

ARTICLE

## **“Nothing unites men like war”: Fraternity rumbles, masculinity, and the routes to leadership**

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ABSTRACT

This article argues that the interfraternity wars or “rumbles” that occur at the University of the Philippines Diliman must be understood as dynamic violent interactions between male-exclusive organizations equipped with the capability for group cohesion and defiance and is oriented to hegemonic masculinity. Analysis of 264 incidents reported from 1990 to 2013 indicates a shift in the pattern of rumbles: while there is an overall decrease of incidents, rumbles have concentrated in fewer fraternities over the years. The study further analyzes the narratives of 15 fraternity men (14 alumni and one student) about their own experiences of rumbles in the past, the emotions and sensations involved in being “at war” with rival fraternities, and their own criticisms about the culture of violence among fraternities. The study demonstrates how fraternities are at risk for hypermasculine behavioral paths that regard rumbles as a means to assert dominance over other fraternities and circumvent routes to hegemonic masculinity. The study also links micro-level factors of situational interactions and organizational features to larger cultural scripts regarding masculinity and future national leadership. Finally, the study provides insights in preventing fraternity-related violence in the campus and points to the challenges of gender socialization of UP students in relation to imaginaries of national service and future national leadership.

KEYWORDS

fraternity, violence, masculinity, hypermasculinity, rumbles

## Introduction

Fraternities at the University of the Philippines Diliman (UPD) have a long tradition of active participation in academic, political, and community life inside and outside the campus. UPD fraternities list generations of their alumni who started as campus leaders then rose as the country's presidents, senators, and justices, among other luminaries (Catindig and Magno 1994; Navarro 2010). The recruitment of fraternities focuses on young men with leadership potentials, and their initiation processes and consequent socialization are claimed to develop leadership qualities (Gutierrez 2019). However, a history of fraternity-related violence, consisting of 11 student deaths from initiations and interfraternity wars (known as "rumbles") in addition to hundreds of cases of injuries from rumbles over the decades, has become a dimension that the university community and the public has associated with fraternity culture.

In a study of UPD fraternity violence, Ricardo Zarco and Donald Shoemaker hypothesized that joining fraternities is a way for young male students to overcome feelings of depersonalization and the anxiety of blending into a large university, such as UP Diliman (Zarco and Shoemaker 2012). The authors, following social psychological theories of group dynamics, suggested that the severe initiations instill commitment, liking for, and loyalty of members to a group (Aronson and Mills 1959; Schachter 1959; Festinger 1962), and that these feelings could erode over time unless maintained by intense group activities, such as rumbles, which could revive emotions that bond fraternity members together (Zarco and Shoemaker 2012).

This article analyzes data on fraternity rumble incidents from 1991 to 2013, including the increase or decrease of rumbles; shifts in patterns, such as the place of incidents; rivalry pairings; and the use of weapons over the years. The study delves further into the narratives of fraternity men, mostly alumni who expressed willingness to share their experiences of rumbles. The study contextualizes interfraternity violence as indirect extensions of power contests and struggles happening in the nation and as interactions arising from situations and meanings that justify the orientation to violence.

Fraternity rumbles are problematized in this work as violent encounters attended by the unique situational context that fratmen inhabit, the distinctive qualities of the fraternity as an organization with the capacity for group cohesion, and the gang-like defiance and the prevalent socio-cultural scripts on masculinity that demand UP men to demonstrate leadership potentials. Further, the study argues that in responding to the role of UP students and alumni in future national leadership, fraternities risk falling into

hypermasculine situational demonstrations of dominance and gangsterism, which in turn, distort the University and its fraternities' ideals about honor, excellence, and national service.

The study demonstrates that warrior-leadership—as a route to acquiring status—has attracted fraternity members away from the prescribed normative routes of academic excellence and recognized student leadership positions in the University.

By expanding the data set of UPD fraternity rumbles to the data covered by Zarco and Shoemaker (1995, 2012), the current study aims to provide a more robust basis by which analysis of incident patterns can be made. The study further contributes to the literature on fraternity-related violence in the Philippines and on dimensions of Filipino masculinity and masculine organizations.

### **Fraternity delinquency in the literature**

The majority of literature on the misbehavior of college fraternities outside the Philippines point to hedonistic activities, rather than to violence that has been linked to fraternities in the Philippines (see Gutierrez 2019; Jensen 2015; Zarco and Shoemaker 1995, 2012). In the United States, the literature on the misbehavior of white college fraternities deals mostly with alcohol abuse and excessive partying—delinquencies that reflect class and racial privileges (see Jones 2004; Iwamoto et al. 2011; Ray and Rosow 2012; Syrett 2009). Related studies have also dealt with sexual predatory behavior of fraternity men toward women (see Bleecker and Murnen 2005; Boswell and Spade 1996; Boyle and Walker 2016; Martin and Hummer 1989; Sanday 2007). Violence in initiation rites similar to the Philippines have been linked to racially minoritized African-American and Asian-American fraternities in the context of their marginalization in the white-dominated American society (Jones 2004; Tran and Chang 2013). In Nigeria, hazing and intergroup violence among university fraternities extend to crimes, such as murder, homicide, rape, and kidnap for ransom (Ezeonu 2014). Another study found that fraternity men in a low-income Metro Manila community endure physically punishing initiation rites as sacrificial violence that is central to their struggle for social and political recognition (Jensen 2015).

The study of Zarco and Shoemaker argued that, as UPD fraternities aim for campus dominance and elite status over other fraternities and organizations, they compete to win student council elections, the command of the Reserved Officers Training Corps (when it was still in place), and editorial positions in the Philippine Collegian, among others. This drive for dominance has led some fraternities to unconventional strategies, such as

“kidnapping” rival candidates during elections, and even violent confrontations that escalate into rumbles (Zarco and Shoemaker 2012). The authors observed that the patterns of interfraternity wars in the 1990s mostly occurred during daylight hours, around noon, near academic buildings, particularly Palma Hall, and toward the second half of the semester<sup>1</sup> (2012).

UPD fratmen typically go through initiation rites involving paddling, fist blows, kicks, various forms of beating, relentless quizzing (mostly about the fraternity’s principles, traditions, and celebrated alumni), and overcoming mind-games and other tests that demonstrate trust and commitment and overcoming fear (Gutierrez 2019). The initiation rites bear resemblance to those of the Katipunan<sup>2</sup> and the Philippine masonry (Richardson 2013). These hazings, according to McCoy, served as *transformative trauma* for college males to achieve militarized manhood for those enlisted, notably in UPD, and for those enrolled at the elite Philippine Military Academy (McCoy 1995). UPD fraternity initiations have been interpreted in the context of training young men “to navigate the rough terrain of boyhood to manhood with a brotherhood of peers by overcoming the age barriers and foiling despotic patriarchs represented by professors, national leaders, potential employers, and other authority figures that police its gateways” (Gutierrez 2019).

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### **Theorizing rumbles violent encounters, group defiance, and masculinity**

This article adopts a number of theoretical concepts to frame the understanding of fraternity rumbles. The study looks into the following dimensions: (1) the process of violent dominative engagements of rumbles (Athens 2005, 2015); (2) the fraternity’s capacity for group defiance similar to that of gangs (Sanchez-Jankowski 2003); and (3) the drift to hypermasculinity, machismo, and delinquency in men’s pursuit of hegemonic masculinity (Mosher and Tomkins 1988; Matza 2017; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

The study draws from radical interactionism to dissect rumbles as interactions between groups of men when they lock into a contest for power and status. Violent encounters are social acts constructed from “performing separate roles, communicating with each other through vocal and manual gestures, assuming each other’s attitudes, and working out, by whatever means possible, including physical force, a plan of action for executing the prospective social action in which they are jointly implicated” (Athens 2005). The range of hostilities between fraternities, for example, reflect typologies outlined by Athens in increasing intensity and duration: dominance tiffs,

violent skirmishes, and dominative engagements (2005, 2015). Rumble incidents can take on stages of encounters as fraternities engage in role claiming, role rejection, role sparring, role reinforcement, and role determination of being superordinate or subordinate over the other through victories and defeats in an ongoing dominance contest (2015).

There might be value in looking at fraternities as “conflict gangs” (Zarco and Shoemaker 1995), a label that seems incongruous for university student organizations dedicated to leadership training, philanthropy, and community service. Fraternities share with gangs their disposition for exclusiveness, territoriality, adventure-seeking tendency, social status, and capability for defiance (Sanchez-Jankowski 2003). Conversely, some gangs have been known to provide economic and social benefits to communities that suffer from neglect by formal authorities (Gutierrez 2012; Venkatesh 2008; Sanchez-Jankowski 2003). Gangs are typically understood as lower-class groups engaged in illegal ventures and are hardly associated with college students from privileged or emancipated classes. However, Ifeanyi Ezeonu’s study of Nigerian college fraternities showed that the subculture of violence—typically associated with lower class youth gangs that celebrate values of toughness, autonomy, excitement, fate, trouble, and smartness—can equally be absorbed by higher status college-attending youths because the latter likewise seeks the same masculine recognition (Ezeonu 2014; Miller 1958). The concept of gangs as a social group imbued with organized defiant individualism, a trait that allows groups to defy those who would thwart their goals (Sanchez-Jankowski 2003), can be extended to fraternities. The capacity of some fraternities for group defiance pushes them toward gangsterism as they break norms and turn to violence.

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### **UPD Fraternities: hegemonic and Filipino masculinity**

Fraternity members share a distinctively masculinized socialization as a male-exclusive, organization not open to women and openly gay men. Many UPD fraternities have allied sororities with whom they maintain social and organization links but are organized and recognized separately as student organizations in the University. Fratmen feel that they share an exceptional bond with their fellow members who underwent the same sacred initiation rituals and subscribe to the principles and culture codes of the fraternity not privy to non-members. They share homosocial camaraderie in social activities that range from hanging out with the group within and outside the campus, working together in events and projects, and through links to occupational and career networks post-university. Fraternities orient themselves to a brand of manhood defined by an elite brotherhood of

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university men—a distinctive category of hegemonic masculinity that is idealized, extolled as ascendant over other types, and that may evolve over time (Connell 1995; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). While manhood for fratmen must be characterized by strong sense of self and loyalty to the principles of the fraternity, different generations prized certain qualities more than others. For example, UPD fraternity men from the 1950s prized intelligence, talent, and academic excellence, highlighting the importance of brainpower in rebuilding the nation from the effects of World War II, especially for the professions, such as engineering, medicine, and law (Gutierrez 2019). Those from the 1960s valued “high potential in leadership” or those have “a yearning for leadership”, those who were students during the Marcos regime in the 1970s valued “being political”, toughness became central to being a fratman in the 1980s and 1990s, and “having direction” or “having ambition” was deemed central in the 2000s and 2010s (Gutierrez 2019). Recent batches of fratmen said they were drawn to the fraternities’ network of accomplished and successful alumni (Franco 2017).

Studies on Filipino masculinity identified positive and negative traits. Positive characteristics include such qualities as responsibility; family orientedness; respect for spouses, women, and the elderly; integrity; intelligence and academic achievement; strength (toughness in physique and in expression of ideas); and sense of community (Rubio and Green 2011). These traits overlap with idealized Filipino masculine traits proposed by Vivienne Valledor-Lukey such as *makapagkapwa* (affinity with others), *makisig* (elegant), *malakas* (strong), *maprinsipyo* (principled), *matapang* (brave), and *may kusang-loob* (has initiative). Many of these traits align with those idealized by fraternity men. However, what sets apart fraternity masculinity is that they point towards qualities of highly successful professionals who will likely become leaders (Valledor-Lukey 2012).

Valledor-Lukey further outlined negative Filipino masculinity as associated to such traits as being *mapusok* (impetuous), *matigas ang ulo* (stubborn), *mayabang* (boastful), *padalus-dalos* (rash), and *mainitin ang ulo* (hot-headed) (2012). These negative traits are invoked as men dabble in delinquent and violent behaviors and as they drift to hypermasculinity (Matza 2017)—the exaggerated form of masculinity that views violence as manly and danger as exciting (Mosher and Tomkins 1988). Hypermasculinity ushers the ideology of machismo, which celebrates the “superior masculine”, and valorizes emotions of excitement, anger, and disgust exemplified by the macho script of the warrior (1988). As other studies have confirmed the link between fraternities to cultures of hypermasculinity and violence (Corprew and Mitchell 2014; Iwamoto et al. 2011), the current study seeks to further analyze this link in its examination of UPD rumbles.

## Research method and data sources

This article draws from a research project that examined two types of fraternity violence: fraternity rumbles, which is the subject matter of the current article, and fraternity initiations, which is the focus of an earlier journal article (Gutierrez 2019). The current study analyzed records of fraternity conflict incidents from 1991 to 2013 reported to the UP Diliman Police and cross-validated with reports from the Office of the Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs (OVCSA). It must be noted that data from an earlier period (1991 to 1999) from the same University sources used by Zarco and Shoemaker were revisited and compared to a more recent data set (Zarco and Shoemaker 2012).

These data were first-level reports to the university authorities and, at the time they were collected and examined, had not reached the deliberation of a disciplinary body. The study recognizes the sensitivity of the data; thus, no names of individuals are mentioned and fraternities are assigned alternative codes to protect the participants from potential risks. In view of research ethics, the study also limited the data collection to 2013 to provide a temporal buffer for the current batch of UPD fraternity residents from potential repercussions.

The study recruited participants, first, from the researcher's professional and personal contacts, then by way of snowball sampling recruitment from different batches of seven out of over 20 UPD fraternities. The study conducted 15 in-depth interviews with fraternity men about their fraternity life, including experiences of rumbles and initiations. Sampling referrals tended to include men who were trusted and respected by the first batch of participants. Thus, the sample bias may be that participants included mostly successful men. Participants included two professors, a Justice of the Supreme Court, a bank executive, a corporation executive, a regional trial court judge, a law partner, an arts director, a government official, an executive from a corporate legal office, a legal associate, a businessman, a government corporation lawyer, and a law student. The interviews took place in their homes, offices, or in a restaurant and were audio recorded with their consent.

The ages of participants ranged from 20 to 81 years old. Many of them were students in the 1980s and 1990s when fraternity violence was at its peak, some from 1950s to the 1970s, and a few from the 2000s to the recent years. Of the 15 participants, 14 were fraternity alumni and only one was a student because it was difficult to recruit current students, fraternity residents or recent graduates who were willing to talk about fraternity rumbles

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or initiations. A study by Franco confirmed the hesitation of resident fraternity men in talking about their initiations and participation in rumbles (Franco 2017). Younger fraternity members understandably feel the need to protect themselves and their fraternities from potential self-incrimination and negative reputation. The lone student participant in this study, for example, avoided answering questions about his fraternity initiations and involvement in rumbles; he also declined the request for audio recording but allowed the researcher to write down interview notes. The mature age of alumni participants gave them distance from the violence they described and made them more willing to openly share their views and experiences to a non-member. Therefore, the study mostly features the narratives of older men, which may have already been shaped by retrospection and reflection, and does not capture points of view of resident fratmen.

## Findings

The discussion of findings and analyses is divided into two sections. The first section presents and analyzes the patterns of interfraternity violence from 1991 to 2013. It discusses the increase or decrease of rumble incidents, the patterns of rumbles in relation to fraternity deaths, place of incidents, and use of weapons. The second section discusses and analyzes the narratives of fraternity men on rumbles. Such narratives show their interpretation of rumbles, why they begin and how they escalate, how a rumble feels like going to war, what a rumble “score” means, securing the safety of their leaders and members, and all motivations and justifications that attend fraternity rumbles.

## Reported incidents

Incident reports from 1991 to 2013 show the persistence of fraternity violence although the frequency of such incidents have declined over the years. As shown in Table 1 and Figure 1 below, physical clashes or rumbles involving personal injuries from fistfights, throwing of explosives, damage to property, and similar attacks have decreased from 1991 through 2013. A contrast between a high of 37 incidents in the year 1991 and an all-time low of two incidents in 2013 highlights this shift in the annual volume of violence.



Table 1. Fraternity incidents in UP Diliman, 1991–2013

Year	Rumble incidents	Persons involved	Persons injured
1991	37	166	13
1992	27	211	20
1993	25	326	32
1994	35	150	30
1995	1	2	0
1996	7	27	2
1997	21	90	16
1998	18	136	17
<b>Subtotal A</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>1108</b>	<b>130</b>
1999–2000	no data	no data	no data
2001	4	2	1
2002	18	64	12
2003	5	34	4
2004	6	26	7
2005	12	45	9
2006	16	95	11
2007	7	63	12
2008	7	35	11
2009	2	11	2
2010	4	14	1
2011	5	38	4
2012	5	23	2
2013	2	5	1
<b>Subtotal B</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>455</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>1563</b>	<b>207</b>

Sources: University of the Philippines Diliman Police, and UP Diliman Office of the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, 1991–2013. Data were not available for the years 1999–2000.

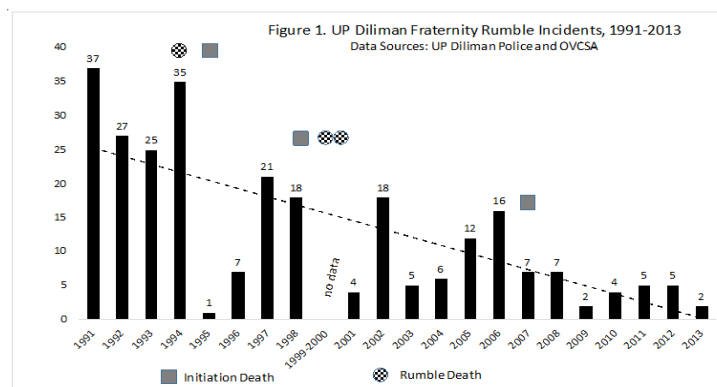


Figure 1. UP Diliman Fraternity Rumble Incidents, 1991–2013  
Data Sources: UP Diliman Police and OVCSA

The 1990s was the decade with highest violence with 171 incidents, 1,108 persons involved, 130 persons injured, and three deaths due to rumbles (see Table 1, Figure 1, and Figure 2). In addition, two deaths from initiations took place in the 1990s, comprising a total of five deaths in a span of six years from 1994 to 2000. The latter 14-year period from 2001 to 2013 registered fewer incidents

consisting of 93 rumble incidents, 455 persons involved, 77 persons injured, and one death from initiation that took place in 2007 (Table 1 and Figure 1). A trend line over the bar graph of incidents shows a downward direction (see Figure 1).

Deaths were plotted over the bars in Figure 1 alongside the pattern of rumble incidents. A drop in the number of rumble incidents can be observed after each death. After a rumble death in 1994 and an initiation death in 1995, rumbles plummeted to only a single case in 1995 and seven in 1996, much lower than the annual average of 21 cases between 1991 to 1998. After an initiation death in 1998, a rumble death in 1999, and another in 2000, rumbles also dropped to only four cases in 2001 but skyrocketed to 18 in 2002. The sudden decrease suggests that student death as a pinnacle of violence tends to draw public reaction, produces fraternity contrition, and prompts University officials to intervene<sup>3</sup> such that their combined impact deterred consequent incidents. However, the limited number of cases and short historical timeline of available data cannot illustrate a more conclusive pattern.

The suggestion that a tragic death is a galvanizing event that would prevent future violence needs to be assessed further. With the average number of rumbles in 1991 to 1998 of 21 incidents per year, 1995 registered only one report of a rumble, whereas there were seven incidents of rumbles in 1996 (see Figure 1). However, an initiation death in 1995 also took place. The rumbles appear to have returned to their usual volume in 1997 and 1998 until the violence again escalated to two consecutive rumble deaths: one in 1999 and another in 2000. No rumble death has been reported since 2001 but one initiation-related death was reported in 2007, the last fraternity death in UPD as of this writing. Figure 1 suggests that fraternity deaths take place at the peak of rumbles and that consequent deaths are immediately followed by low incidents of rumbles in the short run, periodically rising until another death occurs.

Since 1954, 11 deaths have been linked to fraternity violence in UPD, six from initiations and five from rumbles. Figure 2 shows the timeline of deaths from initiations and rumbles during 1954 to 2007.

Within a 53-year period from 1954 to 2007, the average number of years in between deaths is 4.82 based on 11 deaths. Figure 2 shows the uneven intervals of fatality incidents throughout this time. The seven-year period between 1994 and 2000 already accounted for five deaths on record: two from initiations and three from rumbles. A 13-year gap occurred between the first two initiation deaths in 1954 and 1959. Moreover, only two years passed between an initiation death in 1967 and a rumble death in 1969,

whereas seven years passed between a rumble death in 2000 up to the latest death from an initiation in 2007. Rumble deaths took place within a shorter time, with the first death taking place in 1969 and the fifth and last one in 2000. In comparison, initiation deaths occurred within a longer period with the first initiation death in 1954 and the sixth and last at 2007. The unevenness of the intervals suggests that public condemnations after each death did not necessarily prevent deaths in the immediate consequent years.

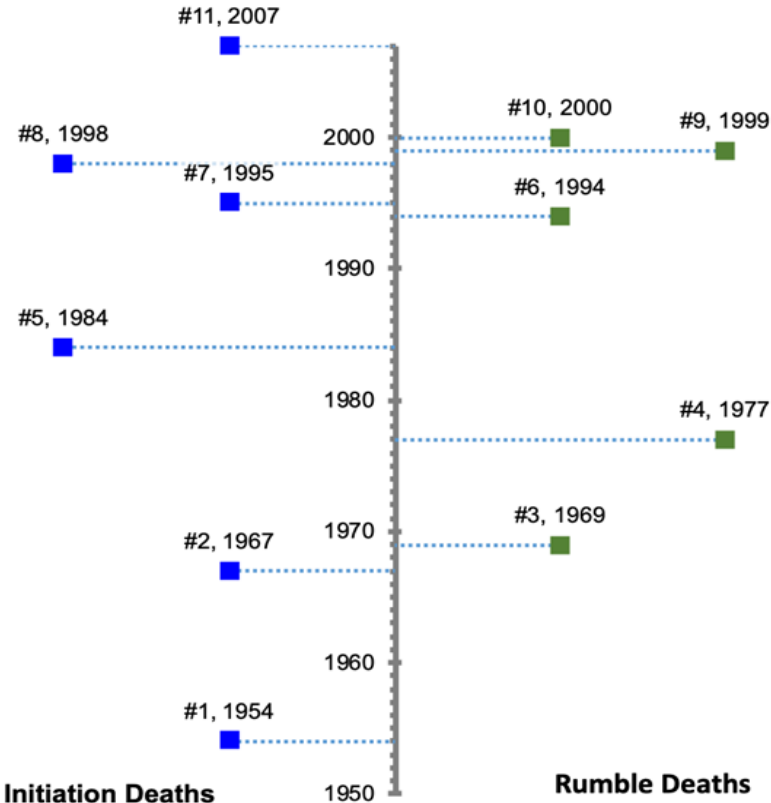


Figure 2. Timeline of UPD Fraternity Deaths, 1954 to 2007  
 Source: UP Diliman Police, OVCSA, Zarco and Shoemaker 2012, and newspaper accounts

The number of fraternities involved also showed a significant decrease. For the nine-year period from 1991 to 1998, 18 fraternities were involved in 196 rumble incidents compared with the latter 13-year period from 2001 to 2013 during which only 12 fraternities were implicated in 154 rumbles (Refer to Table 2, Sections A and B).

Table 2. UPD fraternity rumble incidents and number of rivals

A. Rumble incidents, 1991–1998*			B. Rumble incidents, 2001–2013			
Fraternity	Incidents	Rivals	Fraternity	Incidents	Rivals	Increased/ Decreased
1. QR	41	5	1. QR	28	6	Decreased
2. WX	28	4	2. ST	27	7	Increased
3. ST	21	4	3. OP	19	7	Increased
4. YZ	17	8	4. WX	17	5	Decreased
5. HI	16	7	5. KL	16	6	Increased
6. KL	14	5	6. YZ	15	6	Decreased
7. OP	13	5	7. JJ	11	3	Increased
8. GH	8	2	8. DE	8	4	Increased
9. JJ	7	3	9. CD	7	3	Increased
10. DE	6	3	10. BC	2	2	Increased
11. MN	6	2	11. MN	2	2	Decreased
12. FG	4	3	12. GH	2	1	Decreased
13. EF	4	2	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>154</b>		
14. UV	3	2				
15. CD	3	2				
16. JK	3	1				
17. AB	1	1				
18. BC	1	1				
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>196</b>					

Sources: OVCSA, UPD Police.

\*1991–1998 records verified with data from the study of Zarco and Shoemaker (2012). Data were not available for the years 1999–2000.

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Table 2 lists the number of incidents that fraternities have been involved in and the number of rivals. From 1991 to 1999 (Table 2A), fraternity QR ranked highest on the list with 41 incidents and five rival fraternities, followed by WX with 28 incidents and four rivals, and by ST with 21 incidents and four rivals. In the next period, from 2001 to 2013 listed in Table 2B, QR remained at the top of the list with 28 cases and six rivals, followed by ST with 27 incidents and seven rivals, and by OP with 19 incidents and seven rivals. (Please refer to the chord diagrams on rival pairings in Figure 3 and Figure 4 presented in Appendix 1 at the end of the article.)

The general decline in rumbles has not been a uniform trend for every fraternity. Fraternities ST, OP, and KL recorded higher participation (Table 2 A and B), while fraternities QR, WX, and YZ saw a decline in participation. Overall, seven out of the 12 fraternities increased their participation in the recent years. This shift in pattern suggests that, while rumbles generally decreased, they have become concentrated in fewer fraternities in more recent years. Locations were identified based on complaints made to the UP Diliman Police and on the latter’s investigation report (see Table 3 A and B). While most incidents took place inside the campus, a few incidents continued outside the campus in a string of sequential events, e.g. a fight that started in the campus and was immediately followed by an incident that took place near or outside the campus.

**Table 3. Locations of UPD fraternity rumble incidents as reported to UP Diliman Police\***

<b>A. Locations of incidents, 1991–1998**</b>	<b>frequency</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>B. Locations of incidents, 2001–2013</b>	<b>frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Academic areas</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>67.55</b>	<b>Areas of academic vicinity</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>68.18</b>
Palma Hall (CSSP and CAL)	46	30.46	Palma Hall (CSSP and CAL)	23	26.14
Melchor Hall (College of Engineering)	15	9.93	Melchor Hall (College of Engineering)	8	9.09
Palma Hall Annex	7	4.64	College of Law Complex	4	4.55
Business Administration Building	7	4.64	School of Economics	3	3.41
College of Law Complex	5	3.31	Faculty Center	3	3.41
Faculty Center	5	3.31	NCPAG	3	3.41
Math Building	3	1.99	UP Theater	2	2.27
Main Library	3	1.99	College of Fine Arts	2	2.27
College of Home Economics	2	1.32	NCTS	1	1.14
ISMED	2	1.32	College of Science	1	1.14
Llamas Hall	2	1.32	College of Business Administration	1	1.14
National Engineering Center	2	1.32	Institute of Biology	1	1.14
College of Education	1	0.66	College of Arts and Letters	1	1.14
College of Science	1	0.66	Vanguard	1	1.14
College of Social Work and Development	1	0.66	SOLAIR Building	1	1.14
<b>Commercial Areas</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9.27</b>	College of Human Kinetics	1	1.14
CASAA	4	2.65	National Institute of Physics	1	1.14
U.P. Cooperative	3	1.99	UP NIGS	1	1.14
U.P. Shopping Center	2	1.32	Mathematics Building	1	1.14
Vinzon's Hall	1	0.66	Quezon Hall	1	1.14
Bahay ng Alumni	1	0.66	<b>Commercial Areas</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12.50</b>
Beach House Canteen	1	0.66	Vinzon's Hall	6	6.82
Health Service Parking Lot	1	0.66	UP Cooperative	2	2.27
Padi's Point Restaurant (outside UPD)	1	0.66	UP Alumni Hotel	1	1.14
<b>Residence Halls</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>19.21</b>	Near Sarah's eatery (inside UPD)	1	1.14
Yakal Residence Hall	9	5.96	UP Infirmary	1	1.14
Ipil Residence Hall	9	5.96	<b>Residence Halls</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12.50</b>
Molave Residence Hall	5	3.31	Narra Residence Hall	7	7.95
Kalayaan Residence Hall	4	2.65	Molave Dorm	1	1.14
Narra Residence Hall	2	1.32	Kalayaan Dorm	1	1.14
<b>Others</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3.97</b>	Yakal Residence Hall	1	1.14
U.P. Sunken Garden	2	1.32	Kamia/Sampaguita Residence Hall	1	1.14
SM City North Carpark (outside UPD)	1	0.66	<b>Others (inside UPD)</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6.82</b>
NSRI Parking Lot	1	0.66	UP Employee Village	2	2.27
Main Library	1	0.66	Roces St.	2	2.27
Roxas Avenue	1	0.66	Apacible St.	2	2.27
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\* These locations were based on complaints made to the UP Diliman Police and the latter's investigation reports. While most of the locations were inside the UPD campus, locations outside the campus were listed whenever they were part of a string of sequential incidents that took place in the campus.

\*\*1991–1998 records verified with data from the study of Zarco and Shoemaker (2012). Data were not available for the years 1999–2000.

For both periods, around two-thirds of the rumbles took place in areas central to student activity, such as main academic buildings, notably in Palma Hall where students attend general education classes under the College of Arts and Letters and the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy. This was followed by Melchor Hall and the College of Law Complex, home to college-based fraternities in the College of Engineering and the College of Law, respectively.

Despite the fraternity custom that dormitories or residence halls are off-limits to rumbles, 29 incidents occurred in dormitories during 1991 to 1999, representing 19.21 percent of 151 cases, and 11 incidents during 2001 to 2013, which is equivalent to 12.50 percent of 88 cases.

The decrease in incidents mirror the decline in the volume and variety of weapons used in the fights (see Table 4 A and B below). For the period of 1991 to 1998 in which cases were analyzed, a total of 473 instances of weapon use were recorded. In comparison, only 80 instances of weapon use were reported in UPD police records from 2001 to 2013.

**Table 4. Weapons, instruments, and other means used in assaults by fraternities as reported to the UPD Police**

<b>A. Reported cases, 1991–1998</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>B. Reported cases, 2001–2013</b>	<b>f</b>
1. Steel pipe	192	1. Steel pipe	25
2. Fists	60	2. Getaway vehicle	19
3. Pillbox	51	3. Fists	12
4. Baseball bat	37	4. Baseball bat	6
5. Wooden club	22	5. Glass bottle	4
6. Glass bottle	20	6. Pill box	3
7. Stones	19	7. Bladed weapon	2
8. Molotov bomb	10	8. Unidentified weapon	2
9. Tear gas	10	9. Stones	2
10. Stick	10	10. Tear Gas	1
11. Paper cutter	9	11. Knives	1
12. Knife	7	12. Gun	1
13. Gun	4	13. <i>Chaco</i> or nunchucks	1
14. Ice pick	3	14. Crowbar	1
15. Fan knife	3	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>80</b>
16. Tennis racket	3		
17. <i>Chaco</i> or nunchucks	2		
18. Wooden paddle	2		
19. Rubber pipe	1		
20. Long knife	1		
21. Ax	1		
22. Gloves	1		
23. Firecrackers (100 pcs)	1		
24. Pillbox materials	1		
25. Rattan stick	1		
26. Walking stick	1		
27. Wrench	1		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>473</b>		

\*1991–1998 records verified with data from the study of Zarco and Shoemaker (2012).

While rumble incidents are still present in the more recent years, there is evident decrease in the overall number. While the number of implicated fraternities has decreased, the remaining fraternities engaged in rumbles have increased their involvement, indicating that incidents became more concentrated and intensified in fewer fraternities. This pattern shift requires further understanding as to why such fraternities continue to engage in rumbles, and why some do so more than others. Insights from the narratives of fratmen, which point to the rise of situations ripe for dominative engagements attended by hypermasculine motivations and rationalizations, may provide some answers.

## **Narratives of fratmen: Masculinity, dominance, and war**

### ***Violent encounters***

For fratmen, a rumble is not just about a single attack; rather, it is a state wherein two fraternities come to a mutual understanding that the initial conflict that has erupted between them shall be followed by more hostilities. Rumbles involve physical violence (e.g., fist blows and kicks) as well as the use of improvised weapons, including metal pipes, baseball bats, stones, cutters and/or objects that can easily be accessed, concealed, and passed off as non-weapons in a school setting (refer to Table 4 A and B). In some cases, fraternity men arm themselves with improvised explosives and more lethal weapons, such as knives and guns, which can cause serious injuries to persons, damage to cars, *tambayan* (hangouts), and other properties, and may even cause death.

Rumbles rise, dissipate, or further develop from a continuum of violent encounters, which can ultimately progress from dominance tiffs to violent skirmishes or full-on dominative engagements (Athens 2015). Dominance tiffs take place when a party claims role dominance and the other rejects it; as a result, both parties spar roles until at least one or both of them stops before any party reinforces the superordinate role (Athens 2015). Some fratmen reported that pointed stares (*masamang tingin*) can spark irritation when a fratman passes by the *tambayan* of a rival fraternity. Then “*babatubin ka ng mani* (they’ll throw peanuts at you)”, Ambo,<sup>4</sup> a participant, jested to the pettiness of the situation. Such postures of dominant role claims, equivalent to dominance tiffs, have been nipped in the bud in the past when fratmen deflect the posture (e.g., a stare or a similar daring stance) as petty and not worth responding to.

A stage more serious than a tiff is a violent skirmish where disputants enter the stage of role enforcement but never complete it and, second-

guessing themselves, decide to refrain from further violence, at least at the present time (Athens 2015, 2019). A violent skirmish is similar to what Paeng, another fratman, described as a “mash-up”:

When meeting at the corridors... they will really bump against each other. This is my space! My corridor! I won't give way to you! No side will back off. If you avoid, you are a coward!... Good if they'd just walk past each other, but no, they'd exchange hostile stares. There'd be a fist fight. Then... [they] report to the frat.

Reporting to respective frats may or may not result in either or both frats carrying the mash-up further and reinforcing the claim to a superordinate role by pursuing the fight. An intense climate of distrust and hyper-surveillance looms over both parties. University officials and the network of fraternity alumni called UP Barkada<sup>5</sup> have been known to broker truces and peace pacts between their resident fratmen—a strategy that has prevented skirmishes from escalating into full dominative engagements. Rumbles as interactions are contingent on developing situations between the fraternities and the failed interventions of their alumni and university officials, both of which are authorities recognized by the fraternities.

Violent dominative engagements move beyond the stage of reinforcing role claims to determining who occupies the superordinate or dominant role (Athens 2005, 2015). The goal of fraternities to dominate a rumble “score system”, indicated by an outcome of a bleeding injury (*kapag may dumugo*), is attended with the subterranean principle of aggressiveness: “If they have hit once, we should hit twice.” Ding’s sympathetic tone for an injured member of a rival fraternity simultaneously declares his fraternity’s dominance in one major rumble:

*Habulan ng kotse* (There were car chases)...*labasan ng baril* (guns were drawn out)...car crashes here and there... At the University Avenue, two cars were totally wrecked...one guy ended up in a wheelchair (a member of a rival frat)...I think until now.

These narratives reveal the distinctive group traits of fraternities: they confer with one another on how to react to an aggression, recognize a hierarchy of leadership, synchronize their actions, and engage rivals with the group in mind.

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## Fraternities as a gang-like collective

Fraternities share with gangs the organizational capacity to protect members under threat while also protecting their territory from perceived intruders, ensuring leadership changes for continuity, and controlling the behavior of their rank and file (Sanchez-Jankowski 2003). During a rumble period, fratmen rendezvous at their *tambayan*, dormitory, and a designated safehouse. Members are fetched from their classes in groups, and those taking exams would be guarded by a team. A roster is checked to monitor the resident members' safety and whereabouts and, if needed, to secure them in a safehouse or a headquarter, typically a home of an alumnus brod.<sup>6</sup>

Familiarization with campus areas, territories, and membership of other fraternities has been a part of the socialization of fratmen. "After your final rites, the brods will walk you around AS<sup>7</sup>... like you are being introduced", Paeng said, giving us an insight into how "fratmen know each other and their respective affiliations". Territories also correspond to the status and position of fraternities. Ding mentioned that his fraternity's presence "in AS was for bravado, [a] flag carrying our pride". A stronghold territory for fraternities is the College of Law because law school brods—projected as future presidents, senators, justices and other national leaders—must be secured during rumbles and spared from direct war labor. An attack at the College of Law premises is considered a bold, risky, and high-value move. Meanwhile, AS brods (undergraduate students) were, in the men's words, work horses, foot soldiers, and cannon fodder. However, Ding, a law alumnus, also acknowledged the need to participate in the battleground. He described his own contribution:

I cannot just let the younger ones fend for themselves...I had the skill. I as the designated driver because I have a car and I drove well. I knew how to utilize firearms, I've had training. Then, I was mature enough to be called when I'm needed. I was one... in a special *nagkagipitan* (crisis) team.

The organizational qualities and hierarchy that equip a group for combat solidarity, which are similar to those of gangs (Gutierrez 2012), emerge during interfraternity conflicts. Fraternities consolidate with student organizations and other fraternities to form election parties and expand political capital, which heightens tension with fraternities allied with opponent parties. Student elections are hotspots for rumbles, especially when fratmen run as candidates. In cases where fraternity members had a falling out due to election factions, Dencio revealed that a rumble can reunite a divided fraternity, because it "creates an 'us versus others,' a tribal, primitive kind of raw emotion for war".

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GUTIERREZ – "Nothing unites men like war"

## Going to war: Emotions and sensations in rumbles

“Nothing binds men like war”, this was how Ding summed up the consolidating effect of a rumble. War terminologies, such as *target*, *intel* (intelligence), *special ops* (operations), *safehouse*, *decoy*, *ambush*, *lost command*, and *tirador* (striker), peppered the men’s vocabulary. There were rules of engagement and chivalry: dormitories are off limits and a fratman cannot be attacked when accompanied by a female student or by a professor. Boyet sarcastically recalled that during the late 1980s, he read Sun Tzu’s *The Art of War* instead of his schoolbooks to master rumble strategies.

The men described the emotions and sensations of being in a rumble as extraordinary: “an adrenaline rush like that of a war junkie”, or “like the finals of a basketball game”. Evading the rival frat evoked a similar exhilaration based on Boyet’s narrative.

Three cars chased me down near Kalayaan Dorm from Shopping Center...  
Three to four followed us. They were holding cartolinas [with] metal pipes [hidden] inside. The car suddenly stopped, like a police arrest... I ran fast, then one leap and I was over the fence!... The things I did before... Wow! Was that me?

The progression of power claims and aggressive actions taken and received, together with the heightened emotional states, lead to *violent resoluteness*, a condition wherein “subjects now know they have reached or will soon reach the point of no return, a stalemate situation where going backwards is as hazardous for them as moving forward in their violence development” (Athens 2015). Bloodshed, which rouses a yearning for revenge, can be considered occasions for violent resoluteness. For example, Dencio, despite his reputation for pacifying the fraternity war freaks, joined a retaliation plan, “because once blood is drawn, when you see your brod bleeding, there’s something beastly in me that goes: *walang hiya* (shame on them)! *Mga gago yun ah!* (Those fools!)”

While fratmen intend to score, it is unlikely that they aim to kill. They typically describe a fatal outcome as “an accident”, a force beyond one’s control. Boyet recalled:

During a rumble you are, like, blacked-out. You don’t know what’s happening...*Tira ka lang ng tira* (You just keep hitting). That’s why someone can get killed. That year, there was a kill...Sometimes you cannot control your force.

Given how far fratmen expose themselves to danger, do they even warn one another about seriously injuring or killing a rival fraternity member

during a rumble? To this question, Dencio once again demonstrates violent resoluteness, “There is no such thing as *medyo-medyohin natin ito*. (Let’s do this mildly).” This resoluteness was affirmed by the instructions of the brods of Doy,

You’re gonna hit to hurt... You don’t say, ‘be careful’... [You say] ‘Don’t be wimps, okay? You are carrying the name of the fraternity so you have to uphold our honor... If somebody does something to you, hit them hard!

With the intensity of masculine emotions, and the indeterminacy of control over physical forces, rumbles present a real danger to the lives and limbs of UPD students.

### **Circumventing routes to hegemonic masculinity**

The attraction of fraternities to violence must be understood as caused by factors beyond *maliliit na bagay* (trivial things) or by an overreading of postures in developing interactions. Altercations arising from a private grudge between a member and another fratman, for example, do not or should not warrant a rumble, according to fraternity norms. Rather, a rumble is stoked by an interpretation of whether the fraternity’s collective identity and status are placed under question. Interfraternity conflicts draw from a reservoir of cultural scripts—representations of norms and behavior often manifested through language and expressions—particularly scripts of masculinity that define violence as justifiable. That reservoir orients to a particular hegemonic masculinity: that great UP men must demonstrate qualities of leadership, including military capacity, as exemplified by warriors. The idealized national leadership status, however, is a projected future, and the hypothetical warrior-military aspect of this status can only be experienced in the immediate present through demonstrations of toughness and the hypermasculine stance of non-aversion to violence.

Although the fratmen did not articulate summative local categories for masculinity, such as *pagkalalaki* (manhood or being a man), they referred to context-based performances and identities representing masculinity. For example, physical tests during initiations were referred to as toughening up the body (*para tumigas ang katawan*), and fratmen who shy away from a fight were berated as *malambot* (soft). “My fraternity never starts a fight... but will respond if provoked,” claimed Jun. Violence as a logical and moral recourse is reflected in Jojo’s remark: “If they beat up one of our brods, we have to do something about it; we cannot just let that pass.” Restraint as a default stance conforms to expectations of high status and educated men. However, when restraint is transgressed, violence becomes a viable, if not

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inevitable, option. The men claimed that their fraternity's default stance is, actually, non-violence. In Philippine popular culture, the title of the 1983 action film starring Fernando Poe, Jr., *Umpisahan mo, tatapusin ko* (You start, I finish) (FPJ Productions) exemplifies the justification for offensive responses to provocation and is actually replicated in the words of fratmen. Fights between prison gangs have followed the same logic of violence as an appropriate response to aggression with the same lines uttered by prison gang members in a focus group discussion (Gutierrez 2012).

The men themselves recognized masculinity as a taken-for-granted orientation. "Because these are men, if there's friction, a rumble would follow," was Estong's direct answer to the question on why fraternities fight. Fratmen who hesitate from rumbles risk being tagged as *bakla*, a word they qualified to refer to being cowardly (*duwag*) instead of being homosexual.

The connection between hegemonic masculinity (warrior for the collective) and hypermasculinity (toughie reacting to a situation) is negotiated. For many fratmen, the warrior who defends the honor of the fraternity through force represents a masculine exemplar that men look up to and respect, although men and boys may not faithfully live up to that ideal (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). The *sigá* (toughie), the warrior's street-smart version who stands his ground and can spring to action when needed, can be easily assumed. Justifying to his nonfraternity friends his choice of fraternity, Doy said proudly, "*Dito ang sigá.*" (The toughies are here.) This tough reputation appealed to what he called as his "wild streak", in stark contrast to his "nice boy image".

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### **The larger political scene: Rehearsal for power**

Imputing fraternity violence as an offshoot of the larger national political turmoil seems far-fetched. Zarco and Shoemaker (2012), for example, criticized the association of fraternity violence with the brutalizing effects of World War II to Filipinos, given no clear link that relates both. However, linking the young men's predicament to what is going on in the national leadership can be instructive. For example, Ezeonu established that class kinship between Nigerian college fraternities and the local national bourgeoisie sustained a symbiotic criminal relationship and culture of impunity, mainly because fraternities functioned as hired thugs and election riggers for the bourgeoisie, while the latter protected fraternities from prosecution (Ezeonu 2014). In the Philippines, the toughness associated with national leadership is exalted in the masculine exemplar of military strength and is represented as masculine power to young fraternity men, as parodied in their initiation rituals (see Gutierrez 2019). Dencio illustrated how paddle blows came with instruction during his initiation:

You have to memorize the history, the distinctions of the brods: bar top-notchers, editors, senators, justices, the founding fathers. The motto and fraternity rules... If you get the wrong answer? “Pak!” (mimics paddle whack sound). The entire initiation process...that indoctrination: that we are scholars! Pak! That we have to be leaders! Pak! Academic excellence! Pak! Leadership! Pak!... That we are lawyers for the country! Pak! There is no logic but *for some reason it works*.

The men wove the narratives of their own fights as if they were part of contemporaneous national political turbulence. For example, Miong pointed to the vigilance of the police over fraternity rumbles during the Marcos Martial Law years. He recounted how, following a fist-fight between them, he and several other UP fratmen were arrested and brought to Camp Panopio, a facility of the Philippine Constabulary in Quezon City where arrested activists were typically detained during Martial Law (1972–1981), for interrogation. On account of a standoff involving guns between his fraternity and another, Andoy noted, “To think I was already here during the Diliman Commune with the military and all... I said to myself (after the stand-off), UP is so violent.”

The late 1980s to the 1990s was a period of transition for Philippine politics—when the Marcos dictatorship ended, new pathways to state power opened. The period invited not only coup attempts but other bids to control power and contest new state authorities. With keen antennae for political status, fraternities may have mirrored this tussle for power in the national scene onto their local competitions with other fraternities, which in turn, impacted the rise in rumble incidents and deaths in that period (refer to Figure 1 and Figure 2). The suggestion of military power, for example, stoked heat amongst UPD fraternities the year leading to the People Power Revolution in 1986. Political tensions create opportunities where warrior-leader archetypes rise as exemplary figures, and if prominent on the opponent’s side, attract testing. Dencio, from the 1980s, offered: “When Enteng, [the] most peaceful man I know, joined the fraternity, we attracted a lot of attacks because [other rivals] knew he was from the PMA (Philippine Military Academy).”

Narratives of the fratmen further articulate the connection between power contests, war, violence, rational leadership, and the significance of lawyers. As Dencio explained,

[A] concept that is no longer relevant today but very relevant before—war. American period after the war, Philippine independence. The heroes were lawyers... that’s why lawyers dominated Philippine society. [Later,] independence was not won through war anymore. It was won through law.

You had Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law, Tydings-McDuffie Law. And who were the heroes? Osmeña, Roxas and, finally, Quezon. All those rivalries between [them]. Everyone wanted to be the first to get the Independence Bill. Lawyers played a prominent role and UP was the first prominent law school. It was a recruiting ground for all these leaders.

Fratmen consolidate preparedness for the various dimensions of leadership: legal-rational training as one and military combat acumen as another. The historical consciousness of the Philippine *ilustrado* class<sup>8</sup> and its young successors is permeated with experiences of aborted ascent to national leadership when the United States took power after the Philippines Revolution against Spain, and when the Japanese occupation interrupted the Philippines Commonwealth transition to independence (Gutierrez 2019), as cited by Dencio earlier. Presented as training grounds for future leaders, UPD fraternities balance the valuation of intellectual, moral, and professional qualifications with the capacity for organized violence, which in legitimate national terms, means engaging in state-level war, but on the ground—at the level of resident fratmen—means honing proxy skills in rumbles with other fraternities on campus.

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### Social class tensions

Rumbles articulated class tensions in the socioeconomically diverse UPD, whereas rivalries surfaced articulations about class identities and stereotypes. As Boyet recalled,

With frat HI, we did not know who our enemies were...Only five were UP students...but almost a hundred would surround our dormitory! Their brods were *yosi boys* (cigarette vendors) and fishball vendors. They would taunt us: ‘YZ, come out now.’ ...What else can you do?... none of us could go in and out of the dorm for two days.”

Ding jested about his fraternity’s range of rivals, “They told us...even vendors, jeepney drivers, *pinapatulan namin* (we mess with them). You will be scared of the tetanus you will get from the *pana* (improvised spear/arrow) they use.”

Rumbles also revealed a regard for class distinctions: working class men belong to a league of warriors; they are numerous and fearless, they possess distinct warfare tactics, and their weapons are crude and dangerous. Inversely, Kaloy denigrated a fraternity consisting of “pretty boys, not warriors, who cheat by sending their drivers and bodyguards to fight us”. He recounted how his fraternity outwitted its rival of “glamor boys”.

We perfected the tactics! Deliberately we spread the *intel*. *Nagdisplay-display yang brods namin dun* (Our brods displayed themselves to be seen). They entered the trap! ... Ambush! ... Pillbox after pillbox! That's their weakness...their property, their cars. They'll have a hard time explaining to their dads why they abandoned them (laughs) ...*inupakan namin... tanggal baterya... tanggal gulong!* (We devoured it, took out the battery, took out the wheel).

In these narratives, the men thresh out dormant class tensions by noting how one's resources, the lack of it, or its destruction become material in instances of battle between the rich and the poor. The recognition of distinct weaknesses, i.e. cars as targets of destruction, and of strengths, i.e. great number of working class brods, add up towards a familiarization with the various aspects of war or battle, in this case, the socioeconomic background of rivals.

### Reflexivity: Attempts at non-violence

Ironically, the men were critical of their fraternity's violence and condemned it as childish machismo and as impulsive (*mapusok*) tendency of youth. The reflexivity of fratmen shows that fraternity culture is a contested rather than a monolithic one, thus presenting possibilities for changing the culture away from the violence of hypermasculinity. They criticized members who lusted for rumbles as war freaks, fanatics, peacocks, hotheads, bullies, and *mga gago* (fools) who "hijack the entire system and drag everyone else". It can be argued that these are contrite realizations of mature men—fraternity alumni—who constituted most of the study's interview sample rather than young fraternity men. However, attempts at restraint were also made during their residency. Doy claimed that he and some of the resident brods back then had been critical of the "warriors" in the frat and would talk among themselves: "I didn't join a gang...We are not looking for a fight; we want [a] group!" As a senior resident back then, Dencio recalled prevailing over a war-freak brod: "*Tama na 'yan tarantado ka!* (Enough, you fool!)" and pleading to the rest of his brods, "*Hindi ito kabaklaan, pero tama na* (this is not cowardice, but enough of this)"! to de-escalate a rising conflict with another fraternity.

Ambo, a founding member of UP Barkada, explained that at the onset of rumbles, a network of alumni strategized interventions that successfully prevented further violence. This typically involved inviting their respective resident brods involved in the feud to a social gathering where older brods commune with their supposed enemies in a round of beers or a game of golf. The older men convince their respective fraternity residents to calm down and agree to peace as modeled by the camaraderie of their elders.

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Ambo explained that “the strategy is for the younger brods to see us all together and realize that, at the end of the day, the most important thing is you all graduate... that when you go out... your fellow students are the ones you will see again outside the university.” This insight from an alumni suggests the existence of generational differences among resident and alumni members that may be configured by their respective ages and practical locations: a young fratman in campus sees other fraternities are rivals, whereas fraternity alumni—now in the world outside UP—are now in a position to better appreciate the commonality among all UP fratmen.

Some fratmen welcome the intervention of nonfraternity public intervention to demand accountability from fraternities. Doy expounded that,

“community censure would give the rules-inclined members of the frat a stronger voice within. They would say: ‘Look, we will not survive if we continue [misbehaving] because the community will not allow it.’ However, if the community is silent, then the misbehavior will continue and the ones who want to do the right thing inside the frat won’t have enough leverage.”

Dencio suggested that because it is not monolithic, fraternities can reform, and that the more rational members committed to the true ideals of the fraternity can prevail over warmongers. Ambo also asserted that the fraternity has to evolve to stay relevant, otherwise it will die a natural death.

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## Conclusion

This study has shown that rumbles continued until the recent decade but that their overall number has decreased along with the variety of fraternities involved and the number of rival pairings. A sustained and uniform pattern of decline, however, cannot be concluded. The concentration and intensification of rumbles in fewer fraternities requires further investigation. To provide better insights into the phenomena of rumbles and to determine what accounts for the higher levels of violence in certain fraternities, future studies can scrutinize the interactions of combined factors, such as fraternity size, type (university- or college-based), years of existence, *tambayan* location and status, membership coverage (limited to UPD or extended outside the campus), participation in campus competitions, and levels of masculinized values among its members in relation to incident records. Moreover, the gender dimension can be further enriched with studies on UPD sororities and their violence or, based on University authorities records so far, the lack of it.



Narratives from fraternity men showed that they tapped into hegemonic masculinized scripts attuned to the legacy of the intellectual class: the political, economic, and cultural leadership of the nation required a sense of military preparedness. Rumbles are assertions of dominance over rival fraternities and are expressions of defiance to authority figures drawn from the backdrop of idealized masculinity for UP students and alumni. While harsh initiations rehearse young men to foil patriarchal judgment that blocks access to adult manhood (Gutierrez 2019), the current study suggests that rumbles allow them to rehearse postures of dominance in power claims within the campus as projections of overcoming blocks and preparations for conflicts in the future. Rather than acts of sheer hooliganism (situation-induced and directionless), rumbles are psychic and emotional rehearsals that simulate leadership and subordinate roles in conflict situations, sensitizing young men for warfare drawn from lessons in national history. Violent encounters and engagements—explained as testing out roles and status claims at the micro-level—draw from the larger cultural scripts of masculinity and hypermasculinity and of crafting collective defiance in the context of national political projections. The hypermasculine socialization also taps into a subterranean cultural justification that men can turn to unconventional measures in dire straits (*pag nagkagipitan*) akin to a nation having to go to war if invaded. It is during a near-battle or the circling around a war that young men in a fraternity rumble could feel closest to how men in the real world might face threats to defend one's community or nation.

While fraternities can manifest gang-like traits, they do not commit to norm-defiance the way gangs do. Fraternities can be drawn back to uphold the ideals of the university and expectations of the public. The reflexivity of fratmen over fraternity violence, their criticisms of machismo, and the recognition of the need for public accountability all indicate the possibility of further reforming fraternity culture. By framing violence as frivolous masculine bravado, fratmen can eschew negative Filipino masculinities. Their gang-like defiance that push fraternities to drift to delinquency can be counterbalanced by a drift back to conformity through their willingness to return to the status as recognized student organizations in the premier state university (Matza 2017). Such reintegrative orientation can help reconcile their commitment to the prosocial aims of the brotherhood and legitimize their claim as a training ground for future leaders of the country.

As national leadership extends far beyond fraternity members, UP graduates, and men, studies on student socialization, future national leadership, and violence must expand to consider non-fraternity university organizations and fraternities outside UPD. The intersections of organizations with violence, status, and power can be explored with studies that further

probe into the impacts of certain categories, such as age, social class, ethnicity, and education, among others. More importantly, capturing the narratives of resident fraternity men while they are contemporaneously engaged in their activities alongside the retrospective narratives of older men in this study also presents a challenge for future researchers.

Moreover, the openness of fraternities to intervention and rethinking of their masculine culture begs the question of whether they would be open to gender resocialization programs that go beyond espousing gender sensitivity to women and LGBT members and move toward addressing how men relate among themselves and with other groups of men. Further, the challenge to the University of the Philippines is to find ways to offer its students relevant imaginaries for their role in nation-building and national leadership and to effectively translate those imaginaries into modes of socialization that eschew violence.

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## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> At the University of the Philippines Diliman an academic year is divided into three terms consisting of two five-month semesters and one six-week midyear term.
- <sup>2</sup> The *Katipunan* or the *Kataas-taasang, Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (KKK) was an association of Filipinos that sought independence from the Spanish colonial rule (See Richardson 2013).
- <sup>3</sup> Over the decades, University policies and programs were developed to regulate the conduct of fraternities, sororities, and other student organizations. In 1995, the University Board of Regents addressed “the culture of violence” among student organizations by penalizing participation in rumbles and physical attacks, hazing, and provoking confrontations.

Fraternities and sororities were further prevented from recruiting freshmen (UP Board of Regents 1995). Interfraternity councils were organized to “develop friendly relations” among fraternities, “[and] bring about, by peaceful means, the settlement of interfraternity disputes” (UP Interfraternity Council 1980; UP Fraternity Community 1999). Meetings and workshops have been conducted to bolster interfraternity relationships, consciousness of the Anti-Hazing Law, campus violence, and conflict resolution skills (Office of Counselling and Guidance 1987).

- <sup>4</sup> Real names of participants have been replaced by pseudonyms in the form of Filipino men’s nicknames in this article.
- <sup>5</sup> Formed around the late 1980s from various UPD fraternities, the UP Barkada (Barkadahan ng mga UP Fratmen) has conducted mediation meetings to help resolve conflicts between respective resident members. They also participate in fraternity summits organized by the university to foster an atmosphere of dialogue between generations of fratmen. (UP Diliman Information Office 2014).
- <sup>6</sup> Brod is a shortened utterance for “brother” and a localized term of endearment or familiarity.
- <sup>7</sup> AS, which stands for Arts and Sciences, refers to Palma Hall where the former College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) is located. This is where most general education courses taken by all UPD students are held, making it a crossroad for the diverse student population.
- <sup>8</sup> The Philippine ilustrados (meaning “enlightened”) refers to a social category of highly educated Filipinos during the 19th century from rising middle and emancipated classes, and from progressive families of native, Chinese, or Spanish mestizo upper classes. They could typically speak and write in Spanish and have studied in European universities or local colleges established by the Spanish clergy. They were notably patriotic or nationalist, modernists, critical of the clergy and traditional politics, and advocates of reforms or independence from the Spanish colonial rule (See Gutierrez 2013, 326).

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APPENDIX

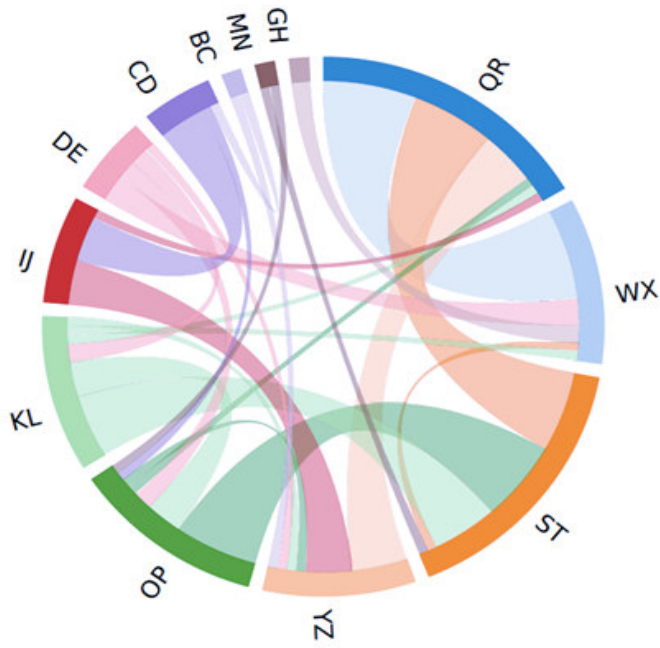


Figure 3. Chord Diagram of UPD Rumble Incidents, 2001-2013  
N=154

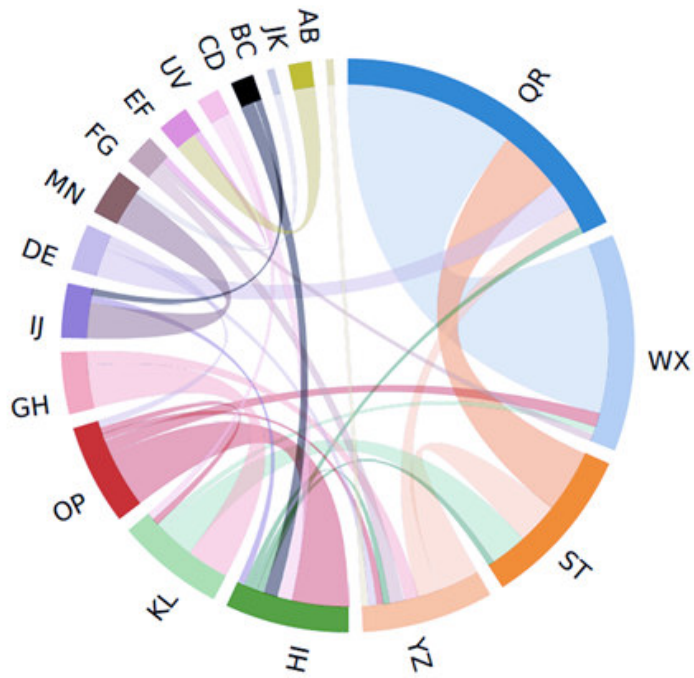


Figure 4. Chord Diagram of UPD Rumble Incidents, 1991-1998  
N=196

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