been a member of a Dartmouth fraternity himself–likewise argued that "(representational) rape and gang rape are the most brutal forms of loyalty and subscription to the brotherhood" (1992).

Fischer ‘76 drew an explicit connection between rape and hazing, another form of peer bonding: “If it were logistically possible, rape would be a perfect initiation ceremony, the ideal physical expression of the psychological violence that is nurtured in the fraternities” (1979). Fischer links the fraternities’ violent form of male bonding to rape, pointing to one of the processes by which sexual violence becomes institutionalized within these Greek spaces. Dekeseredy et al. (2001) further write that sexual violence can be so normalized in these spaces of “extensive victimization that “one can make the argument that… it is men who do not engage in woman abuse who are the deviants and whose bond to the dominant patriarchal social order is weak or broken” (5).

MacKinnon (1978)’s theory of sexuality is useful in understanding the connection between masculinity and rape. She understands male domination as achieved through sexuality. The *sexual* domination of women, in her view, is crucial to the subordination of women. She argues that sexual abuse of women–rape, sexual harassment, etc.--and tolerance of this abuse, is evidence of sexual subordination, the linchpin of male domination. In this view, sexual violence on campus is evidence of Dartmouth men seeking to reclaim their patriarchal power and authority over women.

Dartmouth Administration’s Response

Over time, Dartmouth became a more welcoming place for its women students. Just a few years after coeducation, student groups like Women at Dartmouth (later renamed to “Dartmouth Women’s Alliance”) began advocating for greater women’s support services and urging Dartmouth to adopt gender-blind admissions (Women at Dartmouth).

However, regardless of how Dartmouth has improved in the years since 1972, it's clear that the administration's support fell short in certain instances. The improvement in gender dynamics often came not from the Dartmouth administration's mediation or discipline, but instead from consistent student agitation.

Formal and informal student protest–like *You Laugh*, Take Back the Night Marches, other demonstrations, and letters to the Editor of *The Dartmouth*– eventually made strides in making Dartmouth a safer, more welcoming space for female students. This began as early as 1975, when a group of ten women staged the first public protest of their experiences at Dartmouth via a play they wrote and directed, titled *You Laugh.* In it, they said: "I'm tired of being your scapegoat. Dartmouth women are being treated as an unsuccessful experiment in improving the education of the Dartmouth men" ("You Laugh" 1975). In the years following, women became increasingly outspoken in their dissatisfaction with the College. In 1979, Maryssa Marysa Navaro, a professor of History since April 1969 and one of the first two women to become full-fledged Dartmouth faculty members, reflected on the change occurring at Dartmouth: "There has been suffering," she said. "There has also been progress. In 1975, there were not enough women, and there were no support systems; if you wanted to get along, you either acquiesced completely or you isolated yourself" (Merton 1979:66). She credited the changes she noticed to women becoming more outspoken. Women, she said, had become "irritants"; "Instead of being dismayed, we should be encouraged" (Merton 1979:66).

The administration, presumably swayed by these protests and broader tides of change in gender politics, did enact some positive change. These included interventions like the Women's Support Task Force and the Sexual Assault and Sexual Harassment Committee. Over the course of the three decades following coeducation, these groups worked to provide more

information–pamphlets, posters, workshops, forums, stop-rape videos, counseling, etc –to the student body to ensure everyone had a shared understanding of sexual violence and knew how to respond if a peer or friend needed help (The Women's Support Task Force Report" 1987; "How to Protect Yourself Against Rape"; "Letter from Edward Shanahan to all undergraduates" 1990). These interventions helped to raise awareness for these crucial problems that had earlier been dismissed as irrelevant "women's issues." More exposure to these kinds of stories, and greater awareness about the harm created by sexual violence, helped to improved the disfunctional relationship between men and women writ large (Brown et al. 2007:700).

However, the changes implemented by the Dartmouth administration regarding gender dynamics and sexual violence were largely reactive, not proactive. The mere fact that formal and informal protest was ever deemed necessary in the first place—that women *needed* to be irritants–is an indicator of the administration's failures in the coeducation transition. I argue that the College took an active role in legitimating the inequalities perpetuated on the Dartmouth campus and supporting a climate that victimizes women (Dekeseredy et al. 2001:4). Apathy, or turning a blind eye, was a choice with real consequences. In 1992, an Editor's Note in the student publication *Spare Rib* reflected on women's progress at Dartmouth, and the administration's shortcomings:

> Now, twenty years [after the coeducation transition], women are still trying to make their own place on this campus. And still it is a battle fought by individuals on a campus which never embraced the arrival of women…. Dartmouth women have often been made to feel belittled, unacknowledged, unheard, harassed, and unimportant."

Policy decisions–in Dartmouth's case choices about when and how to punish students or intervene in student life –had a concrete impact on the harmful attitudes, levels of harassment or

frequency of sexual violence committed within a community.

Dartmouth Today. In the time since, Dartmouth has made significant progress in normalizing gender relations and making the campus safer for its student body. Following student protest, significant changes have been implemented: The Committee on Standards no longer hears sexual assault cases– a special committee with appropriate training does instead; students can now request dorm changes and academic accommodation for sexual violence and harassment, an idea that arose from Mary Childers' recommendation to the SASH sub-committee in 1992; and the student organization Sexual Assault Peer Alliance (SAPA) continues to provide empowerment-based support to survivors of sexual assault (Pelton Blitz 1992; "Sexual Assault Peer Advisors" 1992).

Perhaps surprisingly, however, Greek Life is still a dominant social force at Dartmouth. Greek Life has survived countless attempts to disband or reform, including a 1978 referendum in which Dartmouth faculty voted 67-16 in favor of fraternity abolition (The Social Default). President Kemeny, too, made "major attempts at reform" but "not terribly successful ones" (Kemeny Oral History 1984). During the first year of the SASH Committee, the members wrote themselves a list of suggestions and goals, which included "establish a committee to determine *when* the Greek system should go co-ed" (italics mine) (SASH Annual Report 1989-1988). Dean Edward Shanahan (at Dartmouth between 1982-1991), too, supported a radical change in the Greek system consisting of either coeducation or abolition (Bagamery 1988). Mary Turco, former Dean of Residential Life, said in 1988 that, in her belief, "people come here without sexist attitudes and they learn them here… They learn them from their peers who have those attitudes, and they learn them in the Greek system" (Bagamery 1988).

Indeed, Greek Life has seen some reform over the years–Dartmouth now has four

coeducational houses, Greek parties are open to the entire student body, Greek houses post lists of contact information for SAPAs and will sometimes host discussions with sororities about sexual assault and harassment. However, in some students' view, these spaces continue to do more harm than good. Consider the following two images (Figures 8 and 9) I captured on Dartmouth's campus in May of 2023 and August of 2022:

Figure 8: Outside of Novack and Sigma Alpha Epsilon on May 23rd, 2023. It reads "DART PROTECTS RAPISTS," and is a remnant of the graffiti from this past summer.

Figure 9: On the side of Baker Library. The graffiti reads "ABOLISH GREEK LIFE."

Sexual violence is, to some degree, a product of cultural beliefs. Culture is constructed in response to institutional arrangements; changes in cultural beliefs require changes in institutional arrangements. Put simply, "efforts to educate about sexual assault will not succeed if the university continues to support organizational arrangements that facilitate and even legitimate men's coercive sexual strategies" (Armstrong et al. 2006:496). This suggests that in order to change the culture surrounding sexual violence, Dartmouth should perhaps consider the flawed or problematic organizational arrangements–like fraternities–that it supports.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

This thesis examined the shifting constructions and displays of masculinity at Dartmouth College over the course of the coeducation transition. This research explored two questions:

1. How were norms and values around masculinity constructed at Dartmouth?
2. How did this construction of masculinity shift over the course of coeducation?

In answer to the first question, I show that before coeducation, Dartmouth fostered a unique social culture defined by a rigid hypermasculinity. This hypermasculinity–embodied, I argue, in the mystical "Dartmouth Animal"—constructed itself in opposition to traditional femininity and was characterized by aggressive, raucous, highly sexualized behavior. The prospect of coeducation threatened this culture, and Dartmouth students and alumni reacted defensively. More importantly, it threatened what the culture represented: patriarchal power–status and privilege that comes from an all-male social group in a patriarchal society.

In answer to the second question, I reveal that after coeducation was officially decided and women joined the student body, that defensiveness manifested itself in targeted violence and harassment toward female students. This behavior particularly centered around the fraternities,

which had become de-facto microcosms of pre-coeducation Dartmouth culture. In these all-male, high-status spaces, the "Dartmouth Animal" hypermasculinity thrived, and initiation rites helped encourage conformity and loyalty. Following the male peer support models, sexual violence became an institutionalized norm for fraternities fostering an extreme and damaging masculinity. Although rape was not a new phenomenon on the Dartmouth campus, in the fraternity context it represented the ultimate enactment of male domination.

"Doing" Masculinity

This research reveals crucial information about the construction and production of masculinity. Gender, as Risman (2004) and others contend, is a social structure; masculinity, as with any gender identity, is something that must repeatedly be "done," or affirmed. As West and Zimmerman (1987) argue, however, there are two aspects to "doing gender": the gender performance itself, and *accountability* (Darwin 2017:319). That is, as social beings, influenced by this gender structure, men–like everyone–are always held *accountable* to socially-constructed understandings of masculinity. Gender becomes compulsory through accountability to the self, accountability to others, and accountability to soceity (Darwin 2017:319). I contend, here, that the construction of masculinity at Dartmouth–one that was exaggerated and restrictive–is inherently fragile. It requires constant affirming and defending. "Accountability" becomes a serious business with major social repercussions. At Dartmouth, masculinity was policed. Dartmouth men's attempts to defend their hypermasculine ethos from feminine encroachment–coedcuation– and rebuke anything remotely feminine reveals the extent to which male peers held each other accountable.

The harassment, intimidation, and sexual violence targeted toward Dartmouth women can then be understood as an act of affirming or "doing" masculinity. The abhorrent behavior of some Dartmouth men is similar to what Pascoe and Hollander (2016) refer to as "mobilizing rape"–a "wide-ranging constellation of behaviors, attitudes, beliefs and talk that work to produce and reproduce gender dominance in everyday interaction (69). From this perspective, sexual violence and assault, in addition ot the symbols and discourses *associated* with sexual assault, are forms of doing masculinity, "deployed in the service of masculine dominance" (Pascoe and Hollander 2016:69). Put another way, "The cultural significance attached to male bodies signifies the capacity to dominate, to control, and to elicit deference, and such expectations are perhaps at the core of what it means for men to do gender" (Risman 2004:438). When women came to Dartmouth, threatening the cultural status quo, Dartmouth men "mobilized rape" to defend their norms of domination, control, and deference. Rape, it can be argued, is a twisted defensiveness, an extreme product of the compulsory task to present and produce masculinity (Darwin 2017:319). In the real and symbolic domination implicit in any act of sexual violence, men affirm masculinity, ward off femininity, and hoard the rewards of the patriarchy.

Of course, the effects of this construction and defense of Dartmouth masculinity are felt beyond just the Dartmouth community. As Fischer '76, himself a fraternity member, reflected,

> When I enrolled at Dartmouth, I was proud to be among the future leaders of society. Today, I'm not so proud, but I am wiser. In view of the social training most of us get at Dartmouth, it is clear why the society we are supposed to lead is so oppressive, in particular, towards women… Social life at Dartmouth is diseased with such oppression (1979).

While not within the scope of this thesis, it is hardly surprising to imagine that Dartmouth men carried these norms and expectations surorunding masculinity–or, at least, vestiges of these norms and expectations–with them after they left Dartmouth. Indeed, in future examinations of gender inequality in the greater society, I make two, perhaps unsurprising, suggestions: first, that researchers continue to examine constructions of masculinity in educational settings, when identities are more fluid and gender socialization is highly influential; and second, following Risman (2004), that focus be placed on men as the "domiant group"–the actions, behaviors, and attitudes they adopt to "preserve their power and privilege" (438).

Dartmouth as a Microcosm for Twentieth-Century America

I also suggest we consider Dartmouth as a loose microcosm for greater social cultural changes in twentieth-centiry America. From this view, we might understand Dartmouth men's relationship with women at Dartmouth as indicative of much larger fears of female encroachment. As I have established, the 1960s and 1970s were marked by social and culture change surrounding gender. Title IX was passed in 1972, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of gender in the education realm. Societal changes, such as industrialization and the first two World Wars, had a profound effect on women's place in society (Rupp 1981:277). Women were drawn out of the home and into educational institutions, reform movements and the labor force in great numbers (Rupp 1981: 276; 281). Women suddenly found themselves entering spaces and social spheres once exclusively reserved for men. As they gained footing, women won over some of the power and status once monopolized by men. Coeducation represented only a small aspect of these cultural changes, but campuses like Dartmouth's served as microcosm for twentieth century America. We can consider some of the drastic, violent responses to female Dartmouth

students not just as a desire to preserve the sacred traditions of their alma maters, but perhaps as indicative of an almost existential fear of shifting gender dynamics in the nation at large.

The Importance of Organizational Support to Normalize Gender Relations

One overarching insight can be gleaned from Dartmouth's coeducation transition: the process of integrating women into a culture that largely rejects them *can* be gradual, but it must not be unsupported. The lack of support from the administration left the problematic pre-coeducation Dartmouth culture unbridled and had a noticeable impact on women's experiences for decades following. In these transitions, support is critical.

Indeed, this research can also provide valuable lessons as the current and upcoming generations of women establish their place in male-dominated fields. Inequality continues to exist between the genders, and gender parity is an ongoing project. In 2020, UN Secretary-general Antonio Guterres announced that the UN's Decade of Action goals for 2030, they would focus on a number of women's issues including increasing numbers of women in leadership roles, repealing discriminatory laws, closing the gender gaps in education and wealth (Guterres 2020). As women's rights expand, women will have even greater access to resources and spaces that were previously controlled by men. As just one example, women's participation in governmental bodies around the world has nearly doubled over the last twenty years (Guterres 2018). According to the U.S. Department of Defense, the percentage of women serving in the military has also been steadily rising. Although coeducation transitions are unusual by nature – as a sudden and rapid introduction of women into a male-dominated space–they can still provide broader insight into how best to integrate women into formerly all-male spaces. As I have stated, on this front, the most significant insight from this research is that the organizational structure

needs to *support* women and advocate for their needs, not leave them to navigate a new and sometimes hostile community on their own.

Limitations and Future Work

This thesis has presented a highly simplified version of the dynamics at play in the social world. In reality, our social selves are the result of a web of overlapping social structures, and it would be impossible to map out the range of influences affecting our behaviors, identities, and perspectives (Risman 2004). Insofar as gender must not be studied in isolation from other mechanisms of inequality like gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, or class, this work would benefit from a critical analysis of the effect of other institutions that produce inequality (Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney 2006:48; Risman 2004:443). A more intersectional approach would complicate this analysis and add to the generalizability of my findings. As it is, race, socioeconomic status, and other social structures did not explicitly factor into my analysis. This is, in part, due to the lack of diversity in the Dartmouth community during the period of study and particularly prior to coeducation. In the 1960s, only a handful of students identified as non-white or low-income (Forty Years On: The Changing Face of Dartmouth). Additionally, I could gather very little demographic data for the students and alumni whose stories contributed to my research and I consequently struggled to integrate these details into my analytical work.

Reliance on archival data also limited the findings of this work. Although Rauner Library maintains a robust archive on the College's history, not all stories and perspectives can be documented or preserved. The viewpoints presented in this paper were not demographically representative. Women's perspectives were largely overrepresented, while fraternity men's perspectives were limited. Information on other demographics like race/socioeconomic status

was often limited, but I would reasonably assume that most of the viewpoints in this data were from white, relatively wealthy Americans from largely elite circles. In addition, robust fact-checking is nearly impossible on this kind of archival data. I often assume the reliability of the oral histories, personal essays, and reporting that comprises this data. Many viewpoints, too, are filtered through journalists' judgment. As the researcher, my own subjectivity also influenced this data. I only selected narratives that I deemed relevant, so I may have unintentionally overlooked important threads. My positionality as a Dartmouth undergraduate, with my own opinions on the College and its history, may have influenced my selection and analysis of this data.

With this in mind, it is challenging to gauge cause-and-effect from this kind of archival data. Future research on this topic might be mixed-method: it would combine archival research with in-depth interviews of Dartmouth alumni and community members. Interviews would add a crucial retrospective viewpoint. They would facilitate deeper exploration of the themes and stories that may have been limited or distorted in the archival record.

The generalizability of these findings is also limited by dynamics and culture specific to the Dartmouth context. The factors that affected Dartmouth's social structure are the product of the College's unique settings, history, student demographics, traditions, etc. The college context, too, is certainly not representative of broader society. The average adult in America has a different set of pressures and responsibilities motivating their behaviors, attitudes, and experiences than students at an elite, Ivy League institution. Future research on this topic might compare the coeducational transitions at other American universities. Comparative work could identify which idiosyncrasies in the coeducation/gender construction process are specific to Dartmouth, and which are more universally embedded in the larger social structure.

This work largely focused on masculinity; women's experiences, although a common component of my data, were somewhat peripheral, used to illustrate the campus climate. Future research might be centered more specifically on women's experiences, following in Traver (2022). A focus on the production and presentation of femininity would help form a more complete, accurate narrative of coeducation at Dartmouth. A mixed-gender perspective would also complicate and illuminate constructions of *masculinity* at the College. Gender is not a binary, nor is it reproduced in a vacuum: an exploration and interrogation of masculinity would not be complete without an analysis of femininity, and vice versa.

More broadly, I advocate that analytical historians and social scientists give greater attention to gender as an essential force in shaping the social world. Goffman (1977) called gender the "opiate of the masses"; as a social structure deeply embedded in the fabric of our lives it implicates every other social force, from power, to belonging, to individual identity (315). As such, the study of gender in the coeducational context, or in any historical moment, offers researchers a rich and often under-interrogated perspective on the social world.

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