

SORORITY AFFILIATION AND RAPE-SUPPORTIVE ENVIRONMENTS: THE
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT VICTIMIZATION
THROUGH VULNERABILITY-ENHANCING
ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

By

CORTNEY ANN FRANKLIN

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Department of Political Science
Program in Criminal Justice

MAY 2008

To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of
CORTNEY ANN FRANKLIN find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

Chair

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The process of writing a dissertation and completing a Ph.D. has certainly been one of the most difficult and trying tasks that I have ever undertaken. It is only by God's grace that I have had the opportunity to complete this degree and successfully finish this daunting journey. Every opportunity, every blessing, every chance, every lesson, and everything that is good in my life is the result of God's love and faithfulness.

Additionally, there have been a number of individuals to whom I am deeply indebted, and without their support and encouragement, I would not have been able to finish. I owe a great deal of gratitude to my dissertation committee. My chair, Dr. Leana Allen Bouffard, diligently bestowed her guidance, reading draft after draft of my dissertation, providing me with structure and direction so that I could produce a coherent piece of research. Thank you! Dr. Travis C. Pratt has been a mentor, a teacher, and a friend. His professional advice and encouragement during my entire graduate career has been absolutely invaluable. His mentorship has been integral to my successes and for that I thank him. Finally, to Dr. Noelle Fearn—not only is she a tremendous scholar, but Noelle is an example of the mentor that I strive to be. She has always acted in my professional and personal best interests. Her sound guidance has gotten me through this experience and her passion and integrity have provided a role model for me in terms of the academic that I hope to become. I cannot begin to find the words to adequately express how much she has meant to me as a mentor, but more importantly, as a very dear friend. She has listened to my struggles and my pain. We have laughed together and cried together. She has

encouraged me professionally, supported me intellectually, provided me with opportunity, relished in my accomplishments, and helped me up pick up the pieces when I thought that all was lost. During these last five years she has grown to be one of my very best friends and surviving these last years, let alone earning this degree, would not have been possible without her.

I also want to thank Dr. Leonard Burns and Dr. Craig Parks who have provided me with invaluable statistical skills and instruction. In particular, Dr. Burns made himself readily available and was willing to provide help and troubleshooting during this entire process. Without their patient instruction and dedication, this dissertation would have been but a faraway dream.

I want to especially thank Dr. Nicholas P. Lovrich, Michael Gaffney, and the staff at the Department of Governmental Studies and Services—in particular, Ruth Self, Patty Bierly, and Christina Sanders. Dr. Lovrich provided me a job when I first entered the Graduate Program in Criminal Justice and every summer thereafter. For this I am entirely indebted. Not only did this employment provide me with the basic necessities to survive that initial year and each summer after, but working for DGSS afforded me the opportunity to work on grants and contracts, participate in survey mailings and data entry, meet criminal justice practitioners, and increase my marketability as a graduating doctoral candidate. In addition to these essential skills, these dear people have also provided me with support in a way that my own family would. In particular, Dr. Lovrich has been as kind as anyone could be. His constant praise and positive reinforcement has made me feel at home in an environment stricken with stress and uncertainty.

Enduring this process without the help of my friends would have certainly been torturous. First, I want to thank Jennifer Albright for her friendship and her willingness to listen and act as a springboard when things got tough. I also want to thank Stephen Lothspeich for being a dear

friend. His kind spirit and unconditional generosity have made my time in graduate school worth remembering. Their friendship has truly been a blessing. I also want to thank Tonisha Jones who was literally a God-send. Her support and friendship was nothing short of a gift from God. Finally, to Jamie Wada, I owe my sanity. You have been my shoulder to cry on, my friend to laugh with, and my support to weather the storm. You will never fully know how much your friendship has meant to me or what I would have done without you. Thank you Jamie.

To my family, I give great thanks. My parents, Pam and Rick Bell, have always provided love and support. During these last years, their love and encouragement has made it possible for me to endure the suffering associated with earning a doctoral degree. My father was consistently interested in my progress, always asking about my work, and always encouraging me to be the best that I could be. My mother was kind and understanding and during this time in my life when I was most in need of love, my mom provided the support and care that only a mother could. For that I will be forever grateful. These two people have taught me the value of persistence, dedication, and hard work, and it is because of their modeling and parenting that I have become the woman that I am today. All that is good in me, comes from the two of them. I love you both dearly.

I also want to thank my Auntie Di, Uncle Jim and Cousin Riley; Uncle Derick, Aunt Lucinda, Cousins Zach, Anna, and Arron; Uncle Kenny, and my Grandpa Les and Grandma Lydia. My family have all been exceptionally supportive, interested, kind, and full of love not only during these past ten years, but since the day I was born. My in-laws, Mac and Mara Franklin, have also been supportive as I have ventured through this trying and sometimes troublesome journey. Their prayers and love have been a tremendous encouragement.

Most importantly, my husband Travis—to him I owe everything. Without him, I would be nothing. The unconditional love and support that he has provided to me both during this process and in life, generally, is unmatched. During the times at which we grew together, celebrated together, worked together, struggled together, and during periods of this process when I was at my most unlovable, he remained unconditionally dedicated, kind, supportive, and loving. He has been my stronghold and I can not imagine my life without him. Thank you my love for all that you are and all that you have been.

SORORITY AFFILIATION AND RAPE-SUPPORTIVE ENVIRONMENTS: THE
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT VICTIMIZATION
THROUGH VULNERABILITY-ENHANCING
ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

by Cortney Ann Franklin, Ph.D.
Washington State University
May 2008

Chair: Leana Allen Bouffard

The current research uses survey data collected from a sample of college sorority and non-sorority affiliated women to investigate whether and to what degree female Greek membership institutionalizes victimization. Drawing from prior theory and empirical research on campus sexual assault, the feminist explanation for rape, routine activity theory, social learning theories, and self-control, this study tests a comprehensive model that identifies pertinent factors present among sorority environments to determine if Greek affiliation puts women at risk for rape. More specifically, this study answers three research questions: 1) do sorority women hold attitudes that are conducive to rape, 2) do sorority women engage in behaviors that increase their risk of rape, and 3) do these vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors predict illegal sexual assault victimization?

Results indicate that sorority women do not significantly differ from non-sorority women in terms of their reported incidents of multiple forms of rape, including illegal sexual assault victimization, verbal coercion resulting in sexual intercourse, and threats of force or force resulting in attempted or completed rape. Path analytic techniques reveal, however, that sorority women are more likely to engage in particular vulnerability-enhancing behaviors than their non-

affiliated counterparts and those particular behaviors are empirically correlated with various forms of sexual assault. Indeed, sorority women were more likely to engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption. They also reported more delayed assessments of threat and increased proximity to fraternity men as compared to independents. These behaviors were significantly correlated with sexual assault victimization so that women who more frequently consumed intoxicating substances were more likely to engage in risk-taking behaviors, influencing their ability to appraise and respond to danger cues, thus increasing victimization likelihood. Further, women who reported delayed threat appraisals were more likely to report delayed risk responses, resulting in the increased likelihood of illegal sexual assault victimization. Finally, women in closer proximity to fraternity men were more likely to report illegal victimization. Results of this study find that particular pathways exist between sorority affiliation, vulnerability-enhancing behaviors, and rape victimization. Theoretical and policy implications are discussed and future research directions are proposed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
 CHAPTER	
1. THE PROBLEM AND PREVALENCE OF CAMPUS SEXUAL ASSAULT	1
Introduction.....	1
The Prevalence of Campus Sexual Assault	2
Correlates of Woman Abuse.....	7
Structural Factors	7
Social/Cultural Factors.....	8
Contextual and Situational Factors	8
Individual Offender Factors.....	9
Individual Victim Factors	11
The influence of Sorority Affiliation	11
Existing Victimization Theory.....	13
Purpose of the Current Research.....	14
Summary	16
 2. THE CULTURE AND CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN.....	 18
Introduction.....	18
Explaining Violence Against Women	21
Sex Role Socialization of Rape Analysis.....	22
Structural Factors	23
Patriarchy and a Rape-Supportive Culture	23
Power Disparities	26
Macro-Level Feminist Empirical Research	27
Social/Cultural Factors.....	33
Traditional Gender Roles.....	33
Sex Scripts	38
Rape Myths	43
Limitations of the Feminist Explanation of Rape	48
Empirical Correlates of Woman Abuse	49

Contextual and Situational Factors	49
Individual Offender Factors	55
Individual Victim Factors	58
Summary	62
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	64
Introduction.....	64
General Criminological Victimization Literature	68
Routine Activity Theory	68
Feminist Critiques of Routine Activity Theory	71
Routine Activity Theory and Female Victimization.....	73
Theoretical Implications for the Current Study	79
The General Theory of Crime.....	80
Self-Control and Victimization.....	81
Limitations of Linking Self-Control with Sexual Victimization	84
Theoretical Implications for the Current Study	85
Traditional Theoretical Approaches—Offender Attributes	87
Social Learning Theory: The Transmission of Attitudes and Behaviors.....	88
Male Peer Support.....	91
Gendered Social Bond	93
Reference Group Theory.....	95
Psychoanalytic Theory of Gang Rape.....	96
Limitations of Focusing Solely on Offender Attributes	97
Theoretical Implications for the Current Study	98
Traditional Theoretical Approaches—Victim Attributes	99
Victim Precipitation	100
Traumatic Experiences Hypothesis.....	101
Social-Psychological Hypothesis.....	103
Social Control Theory.....	104
Limitations of Focusing Solely on Victim Attributes.....	104
Theoretical Implications for the Current Study	105
Alternative Theoretical Approach.....	106
The Fraternal Sisterhood.....	107
Historically Black Sororities.....	110
Empirical Research on Female Greek Affiliation.....	111
Sexual Victimization Risk	112
Similarly Related Attitudinal and Behavioral Outcomes.....	115
Controlling for Greek Membership	118
Sororities and the Institutionalization of Victimization.....	119
Research Question 1	120
Research Question 2	121
Research Question 3	124
Summary	124

4. METHODOLOGY	126
Introduction.....	126
Data.....	126
Sample Characteristics.....	128
Sample Comparison to University Undergraduate Population.....	130
Measures	132
Dependent Variable	132
Independent Variables	138
Attitudinal Measures.....	138
Behavioral Measures.....	141
Control Variables.....	147
Research Question 1	150
Research Question 2	151
Research Question 3	152
Summary	154
5. RESULTS	155
Introduction.....	155
Analytic Strategy	155
Research Question 1	157
Research Question 2	162
Research Question 3	178
Supplemental Analyses.....	188
Verbal Coercion Resulting in Sexual Intercourse.....	190
Force or Threats of Force Resulting in Attempted or Completed Rape.....	193
Most Serious Victimization Experience	197
Proximity to Fraternity Men	202
Summary	205
6. DISCUSSION	206
Introduction.....	206
Summary of the Research	206
Summary of the Results.....	208
Theoretical Implications and Future Research Directions.....	222
Policy Implications	228
Conclusion	233
REFERENCES	236

APPENDIX

A. SEXUAL EXPERIENCES SURVEY292
B. DANGER CUE RECOGNITION SCENERIO293

LIST OF TABLES

4.1.	Sample Characteristics.....	129
4.2.	Differences between Sample of University Population	131
4.3.	Measurement of Variables in the Analysis	136
4.4.	Descriptive Statistics—Dependent Variables	137
4.5.	Descriptive Statistics—Independent Variables.....	138
4.6.	Attitude Measures—Item Factor Loadings and Scale Reliability Diagnostics.....	140
4.7.	Behavioral Measures—Item Factor Loadings and Scale Reliability Diagnostics.....	142
4.8.	Low Self-Control—Item Factor Loadings and Scale Reliability Diagnostics.....	149
5.1.	Independent Samples <i>t</i> -Test for Difference of Means among Sorority and Non-Sorority Affiliated Women	159
5.2.	Vulnerability-Enhancing Attitudes Path Model—Final Model: Partial Regression Coefficients	162
5.3.	Proposed Vulnerability-Enhancing Behaviors Path Model: Partial Regression Coefficients.....	172
5.4.	Vulnerability-Enhancing Behaviors Path Model—Final Model: Partial Regression Coefficients.....	176
5.5.	Independent Samples <i>t</i> -Test for Difference of Means among Victimized and Non-Victimized Women.....	180
5.6.	Full Path Model—Final Model: Partial Regression Coefficients	185
5.7.	Supplemental Analyses—Bivariate Relationships	189

5.8.	Full Path Model Predicting Verbal Coercion Resulting in Sexual Intercourse: Partial Regression Coefficients.....	192
5.9.	Full Path Model Predicting Force/Threats Resulting in Attempted/Completed Rape: Partial Regression Coefficients.....	195
5.10.	Full Path Model Predicting Most Serious Victimization Experience: Partial Regression Coefficients	199
5.11.	Full Path Model Excluding Proximity to Fraternity Men: Partial Regression Coefficients.....	203

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1.	The Effect of Sorority Affiliation on the Likelihood of Victimization	17
2.1.	Explaining Violence Against Women through Patriarchal Socialization.....	22
2.2.	The Feminist Explanation of Rape	27
4.1.	Model 1—Vulnerability-Enhancing Attitudes Predicted by Sorority Affiliation.....	150
4.2.	Model 2—Vulnerability-Enhancing Behaviors Predicted by Sorority Affiliation.....	151
4.3.	Model 3—The Effect of Attitudes and Behaviors on Rape Victimization.....	153
5.1.	Hypothesized Vulnerability-Enhancing Attitudes Path Model.....	158
5.2.	Vulnerability-Enhancing Attitudes Path Model—Final Model.....	161
5.3.	Hypothesized Vulnerability-Enhancing Behaviors Path Model.....	163
5.4a.	Proposed Behaviors Path Model—Substance Consumption Dependent Variables.....	167
5.4b.	Proposed Behaviors Path Model—Risk-Related Lifestyle Behaviors Dependent Variables.....	169
5.4c.	Proposed Behaviors Path Model—Danger Cue Recognition Dependent Variables.....	171
5.5.	Vulnerability Enhancing-Behaviors Path Model—Final Model	175
5.6.	Full Path Model—Final Model.....	184
5.7.	Full Path Model—Final Model: Sorority Affiliation Indirectly Predicts Illegal Sexual Assault Victimization.....	187

5.8.	Supplemental Analysis 1—Full Path Model Predicting Verbal Coercion Resulting in Sexual Intercourse	191
5.9.	Supplemental Analysis 2—Full Path Model Predicting Force/Threats of Force Resulting in Attempted/Completed Rape	194
5.10.	Supplemental Analysis 3—Full Path Model Predicting Most Serious Victimization Experience.....	198
5.11.	Supplemental Analysis 4—Full Path Model Excluding Proximity to Fraternity Men	202

Dedication

For Lydia

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND PREVALENCE OF CAMPUS SEXUAL ASSAULT

INTRODUCTION

Extant research has established the alarming rate at which women are sexually victimized on the college campus (e.g., Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAuslan, 1996; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Koss & Oros, 1982). Decades of research has focused on incidence and prevalence rates of sexual assault and has posited and tested theories to better understand, contain, and prevent these forms of woman abuse (see Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004; Bohmer & Parrot, 1993; Burt, 1980; Fisher et al., 2000; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen & Turner, 2003; Kanin & Parcell, 1977; Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957; Koss et al., 1987; Koss & Oros, 1982; Koss, Goodman, Browne, Fitzgerald, Keita, & Russo, 1994; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). This population of women are in a particularly vulnerable position as a result of the broader patriarchal social context that promotes violence against women through the inculcation of traditional gender roles, sex scripts, and rape myth acceptance (Bem, 1974; Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Johnson, 1997; Koss et al., 1994), and because the college campus manifests this social context as a magnified rape-supportive environment (e.g., Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

Existing research also suggests that college students are at an increased risk of becoming victims of sexual aggression because they are in the same age range as the bulk of rape victims and offenders. The Bureau of Justice Statistics indicates that women between the ages of 16 and 24 face the greatest risk of sexual victimization (U.S. Department of Justice, 2003). Moreover,

women within this age group report experiencing rape at a rate that is four times higher than the sexual assault rate of all women (Humphrey & Kahn, 2000). Finally, according to Reaves (2006), 33 percent of convicted rapists are under the age of 25, and 18 percent are between age 21 and age 18.

In addition to establishing the degree to which college women are victims of sexual violence, a vast body of scholarly research has identified the structural, social/cultural, contextual, and individual correlates of woman abuse (e.g., Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004; Bem, 1974; Burt, 1980; Fisher et al., 2000; Johnson, 1997; Koss et al., 1994; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). In particular, a large majority of empirical attention has been paid to the role of situational and perpetrator variables (Abbey et al., 1996; Mills & Granoff, 1992; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997), with relatively less focus on individual victim characteristics primarily in an attempt to alleviate victim-blaming and reduce the propensity to hold victims responsible for their own victimization (see Abbey et al., 1996). These structural, social/cultural, contextual, and individual factors are elaborated upon in the next chapter, but are introduced here for the purpose of providing an empirical context in terms of what we know about college sexual assault and what gaps and limitations remain in this body of literature. First, however, it is instructive to provide an overview of the current state of knowledge with regard to the prevalence of campus sexual assault.

THE PREVALENCE OF CAMPUS SEXUAL ASSAULT

Efforts to better understand rates of college sexual victimization have resulted in a large and developed body of empirical research that spans the past 50 years (e.g., DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Fisher et al., 2000; Kanin & Parcell, 1977; Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957; Koss et al.,

1987; Muelenhard & Linton, 1987; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Prior to the 1970s, there are very few early empirical investigations of rape and sexual assault (but see Kanin, 1957, 1969; Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957). The prevailing political and social climate of the 1970s—characterized by the women’s movement, assertions regarding the potentially dangerous nature of college campuses (see Fisher et al., 2000), and the reconceptualization of rape as a crime of power (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Russell, 1975)—prompted an interest in the study of sexual assault by feminist scholars and progressive academics (see Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004; Fisher & Cullen, 2000 for an in-depth review of this literature). This ushered in a host of efforts geared toward investigating the incidence and prevalence of sexual violence perpetrated against women.

In a pioneering study of campus rape, Kirkpatrick and Kanin (1957) reported that 26 percent of their 291 female survey respondents reported experiencing sexual coercion and 27 percent reported forced sexual contact. Kirkpatrick and Kanin (1957) also discovered an inverse relationship between severity of attack and the likelihood of reporting the offense, where women who experienced serious victimization were the least likely to report their victimization to authorities. Further, they found that a disproportionate number of fraternity members were responsible for perpetrating sexual offenses. These findings have been consistently replicated in more recent research on campus sexual assault (e.g., Abbey, McAuslan, Zawacki, Clinton, & Buck, 2001; Boeringer, Shehan & Akers, 1991; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Twenty years later, Kanin and Parcell (1977) reported similar conclusions, with 50 percent of their 282 female college respondents experiencing sexual coercion at some time during the academic year in which this study took place. In an effort to remedy some of the methodological shortcomings of early survey methods (see Fisher & Cullen, 2000 for a detailed overview), Koss

and Oros (1982) developed and published the Sexual Experiences Survey which posed more in-depth questions regarding a broader range of sexual experiences as compared to traditional reporting techniques (e.g., National Crime Survey). Koss and Oros (1982) reported that 60 percent of their sample of over 2,000 college women had been raped, and more than 30 percent of the female respondents reported experiencing some form of sexual coercion since the age of 14. Other studies have replicated these results among samples of college women (e.g., Abbey et al., 1996; Brener, McMahon, Warren & Douglas, 1999; Himelein, 1995; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Miller & Marshall, 1987; Ogletree, 1993; Yegidis, 1986).

In their influential study designed to investigate the prevalence of sexual assault in college dating situations and identify risk factors associated with forced sex, Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) found that 15 percent of the 380 college women they sampled reported forced sexual intercourse with an alarming 65 percent of their respondents experiencing unwanted sexual aggression. As has been consistently concluded among studies of rape victimization, 17 percent of Muehlenhard and Linton's (1987) sample reported that their experiences of coerced sex had occurred during their most recent date (see also Fisher et al., 2000). Additionally, Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) identified that a man's initiating a date, paying all of the expenses, and providing transportation were risk factors significantly associated with the occurrence of sexual assault.

The most well known and frequently cited empirical analysis of campus sexual assault is a multi-site, national level study of 6,159 college women from 32 colleges and universities conducted by Koss et al. (1987), designed to establish the incidence and prevalence of college sexual victimization. Koss et al. (1987) found that approximately 60 percent of their sample reported experiences that met the legal definition of rape. Their research also revealed that 64

percent of the women reported experiencing some form of sexual victimization since the age of 14, and 54 percent of the women reported some form of sexual victimization during the last academic year.

More recent empirical work has reiterated earlier research conclusions finding incidence and prevalence rates of sexual assault on the college campus ranging from 15 to 30 percent (see e.g., Bohmer & Parrot, 1993; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Similarly, DeKeseredy and Kelly (1995) reported that more than 45 percent of their female sample had been a victim of some form of sexual abuse. Additional research suggests that between 75 and 80 percent of the rapes that occur on college campuses are committed by someone with whom the victim is acquainted (Abbey et al., 1996; Mills & Granoff, 1992), where roughly 50 percent of these crimes occur on dates (Koss et al., 1987). Further, research indicates that approximately five to eight percent of college men know that acquaintance rape is wrong but continue to engage in this predatory behavior because they believe that they are relatively unlikely to get caught (Koss et al., 1987).

In a more recent analysis of female sexual victimization, Fisher et al. (2000) found 2.8 percent of their random sample of 4,446 college women had experienced either an attempted or completed rape. Their figures are substantially lower than those reported by Koss and colleagues (1987) and others (e.g., DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Muelenhard & Linton, 1987). While some have interpreted their results as an indication that the incidence of rape victimization in the university setting may have decreased over the last twenty years, these reported discrepancies are primarily due to differences in study methodologies and do not capture differences in victimization occurrence. More specifically, Fisher et al. (2000) asked respondents about their victimization experiences during a 6.91-month time period (as opposed to an entire year) and included different definitions of attempted and completed rape as compared to other empirical

investigations of college sexual assault that have yielded higher incidence rates. Where Fisher et al. (2000) did not include questions about sexual coercion/rape that occurred as a result of incapacitation by drugs or alcohol, other studies have included measures to capture the occurrence of sex with someone who is unable to consent as a result of incapacitation from substance consumption (see e.g., Koss & Dinero, 1989; Muehlenhard, Pawch, Phelps, & Guisti, 1992). This is increasingly problematic because research has consistently estimated that at least 50 percent of sexual assaults involve alcohol consumption by the victim, the offender, or both (Abbey, 1991b, 2002; Abbey et al., 1996; Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Koss, 1995). Other research reports more liberal figures where 74 percent of assailants and 55 percent of victims were under the influence of alcohol at the time of the attack (Koss, 1995) presenting the dangerous potential for complications surrounding issues of consent.

Despite obvious problems associated with projecting Fisher et al.'s (2000) findings over a one-year time frame (as opposed to the study's 6.91 month reference period), doing so suggests that roughly five percent (as compared to the nearly 3 percent) of college women are victimized over the span of one year. Translating to the course of an entire five-year college career, Fisher et al. (2000) speculate that roughly 20 to 25 percent of college women will likely experience attempted or completed rape. Ultimately, the results of Fisher et al.'s (2000) analysis reveal that an alarming number of college-aged women continue to be targeted as victims of sexual coercion and aggression. Current research consistently replicates these findings on the incidence of female sexual victimization (see e.g., Gross, Winslett, Roberts, & Gohm, 2006). Further, despite decades of scholarly attention—which has resulted in increased preventative educational programming efforts—it appears as if the problem of sexual assault on college campuses has not significantly changed over the last fifty years.

CORRELATES OF WOMAN ABUSE

In addition to research on the incidence and prevalence of sexual abuse among the female college population, a great deal of scholarly effort has focused on understanding the multiple factors that contribute to the likelihood of offender perpetration and victimization among college students. This research can be broken down into four main categories: 1) structural factors that include a patriarchal and rape-supportive society (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Johnson, 1997; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997); 2) social/cultural factors such as the values, ideologies, and beliefs that are socialized and reinforced among individuals and institutions (e.g., Bem, 1974; Burt, 1980; Gagnon & Simon, 1973; Koss et al., 1994); 3) contextual factors that include situational variables related to the context of the incident and the factors surrounding the actual event (e.g., Fisher et al., 2000; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987); and 4) individual variables such as particular offender and victim characteristics (see Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004).

Structural Factors

Research attempting to better understand and predict the occurrence of sexual victimization has paid particular attention to the effects of broader structural factors such as the existence of a patriarchal (Johnson, 1997; Kilmartin, 2000) and rape-supportive society (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997) where both play an active and direct role in influencing the sexual victimization of women. Research suggests that rape is a crime of power (Brownmiller, 1975) and that rape occurs as a result of power disparities between men and women (Russell, 1975). These structural factors are instrumental in understanding 1) why men target women as victims of sexual violence, and 2) why society passively tolerates this form of abuse. This body of literature ultimately argues that larger systemic and structural factors are responsible for

creating power differences between the sexes and for socializing the values, beliefs, and ideologies that sanction male aggression against women.

Social/Cultural Factors

In addition to theorizing the structural factors that influence sexual abuse directed toward women, research has identified several social and cultural factors that play a pivotal role in predicting sexual assault. In particular, there is an empirical connection between adherence to traditional gender roles (Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997; Kopper, 1996; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Shotland & Goodstein, 1983) and rape myth acceptance (Burt, 1980; Giacopassi & Dull, 1986; Lanier, 2001) and the perpetration of sexual assault. Research explains these relationships by examining the larger patriarchal society (Johnson, 1997), the role of sex scripts in shaping and determining appropriate heterosexual interactions (Koss et al., 1994), and the Sex Role Socialization Analysis of Rape (Bridges, 1991; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Simonson & Subich, 1999).

Contextual and Situational Factors

There has been a concerted effort to uncover the role of both broader contextual and specific situational factors on incidents of unwanted sexual contact. This research focuses on variables that are contextually related to the interaction such as the victim/offender relationship (Gross et al., 2006; Tjaden & Thoenes, 2000; Ullman, Filipas, Townsend & Starzynski, 2006), where an overwhelming majority of incidents involve known offenders (Abbey et al., 1996; Mills & Granoff, 1992); and the power differential that exists between the specific male and female involved in the incident. This power differential is typically operationalized as whether or

not the man initiated the date, paid the expenses and/or provided transportation (Hannon, Hall, Kuntz, Van Laar, & Williams, 1995; Kanin, 1967a, 1969; Muehlenhard, Friedman, & Thomas, 1985; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Additional contextual factors related to sexual assault include the age of the victim and the age difference between the woman and the man (Kanin, 1957, 1969; Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957).

Research also investigates the contribution of more specific situational factors that surround the actual event. Examples of these include alcohol consumption and other substance use by both the perpetrator and the victim at the time of the attack (Abbey et al., 1996; Felson & Burchfield, 2004; Koss, 1995; Muehlenard & Linton, 1987; Rada, 1975; Scully, 1990), and the location and degree of isolation where the incident took place (Koss, 1995; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Lott, Reilly, & Howard, 1982; Marx, Van Wie, & Gross, 1996; Muehlenhard et al., 1985; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Ullman, Karabatsos, & Koss, 1999; Weis & Broges, 1973).

Individual Offender Factors

The majority of theoretical and empirical work on college sexual assault focuses generally on offender attributes and more specifically on the role of factors such as gender role traditionality (Bem, 1974; Burt, 1980), including narrow definitions of masculinity, patterns of dominance, and hostility toward women (Abbey et al., 2001; Groth, 1979; Koss et al., 1987; Malamuth, 1998; Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes, & Aker, 1995; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991; Muehlenhard & Falcon, 1990; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Scully, 1990; Scully & Marolla, 1985; Truman, Tokar, & Fisher, 1996), rape-supportive social relationships (Abbey et al., 2001; Boeringer et al., 1991; Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait, & Alvi, 2001; Schwartz & Nogrady, 1996), and particular group affiliations such as fraternity and

athletic team membership on the perpetration of sexual assault (Boswell & Spade, 1996; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Garrett-Gooding & Senter, 1987; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Kanin, 1985; Koss & Gaines, 1993; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

Research has also identified an empirical relationship between the consumption of objectifying and/or pornographic mediums (Baron & Straus, 1989; Boeringer, 1994; Demare, Briere, & Lips, 1988; Donnerstein, Donnerstein, & Evans, 1975; Malamuth, 1983; Malamuth & Ceniti, 1986; Marshall, 1988; Zillmann & Bryant, 1982; Zillmann & Weaver, 1989) and early and adverse sexual experiences and multiple sex partners (Abbey, McAuslin, & Ross, 1998; Abbey et al., 2001; Kanin, 1983, 1985; Koss, Leonard, Beezley, & Oros, 1985; Malamuth, 1986; Malamuth et al., 1991) on the likelihood of engaging in sexually violent or coercive behavior. Further, exposure to family and/or childhood violence (Bernard & Bernard, 1983; Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Gwartney-Gibs, Stockard, & Bohmer, 1987; Malamuth, 1998; Malamuth et al., 1995; Malamuth et al., 1991; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1989; Wilson, Faison, & Britton, 1983) and poor paternal relationships or absent fathers (Fehrenback, Smith, Monastersky, & Deisher, 1986; Lisak, 1991, 1994) are all associated with perpetrating woman abuse. Finally, research investigating the role of offender factors examines the correlation between alcohol consumption and aggressive tendencies on the likelihood to rape (Ceniti & Malamuth, 1984; Donnerstein, 1984; Greendlinger & Byrne, 1987; Malamuth, Harber, & Feshback, 1980; Osland, Fitch & Willis, 1996; Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984) and on the self-reported perpetration of sexual violence (e.g., Abbey, 1991b; Koss & Gaines, 1993; Ullman et al., 1999).

Individual Victim Factors

In addition to examining contextual factors and offender attributes, scholars have tested the effects of individual victim characteristics on sexual violence. Research that looks at this relationship is less developed primarily because any focus on individual victim factors runs the increased and high-stakes risk of victim-blaming (e.g., Spence-Diehl, 1998). Even so, studies investigating this relationship have reported a correlation between variables such as prior victimization and childhood abuse (Classen, Paresh, & Aggarwal, 2005; Gidycz, Coble, Latham, & Layman, 1993; Gidycz, Hanson, & Layman, 1995; Himelein, 1995; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Wyatt, Guthrie, & Notgrass, 1992), risk-taking behavior, sexual promiscuity, and substance use (Abbey et al., 1996; Combs-Lane & Smith, 2002; Davis, Combs-Lane, & Jackson, 2002; Synovitz & Byrne, 1998; Ullman et al., 1999) on the increased likelihood of rape victimization. Research has also established empirical connections between dating behavior and sexual assault risk in terms of the frequency and number of dates a woman has and the regularity at which she engages in consensual sexual intercourse as predicting an increased risk of interacting with sexually aggressive men (Koss & Dinero, 1989, Wyatt, Newcomb, & Riederle, 1993).

THE INFLUENCE OF SORORITY AFFILIATION

It may be instructive to question the role of outside influences and/or organizations that have a hand in socializing college women and thus, may be responsible for creating dangerous environments for female victims. For example, college sororities may play a significant role in socializing women to hold adverse beliefs and attitudes about rape. Further, affiliation with these groups may increase the risk of becoming a victim of sexual violence as a result of the particular behaviors characteristic of Greek membership. In an effort to better understand college sexual

abuse, scholars have questioned the role of sororities in sexual victimization, and limited research reports a relatively weak relationship between female Greek-affiliation and being the victim of forced sex (see e.g., Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Kalof, 1993; Sawyer & Schulken, 1997). Studies also report that Greek-affiliated women have an increased likelihood of experiencing physical forms (as opposed to verbal) of sexual coercion when compared with independents (Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991). In addition, research finds that women who belong to Greek organizations are more likely to hold traditional gender roles and report higher levels of rape myth acceptance than non-affiliated women (Kalof & Cargill, 1991). Further, sorority women may be more likely to misperceive danger cues (Norris, Nurius, & Dimeff, 1996; Norris, Nurius, & Graham, 1999; Nurius, Norris, Dimeff, & Graham, 1996), be exposed to potential perpetrators through group gatherings and frequent contact with fraternity members (Nurius et al., 1996), and participate in social events characterized by excessive alcohol consumption (Baer, Kivlahan, & Marlatt, 1995; Marlatt, Baer, & Larimer, 1995; Riordan & Dana, 1998; Wechsler, Dowdall, Davenport, & Castillo, 1995; Wechsler, Kuh, & Davenport, 1996) as compared to their nonsorority-affiliated college counterparts.

Efforts to better understand the relationship between sorority membership and sexual victimization are somewhat scarce and relatively underdeveloped. Additionally, the few studies that have looked at these pertinent relationships are generally methodologically weak—employing small samples, lacking a comparison group, and poorly operationalizing relevant variables—and lack theoretical development. For instance, the conclusions derived from these few studies do not call into question the organization of sororities in terms of the ways in which they may be institutionalizing a climate that has the potential to put women at risk. Instead, research that reveals a statistically significant relationship between sorority membership and

forced sexual contact has reiterated the dangerousness of the fraternity (e.g., Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991) or highlighted isolated variables (e.g., alcohol consumption, danger cue recognition) without making a connection between those variables and the role of the larger organization. Further, to the best of my knowledge, no study has conducted a comprehensive test of the role of sororities in terms of socializing adverse and stereotypical beliefs about gender and rape *and* influencing behavioral norms and routine activities that may predict the influence of sorority affiliation on the occurrence of rape victimization.

EXISTING VICTIMIZATION THEORY

Much effort has been devoted to effectively explaining criminal victimization. In particular, criminologists have proposed theories to explain general victimization, including routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and self-control (Schreck, 1999). Feminist scholars have criticized these frameworks for their shortcomings, namely, their underdeveloped explanations of and lack of consideration afforded to women's unique victimization experiences. A large body of empirical and theoretical work has established separate theory to explain the phenomenon of rape victimization. The majority of these efforts attempt to explain the motivation behind offender perpetration on rape and sexual assault. In particular, a developed body of literature looks at the contributions of patriarchal socialization (Brownmiller, 1975) and rape-supportive peer groups (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997) in terms of the way these environments socialize and teach men to sexually assault women. Relatively less theoretical attention has been devoted to developing explanations of female victimization with regard to the specific factors that influence vulnerability to rape and thus, encourage the likelihood of victimization.

While these general criminological approaches are not without limitation, each framework has implications for the current study. In particular, routine activity theory proposes a spatial-temporal assemblage of factors that converge to result in crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979). This, coupled with the notion that individuals low in self-control may engage in particular behaviors or participate in situations that increase their vulnerability to attack (Scheck, 1999), contributes to the current research in terms of the particular characteristics that may be present among sorority-affiliated women. Offender theory, while not implicitly tested in the current study, informs research on campus victimization by establishing the presence of men who, given the right circumstances, are likely perpetrators of rape (Schwartz & Pitts, 2001). Finally, existing work on female victimization proposes that particular gender and rape-related attitudes may encourage female vulnerability to crime.

PURPOSE OF THE CURRENT RESEARCH

As previously discussed, numerous studies have examined the structural, social/cultural, contextual, and individual factors that contribute to the sexual victimization of college women where the majority of this research is directed toward understanding the correlates of sexual violence perpetration. Relatively less effort has focused on victim characteristics with fewer studies modeling the relationship between female Greek membership and rape on college campuses. With few exceptions, empirical analysis of sorority affiliation and sexual assault are limited in terms of 1) the methodological rigor that has been typically employed, and 2) the development of theory with regard to organizational socialization and the institutionalization of risky beliefs and behaviors. The current research aims to address these limitations by proposing

and testing a theoretical model that accounts for the multiple factors that may play a role in producing adverse and/or unsafe outcomes for sorority women.

The purpose of the current research is two-fold: first, to identify the role of sorority-affiliation in promoting a rape-supportive environment as defined by theoretically relevant factors such as gender role traditionality, rape myth acceptance, excessive alcohol consumption, drug use, number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, having sex while intoxicated, increased proximity to fraternity men, and misperception of danger cues. The second purpose of the current research is to examine the effects of these attitudes and behaviors on the actual occurrence of sexual victimization. The first series of questions posed by the current research, therefore, has to do with a handful of measurable attitudinal and behavioral factors that have been identified in prior empirical literature as increasing the likelihood of rape victimization and that are potentially accepted by and engaged in by sorority women. These vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors may not be similarly experienced by women who are not affiliated with the Greek organization. The second series of questions seeks to determine the extent to which these attitudes and behaviors predict rape victimization. If these attitudinal and behavioral risk factors are specific to the sorority experience, affiliation with the university Greek system may put women in a particularly vulnerable position. More specifically, contrary to prior claims of the sorority's role as providing a "safe haven" for women (see e.g., Larimer, Anderson, Baer, & Marlatt, 2000 for related discussion regarding the moderating effects of sorority membership on negative outcomes related to alcohol consumption), or as a sisterhood organization that provides informal support mechanisms for dating and relationship violence (Anderson & Danis, 2007), the sorority may be a "sheep in wolf's clothing." Rather than offering an empowering and protective environment, women may be socialized in ways that perpetuate

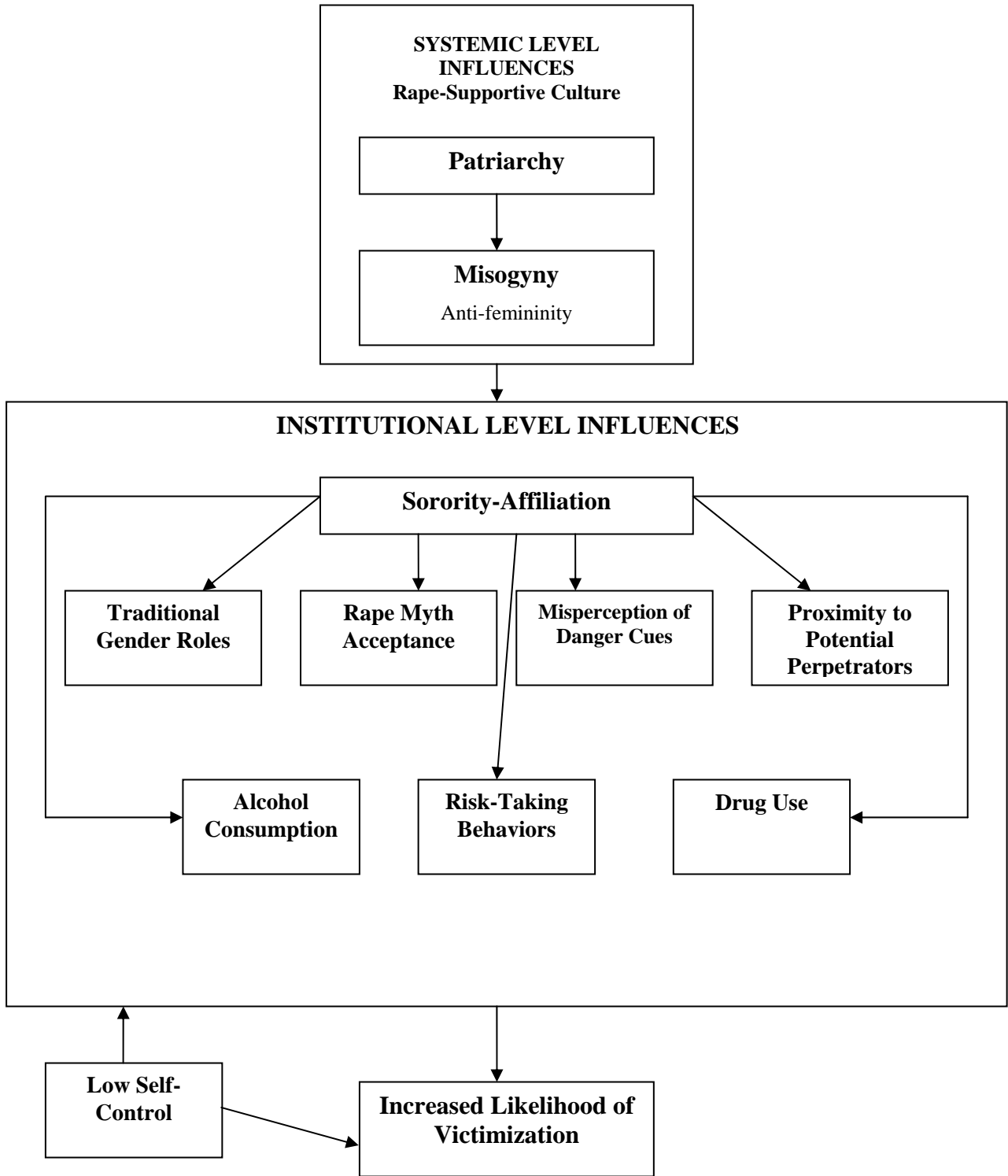
harmful myths about rape and condone and encourage adverse behaviors that create damaging perceptions about the reality of sexual abuse on college campuses and increase vulnerability to attack.

The current research hypothesizes and tests a comprehensive theoretical model that draws on existing theoretical work to examine the role of numerous risk factors on perceptions of sexual assault and behaviors that may increase the risk of sexual victimization among sorority-affiliated and nonsorority-affiliated college women (see Figure 1). Findings of this analysis have important implications in terms of: 1) the organizational structure and socialization of the Greek system as it relates specifically to college women, 2) sorority women's risk of experiencing forms of sexual coercion and assault, and 3) the content and delivery of university educational programming geared toward college women as it is related to the risk of sexual assault.

SUMMARY

Campus sexual assault has been at the forefront of scholarly concern for decades as a result of the alarming rate at which women on college campuses are victimized. Research has identified consistent predictors of sexual violence related to structural, social/cultural, contextual/situational, and individual factors. There has been a relative lack of attention paid to the effect of sorority affiliation on sexual victimization and those studies that do examine the relationship between sororities and campus sexual assault are lacking in methodological rigor and theoretical development. The current research seeks to fill this gap by developing and testing a methodologically sound theory that posits the sorority as a potentially rape-supportive environment and explores the relationship between sorority affiliation on the occurrence of actual sexual victimization.

Figure 1.1 The Effect of Sorority Affiliation on the Likelihood of Victimization.



CHAPTER TWO

THE CULTURE AND CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

Feminist theorists have long argued that rape and sexual aggression can be explained in terms of the male-dominated nature of society and as a manifestation of power disparities between men and women that create inequality and thus, encourage the propensity for violence (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Burt & Albin, 1981; Griffin, 1971; Koss et al., 1994; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Russell, 1975). This proposition, first introduced in the 1970s at the height of the anti-rape movement (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Griffin, 1971; Russell, 1975), directly contrasted prior claims that rape was predominantly sexually motivated. Instead, feminist scholars purported that rape was the result of structural inequality and women's historic subordination relative to men. More specifically, rape was conceptualized as the "logical and psychological extension of a dominant-submissive, competitive, sex-role stereotyped culture" (Burt, 1980, p. 229). This cultural emphasis suggests that rape can be understood as the consequence of structural inequalities that influence particular attitudes and beliefs that perpetuate aggression against women. These inequalities and ideologies condone and justify a value system that says it is acceptable to target women as victims of violence (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Malamuth & Check, 1983; Malamuth, Haber, & Feshbach, 1980; Tieger, 1981).

Research testing these structural claims report that macro-level measures of women's absolute and relative social status (structural indicators of patriarchy across societies) significantly predicts aggregate rape rates across geographical jurisdictions (e.g., Avakame,

1999; Bailey, 1999; Baron & Straus, 1984, 1987; Ellis & Beattie, 1983; Martin, Vieraitis, & Britto, 2006; Peterson & Bailey, 1992; Whaley, 2001; Yodanis, 2004). Over the course of the last three decades, this macro-level feminist literature has undergone substantial theoretical development (e.g., Avakame, 1999; Ellis & Beattie, 1983) resulting in three main feminist hypotheses that seek to explain the role of a patriarchal social system and male domination on female sexual victimization (e.g., Bailey, 1999; Martin et al., 2006; Whaley, 2001). Further, a large body of empirical research testing individual-level ideology—including adherence to traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance—has produced results in support of the feminist theoretical proposition (e.g., Briere & Malamuth, 1983; Bunting & Reeves, 1983; Burt, 1980; Burt & Albin, 1981; Field, 1978; Malamuth, 1983).

Rape has also been conceptualized as a form of social control designed to encourage female subordination by keeping women perpetually in fear thus limiting their behavior and consequently, reiterating their subordination (Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971). For example, young girls are taught to fear stranger rape through fairy tales (e.g., little red riding hood) and other forms of storytelling and media messages so that they grow up being afraid of strangers lurking in dark alleys (Brownmiller, 1975). As a result, they are taught to take active precautions and curtail individual freedoms while relying on others for protection (Gordon & Riger, 1989; Mirrlees-Black & Allen, 1998; Riger & Gordon, 1981). Feminists have suggested that this fear is a control mechanism that both creates and perpetuates women's oppression. Scholars have also argued that patriarchal gender socialization and the male-domination/female-submission power dynamic (Rose, 1977; Russell, 1975) have played a fundamental role in systemically appreciating and reinforcing woman abuse because society teaches and trains men to behave in masculine ways through physical domination and displays of aggression (Kilmartin, 2000).

Likewise, women are taught the value of feminine passivity, potentially socializing them to be victims (Brownmiller, 1975; Russell, 1975; Weis & Borges, 1973). Ultimately, the feminist contribution to theorizing sexual violence against women highlights the role of gender stratification and the use of sexual violence as a means of both attaining and maintaining male power in a patriarchal society. A thorough investigation of sexual assault would be incomplete without first contextualizing the larger sociocultural environment in which men and women are socialized and learn appropriate ways of interacting.

This chapter highlights the role of broader social forces on the ideals and attitudes of individuals and groups that exist in a society that tolerates targeting women as victims of violence. This is accomplished first through an introduction to the Sex Role Socialization of Rape Analysis (Burt, 1980) in terms of connecting the larger social structure and its respective messages to the actual occurrence of violence against women. The patriarchal society and its role in laying the foundation for the occurrence of sexual violence directed toward women is discussed. Patriarchy and a rape-supportive culture are introduced as the fundamental social agents responsible for normalizing violence against women primarily as a result of the power differential and disparity that exists between men and women. Feminist theory and empirical literature testing this relationship are reviewed. Additionally, the tangible individual-level ideals manifested by a patriarchal social system are introduced and existing literature on the influence of traditional gender roles, sex scripts, and rape myths in facilitating sexual aggression is reviewed. Limitations of the feminist analysis of rape are also highlighted. Finally, the empirical correlates of woman abuse are discussed, reviewing the contextual, situational, offender, and victim characteristics.

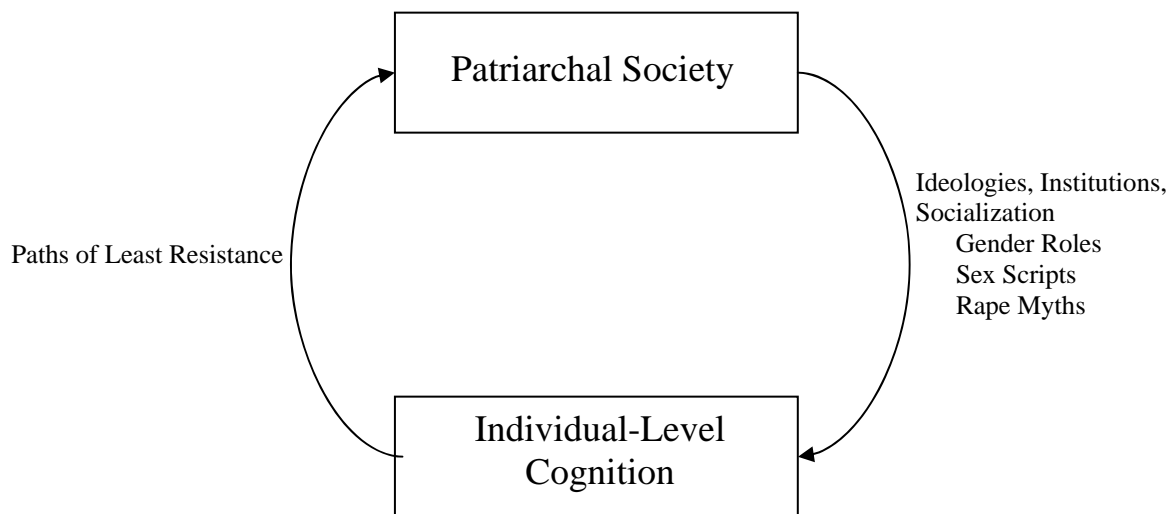
EXPLAINING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

When examining violence against women, there is a tendency to focus attention and blame on the individual perpetrator responsible for victimizing women without any consideration of broader factors that may directly contribute to the occurrence of rape and sexual assault. This runs the risk of conceptualizing gender violence as an individual-level problem characterized by a select group of psychologically deranged men with an individual propensity to abuse women (e.g., Groth & Burgess, 1977; Rada, 1978). In this vein, early research typically explained rape as a fundamentally psychological and sexually-motivated problem, positing and testing theories concerned with the behavior of rapists (e.g., personality traits, arousal to rape depiction and/or violence) in order to better understand and contain this form of woman abuse (e.g., Buss & Durkee, 1957; Fisher & Rivlin, 1971; Karacin et al., 1974; Rada, 1978; Rada, Laws, & Kellner, 1976).

In direct contrast, feminist theory has called attention to the role of structural inequality in supporting and encouraging violence targeted toward women primarily as a result of gendered power inequalities and female exploitation (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Griffin, 1971). At first glance, it appears as if there is a very serious disconnect between understanding woman abuse as *either* an individual-level phenomenon perpetrated by sick and sex-depraved men *or* a social problem with roots stemming from the power inequality and female subordination produced by a patriarchal and male-dominated social structure. Instead however, feminist scholars have theorized that connections between social structural influences and individual-level behavior can be attributed to cultural components such as ideologies and belief systems (e.g., morals, religion), institutions (e.g., law), and socialization processes and customs (e.g., gender roles, sex scripts, and rape myths) (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005;

Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983, 1985; Griffin, 1971; Koss et al., 1994; Quackenbush, 1989; Simonson & Subich, 1999). The dynamic between structural factors, cultural components, and individual behavior interacts to produce negative outcomes for women manifested at the individual behavioral level. Indeed, men and women are socialized to believe and buy into particular ideologies regarding the nature of gender identities, appropriate roles for men and women, and distinct scripts regarding heterosexual interactions. All of these attributions affect individual behavior so that, when faced with an array of choices, people will most often choose the path of least resistance—or the path with the least amount of social consequence, which reflects patriarchal socialization and gender inequality and thus, sustains the status ideology of female subordination (Johnson, 1997). Figure 2.1 illustrates this dynamic relationship between patriarchal socialization influences, cultural ideology, and individual-level cognition/behavior.

Figure 2.1. Explaining Violence Against Women through Patriarchal Socialization.



Sex Role Socialization of Rape Analysis

In particular, feminist scholars have proposed the Sex Role Socialization of Rape

Analysis to account for the role of socialization in producing violence against women (e.g., Ben-David & Schneider, 2005; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Simonson & Subich, 1999). Ultimately, this perspective argues that patriarchy (as the mechanism of gender inequality) reinforces the subordination of women and influences cultural norms and expectations, producing traditional gender roles, sex scripts, and rape myths—all shaping individual-level cognition so that the behavior of individuals is affected and formed by the social/cultural context. Indeed, this perspective suggests that sexual aggression is the “logical extension of sex role socialization processes that support[s] the objectification of women and legitimize[s] coercive sexuality” (Quackenbush, 1989, p. 319; see also Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Burt & Albin, 1981; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Griffin, 1971). It is from this starting point that the current analysis begins.

STRUCTURAL FACTORS

Patriarchy and a Rape-Supportive Culture

At the core of disentangling violence against women is understanding the fundamental ways in which larger social forces teach and train men and women to behave in ways that reinforce a dominant-subordinate heterosexual power dynamic (Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971). Essentially, targeting women as victims of violence is behavior that is learned through messages about the appropriate nature of interpersonal heterosexual interactions (e.g., Clark & Lewis, 1977). These messages are delivered and perpetuated by both a patriarchal and rape-supportive culture (Brownmiller, 1975; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Johnson, 1997; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Such messages are manifested *first* through a social system that boasts male superiority and control and devalues the status and contributions of women (see Brownmiller,

1975; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Johnson, 1997; Koss et al., 1994). It is this differential power dynamic of male domination and female subordination and exploitation, feminists argue, that is the driving force behind rape and other forms of woman abuse (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Griffin, 1971). In other words, patriarchy and its associated values are responsible for teaching individuals that women are worth less than men and are thus, appropriate targets for aggression.

Johnson (1997) defines patriarchy as a society that is “male-dominated, male-identified, and male-centered” and is fundamentally oppressive to women (p. 5). He argues that a patriarchal social system exerts authority over women by way of male-dominance. This dominance is manifested where positions of power, authority, and decision making (political, economic, legal, religious, educational, military, and domestic) are generally reserved exclusively for men (e.g., politicians, corporate CEOs, business executives, board members, religious leaders, school principals, full-tenured professors, military generals/admirals). Patriarchy awards men a greater portion of wealth and power in society and as a result, men as a social group are able to shape culture in ways that reflect their collective interests. Male-identification is expressed when society’s normative ideas about the nature of human experience are associated with the male perspective. For example, until relatively recently, medical research was conducted only on samples of men as representative of the “normal human body” and those research results were extrapolated to women and women’s bodies without consideration for chemical and/or hormonal differences such as menstruation, pregnancy, and menopause. Additionally, society is male-identified to the degree that stereotypes and ideas about masculinity resemble the core values of society in terms of what is good and desirable (e.g., strength, control, rationality, autonomy) (see also Kilmartin, 2000). Finally, patriarchy is male-centered where

society's collective attention is typically focused on the actions, behaviors, desires, trials, and accomplishments of men. Johnson (1997) argues that with little exception, newspaper headlines, movie plots, conversations, and classroom environments typically center on topics related to men and men's lives.

It is important to articulate patriarchy's fundamental existence as a social context when discussing the effects and nature of patriarchy as it relates to and influences behavior. Patriarchy functions at the systemic level. It is a social system that infiltrates and penetrates all aspects of daily life. This takes place at the individual- and group-level as well as within the organizational structure of institutions. As a result, patriarchy's messages about the value of men and women are parroted by both individuals and organizations. Furthermore, it must be noted that all men are not created equal with relation to their participation in the functioning and privilege associated with patriarchy (Lutze & Bell, 2005). Lutze (2003) argues that "individual men may differ in the amount of power that they possess over other men and women, but all men within their socioeconomic position possess power over women through their status as men (p. 203; also see Johnson, 1997, 2001; Kilmartin, 2000).

The second source of violence-producing and violence-sustaining messages is derived from a misogynistic and rape-supportive culture or one whose fundamental attitudes about women support female degradation and sexual objectification (Brownmiller, 1975; Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 1993; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Misogyny is an integral part of a culture that supports rape because it promotes anti-femininity and "fuels men's sense of superiority, justifies male aggression against women, and works to keep women on the defensive and in their place" (Johnson, 1997, p. 39). Essentially, a rape-supportive culture is a society that both directly and indirectly teaches, supports, and reinforces

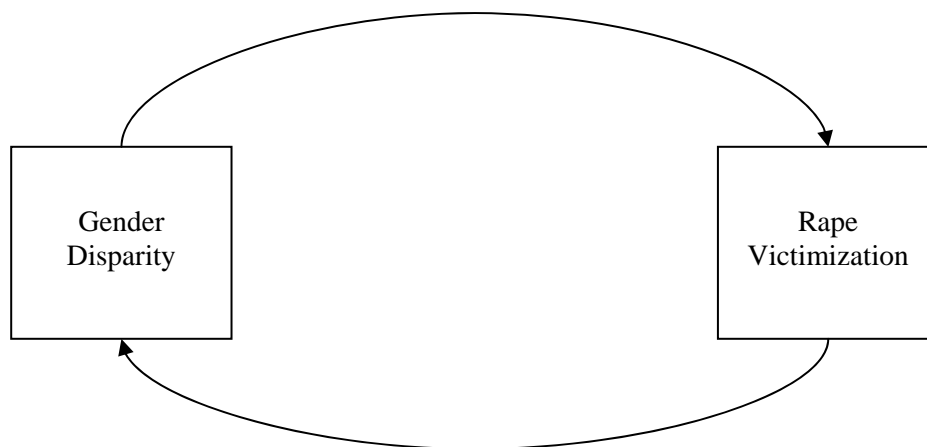
violence against women. Examples of this support include: 1) crime control policies that do not offer rape victims adequate and/or equal protection under the law, 2) the free distribution of violent and degrading pornographic mediums that exploit and objectify women by putting them in positions of sexual inferiority, 3) electronic wallpaper in the form of advertisements, television programs, and feature films that pervasively degrade women by portraying them as sex commodities or as targets of male aggression while at the same time suggesting that they derive pleasure from their victimization, and 4) pervasive social myths that excuse, justify, and deny the seriousness of rape by blaming the victim and excusing the perpetrator (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Burt & Albin, 1981; Griffin, 1986; Russell, 1984). Ultimately, a rape-supportive culture suggests that it is okay to target women as victims of sexual violence. Likewise, men sexually assault women because their actions are supported by an environment that encourages this type of behavior. It is a patriarchal and rape-supportive culture that is responsible for socializing and sustaining gender identities and gender-related roles that reinforce stereotypical ideas about masculinity and femininity, sex scripts, and rape myths—all of which teach men and women how to interact and what types of behaviors are expected and appropriate.

Power Disparities

Feminist theory, charged with better understanding and explaining rape, suggests that female vulnerability to sexual violence may be responsible for laying the very foundation on which men and women are afforded differing levels of power (Brownmiller, 1975). Feminist scholars have also argued that rape is a *direct consequence* of the male-female power hierarchy. These two relationships have been illustrated as a cycle where sexual vulnerability creates fear which motivates women to restrict their behavior in the name of safety and prudent decision

making. This potentially limits opportunities and access to material resources thus hindering women's occupational and economic mobility. Ultimately then, rape and the fear of rape result in subordination and the unequal distribution of power. Male domination and power are, therefore, manifested through rape (and other forms of violence against women), further entrenching women in fear and social subordination. This puts women in a position of social and sexual inferiority and heightened vulnerability to victimization (see Brownmiller, 1975; Ellis & Beattie, 1983 for related discussions). Figure 2.2 illustrates the Feminist Explanation for Rape.

Figure 2.2. The Feminist Explanation of Rape.



Macro-Level Feminist Empirical Research

In light of feminist assertions regarding the primary influence of patriarchy and male-domination on rape and sexual violence, researchers have developed and tested theories that purport to explain the affect of a patriarchal society on male sexual violence. These efforts have produced three main theoretical frameworks. First, the *traditional feminist theory of violence* supposes that male sexual abuse is the direct result of gender inequality and male domination (Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971), and as a result, aggregate rape rates in a given geographical jurisdiction are expected to be higher in societies with greater social structural gender inequality.

This hypothesis predicts an inverse relationship between equality and rape where increases in gender equality will lower rates of rape and sexual violence. Consequently, this perspective has also been labeled the *ameliorative hypothesis* (Whaley & Messner, 2002). Alternatively, the *backlash hypothesis* purports a positive relationship between equality and rape so that as equality between the sexes increases, rape too will increase. The backlash hypothesis suggests that as women gain status and equal standing in male-dominated public spheres (i.e., economics, politics, education, occupations), men will perceive these advances as threats to their power and will respond accordingly, acting out in sexually violent ways as if to subordinate women through rape and the fear of rape (Russell, 1975). A third theory, the *Marxist feminist hypothesis*, predicts that women's absolute status will decrease rape rates (Bailey, 1999; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1983). Drawing from the Marxist tradition, feminists argue that the capitalist economy's role in devaluing women's absolute status results in targeting women as victims of sexual violence. To be sure, the Marxist feminist hypothesis predicts that increases in women's absolute social status will lower rape rates in a given society.

Scholars have used macro-level status indicators to empirically assess the validity of these hypotheses (Austin & Kim, 2000; Bailey, 1999; Ellis & Beattie, 1983; Eschholz & Vieraitis, 2004; Peterson & Bailey, 1992; Whaley, 2001). More specifically, this research uses indicators of women's absolute social status (to test the Marxist hypothesis) and women's social status relative to men (to test the ameliorative and backlash hypotheses) to identify the impact of a patriarchal society on aggregate rape rates (Baron & Straus, 1989; Martin et al., 2006; Yodanis, 2004). This research operationalizes a society as patriarchal to the extent that there is measurable inequality between the sexes. For example, a society would be defined as patriarchal when important sociopolitical and economic activities are dominated by men to the detriment and

exclusion of women (see Ellis & Beattie, 1983). Measures of inequality between the sexes include women's labor force participation (e.g., Avakame, 1999) and women's educational and occupational status—operationalized as the percent of women (as compared to men) employed in professional/managerial occupations or as judges, lawyers, police, and detectives; male/female differences in mean education levels; percentage of university undergraduate and graduate degree holders who are women; and male/female median differences in income earnings (e.g., Ellis & Beattie, 1983; Yodanis, 2004). Consistently used indicators of women's absolute status include female median income, female educational status, labor force participation, and occupational prestige (Austin & Kim, 2000; Bailey, 1999; Eschholz & Vieraitis, 2004; Peterson & Bailey, 1992; Whaley, 2001).

Early empirical studies reported inconsistent results. Griffin's (1978: as cited in Ellis & Beattie, 1983) analysis of victimization data concluded that sexual violence was more prevalent among women who earned less money than men—including women who were not participating in wage-earned labor. In contrast, Svalastoga's (1962) investigation revealed that, despite measurable status inequality between men and women in the United States, rape victims in particular, preported higher social status as compared to their assailants. Neither of these studies, however, were designed to test the feminist explanations of rape and as such, they were limited in their selection of status variables and in their respective study methodologies. Most importantly, neither Griffin (1978) nor Svalastoga (1962) analyzed status disparities at the community level or cross-jurisdictionally.

Notable cross-cultural empirical tests of these feminist assumptions include Sanday's (1981) seminal work on the sociocultural context of rape and McConahay and McConahay's (1977) study on rape, violence, and primitive cultures. Sanday's (1981) study on the

sociocultural context of rape used data from 95 tribal societies from 1750 B.C. to the late 1960s in an effort to identify the relationship between gender inequality and interpersonal violence. Like the studies that preceded Sanday (1981), her study's limitations (measurement validity, reliance on bivariate correlations) call into question the validity of her findings. Nevertheless, Sanday (1981) reported a positive relationship between rape and interpersonal violence and a negative relationship between rape and measures of female power and authority. Similarly, McConahay and McConahay (1977) conducted a cross-cultural study of 17 primitive cultures using measures of sex-role rigidity including female government participation and control of family finances. They too found rape to be positively related to other forms of interpersonal violence and negatively related to measures of women's status equality. Like Sanday (1981), however, McConahay and McConahay's (1977) reliance on bivariate analyses is problematic because the inclusion of other variables may have altered the significance of the findings produced by the study. Notwithstanding the methodological limitations discussed above, these two studies provide support for a negative relationship between equality and rape.

In a study focusing on rates of urban criminal violence in 125 American metropolitan areas, Blau and Blau (1982) looked at the effects of inequality indicators such as poverty and socioeconomic inequality and concluded that, unlike other violent crimes (e.g., murder, robbery, assault), such measures did not influence aggregate rape rates. Their results provide evidence that counters the traditional feminist or ameliorative hypothesis. It is important to point out however, that Blau and Blau (1982) did not include specific measures of women's income, education, or occupational status so while their results provide some support for the backlash hypothesis, the findings of their study must be interpreted with caution. Ellis and Beattie (1983) attempted to reconcile methodological problems found in earlier studies (e.g., Griffin, 1978;

Svalastoga, 1962) by comparing sex disparities and rape rates across 26 United States cities. They concluded generally, that rape rates are unrelated to sex differences in income, education, occupational status, and employment—providing evidence that counters the ameliorative hypothesis. Instead, however, Ellis and Beattie (1983) report that cities with the lowest relative inequality have the highest rape rates, possibly suggesting a “frustration” explanation that imitates the later-theorized backlash hypothesis (see e.g., Whaley & Messner, 2002).

Baron and Straus (1984, 1987, 1989) used state-level data to assess the validity of the traditional feminist hypothesis and reported mixed results. Contrary to expectations, their early study (Baron & Straus, 1984), which used 1979 state data, produced results supporting the backlash hypothesis where the rape rate was positively correlated with women’s equality as measured by the Status of Women Index. Despite their inclusion of theoretically relevant controls (e.g., percentage of the population in poverty, percent Black, percent male, percent aged 18-24, murder rate, assault rate, robbery rate, sale of pornographic materials), scholars have since questioned their findings as a result of their use of state-level data (e.g., Peterson & Bailey, 1992) and because of the way they measured gender inequality (Whaley, 2001). Using a different measure of gender inequality, a different time frame, and a better-specified model, Baron and Straus’ (1987, 1989) later analyses contradicted their earlier findings and they reported that increases in women’s status equality did in fact produce increases in aggregate rape rates.

More recent analyses have continued to test these relationships and like the studies that preceded them, research reports mixed conclusions (Austin & Kim, 2000; Avakame, 1999; Bailey, 1999; Eschholz & Vieraitis, 2004; Martin et al., 2006; Yodanis, 2004). The development of a more comprehensive and integrated feminist theory of rape was proposed by Whaley (2001) in an attempt to reconcile the inconsistencies found in earlier empirical literature. Drawing from

the work of Williams and Holmes (1981), Whaley (2001) posited that outcomes derived from empirical studies examining the influence of inequality on rape rates may be more complex than first anticipated. More specifically, she explained how early feminist work expected equality to lower rape rates and the backlash hypothesis was used to explain findings when studies produced unexpected and/or contrary results. This pattern is increasingly problematic because ultimately, the theory could not be falsified. Instead, Whaley (2001) hypothesized a short-term negative effect of gender equality on rape so that as equality between the sexes increases, there is a temporary backlash effect where rape rates will also increase. As time passes and equality between the sexes remains stable, rape rates should decrease representing the hypothesized ameliorative effect.

It appears as if there is empirical evidence to support both the traditional feminist hypothesis *and* the backlash hypothesis. In jurisdictions where there is inequality between the sexes, higher aggregate rape rates are reported (Baron & Straus, 1987, 1989; Griffin, 1978; McConahay & McConahay, 1977; Sanday, 1981; Yodanis, 2004). As women gain status and equality with men in previously male-dominated spheres, there is a backlash effect where rape rates increase (Austin & Kim, 2000; Baron & Straus, 1984; Blau & Blau, 1983; Ellis & Beattie, 1983; Svalastoga, 1962). As time continues, the rate at which rape occurs begins to level off so that initial increases in sexual violence are only temporary (see Whaley, 2001; Williams & Holmes, 1981).

This body of research provides empirical support for the feminist explanation of rape with regard to claims surrounding the positive relationship between gender inequality and increased rape rates. Feminist scholars have also argued that a patriarchal society influences

cultural ideology which leads to increases in rape and sexual violence against women (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980).

SOCIAL/CULTURAL FACTORS

Embedded within a patriarchal and rape-supportive culture are a host of social/cultural factors that have been theoretically and empirically linked to contributing to violence against women. The gendered cultural components that play a role in influencing sexual assault and other forms of violence against women have been understood as stemming directly from the broader societal structure and include traditional gender roles (e.g., Bem, 1981), sex scripts (e.g., Gagnon & Simon, 1973), and rape myths (e.g., Burt, 1980).

Traditional Gender Roles

Gender roles are defined as “normative behaviors and attitudes which are expected from individuals, based on their biological sex, and which are often learned through the socialization process” (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005, p. 386; see also Allegier & McCormick, 1983). Gender plays a significant role in influencing behavior (Bem, 1981) by shaping the way that individuals interact with one another (Larsen & Long, 1988). Gender role development occurs through a process where men and women are taught and encouraged to act and imitate gendered behavior. Men are taught to behave in ways that are considered stereotypically masculine. For example, it is appropriate for men and boys to embody strength, dominance, aggression, force, competitiveness, and a lack of emotional display (Kilmartin, 2000). Additionally, men and boys are encouraged to behave independently, to seek out, investigate, and discover their surroundings with little concern or regard for potential danger (see Kilmartin, 2000). The process of male

socialization produces a sense of self-confidence and assurance in young boys, and they are taught to welcome unknown or dangerous situations and may be more likely to throw caution to the wind. In opposition to these masculine roles are stereotypically feminine traits that exemplify the traditionally feminine woman—she is weak, dependant, subordinate, helpless, small, feeble, passive, erratic, hysterical, lacking in self-control, and very emotional (see Johnson, 1997; Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997). Further, socially appropriate ideas about womanhood teach that female self-worth and value are derived from women's experience of connectedness to and relationships with others (Koss et al., 1994). Women are socialized to be dependant on others by relying on intimates, family, and friends for protection and social support or being maternal and caring for others (Johnson, 1997).

These traditional gender roles are reflected and reiterated by parents, teachers, peers, educational, religious, and political institutions, and the media. Men and women use these behaviors to establish their identities and this conformity to sex appropriate roles begins at an early age (Kessler, Ashenden, Connell, & Dowsett, 1985). Research indicates that by age five, children have learned and internalized gender identities and norms that guide their behavior (Lytton & Romney, 1991). In their study of first and second grade boys, Hasbrook and Harris (1999) found that the children interacted in gender-appropriate ways. Through displays of aggression, strength, and skill, the boys were able to negotiate greater and lesser degrees of power and social status while simultaneously displaying a complete disregard for femininity. Similar findings have been reported in research among elementary school populations (Wexler, 1988) and with preschool children (Berentzen, 1984; Gunnarsson, 1978), where boys and girls segregate into separate sex groups as defined by their distinct activities and interests.

Studies of adolescent and pre-adolescent peer groups reveal that children formulate friendships and participate in play groups that are differentiated by gender with boys engaging in complex, competitive, rule-based, goal-directed games and girls participating in smaller, intimate groups focused more on enjoyment rather than competition (Best, 1983; Lever, 1976, 1978). Moreover, research investigating male and female friendship patterns documents differences among boys and girls. For instance, female friendships are more exclusive than the relationships men form and as a result, foster greater levels of intimacy and self-disclosure—patterns that remain consistent among female adults (Eder & Hallinan, 1978). Similar findings have been documented in studies on adolescent and pre-adolescent extracurricular activities, with boys participating in pursuits that emphasize masculinity and masculine bravado (e.g., toughness, aggression, endurance). In contrast, young girls typically engage in pastimes that are characterized by more feminine features like interdependence (Eder, 1985; Eder & Parker, 1987). Friendship and play patterns among children and adolescents reiterate the gendered behavior that will guide their adult roles.

Patriarchal societies demand adherence to these gender roles. Moreover, when individuals choose not to conform to these gendered social norms, they are oftentimes faced with social penalties or punishments (e.g., Johnson, 1997). For example, men who express feminine qualities are degraded and belittled through the use of female names, female body parts or other language that conveys weakness, vulnerability, and femininity (Johnson, 1997; Lutze, 2003). Their sexuality may be called into question with the intention of stripping them of their “maleness.” Likewise, women who behave in masculine ways or convey stereotypically masculine personality characteristics such as aggression and strength are defeminized, insulted through the use of degrading language, and charged with homosexuality (see Franklin, 2005 for related

discussion). Ultimately, men and women learn appropriate behaviors and the value associated with those behaviors in a society that dichotomizes masculinity and femininity and suggests strict adherence to these respective normative roles.

Feminists have argued that the patriarchal socialization of traditional gender roles, with men as the dominant aggressor and women as the passive participant, creates dynamics that not only legitimize, but normalize sexual assault (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Griffin, 1971). Empirical research testing the effects of traditional gender roles on sexually violent behavior has consistently suggested that sexually aggressive men are more likely to adhere to traditional gender roles than non-sexually aggressive men (Lackie & de Man, 1997; Loh, Gidycz, Lobo, & Luthra, 2005; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Sigelman, Berry, & Wiles, 1984; Truman, Tokar, & Fischer, 1996). Theorists have argued that this is a direct consequence of the traditional masculine ideology that suggests that men should behave in a sexually aggressive fashion (e.g., Check & Malamuth, 1985; Koss et al., 1985; Sanday, 1981). Moreover, research investigating the role of masculinity and sex role orientation on the use of sexual coercion reports that males are more likely to engage in coercive sexual behavior and use coercion as a mechanism to obtain sexual intimacy as compared to females, principally because more male subjects identify with the masculine sex role as compared to their female counterparts (Poppen & Segal, 1988). Studies also indicate that men who hold traditional gender roles are more likely to report 1) prior sexual aggression, and 2) an increased likelihood of future sexual aggression as compared to men with more androgynous or egalitarian views of men and women (Check & Malamuth, 1983; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991; Mosher & Anderson, 1986; Quackenbush, 1989; Tieger, 1981). Further, men who adhere to strict codes of masculinity or perceive stringent gender role barriers between the sexes are more likely to endorse rape-

supportive beliefs and attitudes that facilitate violence against women (Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Johnson et al., 1997; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Malamuth et al., 1991; Quackenbush, 1987; Riedel, 1993; Tieger, 1981). These men are also more likely to report an increased acceptance of interpersonal violence as compared to their more androgynous/egalitarian counterparts (Truman et al., 1996). Other researchers have discovered a direct relationship between gender role traditionality and rape myth acceptance (Costin, 1985; Fischer, 1987). Not surprisingly, these same “traditionalist” individuals will attribute more blame to rape victims (Acock & Ireland, 1983; Anderson & Lyons, 2005; Bridges, 1991; Field, 1978; Kopper, 1996; Simonson & Subich, 1999; Whatley, 2005), especially those women who have been victimized by dates or acquaintances as compared to strangers (Bell, Kuriloff, & Lottes, 1994). Finally, individuals who report adhering to sex role stereotypes are more likely to minimize the seriousness and severity of the rape (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005; Simonson & Subich, 1999) and report arousal to rape depictions (Check & Malamuth, 1983).

When men are socialized and encouraged to adhere to the traditional masculine ideology, they quickly learn that dominance and aggression are desirable and that women are the appropriate targets for this aggression. Likewise, traditional gender role socialization teaches women to be passive, putting them in a particularly vulnerable position where they face an increased chance of sexual victimization (see e.g., Abbey, 1991a). This has led feminist scholars to argue that the expression and maintenance of traditional gender roles is one of the social factors responsible for violence against women (e.g., Sheffield, 1987). Further, the manifestation of these sex-appropriate gender roles can be witnessed through heterosexual interactions that are defined by adherence to respective masculine/feminine sex scripts.

Sex Scripts

Similar to scripted movie lines in a play or film, sex scripts are ideas or expectations about the ways that men and women should interact in certain circumstances and various settings (Gagnon, 1990; Gagnon & Simon, 1973; Simon & Gagnon, 1986, 1987). In particular, a script is a schema that gives instructions, such as the rules, roles, props, and sequence of events (Fiske & Taylor, 1991), for a specific experience like a first date or heterosexual encounter. These ideas are relatively common, oftentimes stereotypical, and are reinforced and reiterated in film and television plots, advertising campaigns, magazine articles, dating guides, and among families with traditional ideas about male and female behavior (Carpenter, 1998; Ginsberg, 1988; Rose & Frieze, 1989; Wiederman, 2005). These relationship models are internalized at an early age and have proven difficult to change (Demorest, 1995). Further, because they are widely held normative expectations that both parties are typically familiar with, sex scripts operate to reduce uncertainty and anxiety in dating and other sexual situations (Wiederman, 2005).

Gagnon and Simon (1973) were the first to apply social scripting theory to human sexual interactions and insightfully noted the ways in which individuals apply preconceived scripts to their respective heterosexual interactions and sexual encounters. Since that time, a host of empirical research has examined both the level at which sex scripts continue to mirror traditional male/female interactions and the degree of social acceptance regarding sex scripts. This research has consistently established that dating and heterosexual scripts have changed little since the 1950s in terms of adherence to traditional gender roles, and that these scripts continue to be widely held by a large portion of the adult dating population (see Laner & Ventrone, 2000; Rose & Frieze, 1989, 1993). For example, a typical sex script guides dating behavior by suggesting that a man should pick up his female date, open her car door, pay for the meal, and politely walk

her to her doorstep at the end of the evening. If sexual contact occurs, it will be a result of his initiation—further cementing his control and relative power in the context of the particular interaction (e.g., Lewin, 1985). Likewise, a woman should be courted and not pursue a potential mate by initiating phone calls and other forms of contact. On dates, she should eat little, listen intently, allow her male suitor to open her door, pull out her chair, and pay for her meal (Laner & Ventrone, 2000; Rose & Frieze, 1989, 1993). These and other similar scripts generally follow traditional gender roles placing the male as the more dominant partner who is responsible for controlling elements in the “public sphere” such as providing transportation, money, and initiating sexual intimacy (e.g., Laner & Ventrone, 2000; Rose & Frieze, 1989, 1993).

In contrast, traditional sex scripts suggest that the woman be most concerned with her appearance, maintaining conversation/intimate communication, and safeguarding sexual access as the moral gatekeeper of her sexuality (Peplau, Rubin, & Hill, 1977). She is not supposed to initiate intimacy and she is also expected to resist his sexual advances (even if only as “token resistance”), regardless of her own arousal and/or desire for or willingness to engage in sexual contact (Byers, 1996; Check & Malamuth, 1983; LaPlante, McCormick, & Brannigan, 1980; Lottes, 1988; Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988; Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991; Shotland & Hunter, 1995). This “sexual gatekeeper” role likely stems from the feminine stereotype of personal restraint and control (Lippa, 2001). Further, when women do initiate a date and violate these traditional sex scripts, research finds that men are more likely to expect sex and expect more sex than if the date was initiated by the male (Muehlenhard, 1988; Muehlenhard, Friedman, & Thomas, 1985). Indeed, when a woman invites a man back to her home during a date, this is interpreted as a sexual invitation (Bostwick & DeLucia, 1992; Mongeau & Carey, 1996; Mongeau, Hale, Johnson, & Hillis, 1993; Muehlenhard, 1988; Muehlenhard et al., 1985; Parrot,

1990). These increased sexual expectations have been cited as possibly contributing to the occurrence of sexual coercion or aggression between known parties.

Ultimately, sex scripts follow the traditional normative patterns of gender and gendered behavior in a patriarchal society by assigning stereotypically masculine behavior to men and feminine behavior to women. Lewin (1985) has proposed that these scripts can be characterized by an “ideology of male supremacy” that imposes a relational hierarchy on a sexual relationship where the man “demonstrates his superiority and dominance by persuading the woman to agree [to sex] and she demonstrates her inferiority, submission, and defeat by agreeing” (p. 190). As such, men learn to play the dominant role, and sex scripts support this dominance as a normal and natural part of heterosexual relations, thus eroticizing sexual inequality (Koss et al., 1994; Wiederman, 2005) and paving the way for sexual aggression (Krahe, Bieneck, & Scheinberger-Olwig, 2007).

Related to the host of empirical research that investigates the components of and adherence to traditional sex scripts (e.g., Laner & Vetrone, 2000; Rose & Freize, 1989, 1993; Wiederman, 2005), researchers have attempted to uncover the role of sex scripts in creating dangerous environments for women or situations that lead to sexual violence and aggression or unwanted sexual behavior (e.g., Hannon et al., 1995; Krahe et al., 2006; Littleton & Axom, 2003; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). There is an important similarity between traditional heterosexual sex scripts or the desirable sequence of events that takes place during a date (in terms of male-dominance/female-submission) and dating behavior that may be perceived as threatening or construed as potentially dangerous. In particular, both the descriptive and normative elements of the traditional sex script are strikingly similar to events that precede a sexual assault or that may take place during an acquaintance rape situation (e.g., Hannon et al.,

1995; Littleton & Axsom, 2003). For example, the man behaves in a more sexually assertive fashion conveying his arousal and/or interest in intimacy with his date and she potentially responds by saying “no” to his advances (Check & Malamuth, 1983; LaPlante et al., 1980; Peplau et al., 1977). His socialization and exposure to rape-supportive myths (e.g., “when a woman says no, she doesn’t really mean no”) might cause him to question her “real” motivation for saying no and as a result, he is unsure if this is a “token no” provided as a way to uphold her sexual gatekeeper function (and salvage her reputation) or if she is earnestly resisting his advances (Check & Malamuth, 1983; Kanin, 1984). Consequently, he verbally pressures her, maybe using forms of seduction or coercion and other strategies to “loosen her up” so that he can successfully gain sexual access (see Byers & Lewis, 1988; Kanin, 1984; LaPlante et al., 1980; Muehlenhard, Andrews, & Beal, 1996). In doing so, he is following his prescribed sex script as the sexually assertive initiator (e.g., Byers & Wilson, 1985; Muehlenhard et al., 1996; Quinn, Sanchez-Hucles, Coates, & Gillen, 1991). Up until this point, she may not perceive his actions as threatening or dangerous because this is the expected sequence of events (man as initiator/woman as gatekeeper) that typically takes place during seduction or other sexual encounters (Littleton & Axsom, 2003). Thus, she will likely not make a concerted effort to get away and instead, might continue participating in the script. Repeated refusals by the female, interpreted as token resistance by the male initiator, may prompt feelings of justification on the part of the man where he feels as if physical coercion and/or force is an appropriate mechanism to overcome her resistance (Kanin, 1984; Metts & Spitzberg, 1996).

Research examining empirical predictors of sexual aggression has also consistently demonstrated that alcohol consumption by both parties (Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAuslan, 1996a, 1996b; Felson & Burchfield, 2004; Koss, 1995a, 1995b; Muehlenard & Linton, 1987;

Rada, 1975; Scully, 1994) and being alone together at an isolated location such as a house or dorm room (Amick & Calhoun, 1987; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Marx, Van Wie, & Gross, 1996; Muehlenhard et al., 1985; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Ullman et al., 1999; Weis & Borges, 1973) increases the likelihood of sexual assault among acquaintances. It is also the case, however, that a date or consensual “hookup” may involve the consumption of alcohol or may take place at a similarly isolated location (e.g., Kanin, 1984; Morr & Mongeau, 2004). Related, research also identifies the degree to which power disparities on a date (e.g., male initiation of outing, male responsibility for transportation and money) contribute to sexual aggression (Hannon et al., 1995; Kanin, 1967a, 1969; Muehlenhard et al., 1985; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Recall that the traditional sex script relegates control of initiation, transportation, and finances to the male party and as such, these behaviors would not appear particularly threatening (Morr & Mongeau, 2004). This is despite research that suggests some men may feel justified acting in sexually aggressive ways if they have initiated the date, paid the expenses, and provided transportation (e.g., Harney & Muehlenhard, 1991). Instead, alcohol consumption, being alone together, and male initiation and control on a date may be viewed as desirable elements that have socially prescribed positive meanings and outcomes (see Crowe & George, 1989; Littleton & Axsom, 2003). A woman may be likely to interpret these particular elements of an interaction as progress toward a relationship and thus, look forward to their occurrence. Consequently, a woman might misperceive cues and overlook or underestimate danger that should otherwise put her on alert for being at risk for sexual assault.

The misperception of danger cues has also been empirically identified as putting women at risk for sexual assault victimization (e.g., Breitenbecher, 1999; Hannon et al., 1995; Messman-Moore & Brown, 2006; Norris et al., 1999; Norris et al., 1996). This research cites danger cue

recognition as a primary strategy in reducing victimization. As can be seen from the preceding example, however, women are provided with conflicting messages about the nature of normal and healthy sexual encounters as compared to the types of behavior that should elicit fear in interpersonal settings. In particular, a considerable overlap exists between the types of elements and events that are characteristic of seduction and those present in incidents of rape (e.g., Littleton & Axsom, 2003; Littleton, Axsom, & Yoder, 2006). The socialization of traditional sex scripts, therefore, plays a fundamental role in creating confusion and contributing to the misperception of danger cues and the occurrence of unwanted sexual contact because of the similarities between rape and normal seductive sexual encounters.

Beliefs about the proper traditional roles of men and women, and the scripted rules that guide their heterosexual interactions pave the way for an increased acceptance of rape myths (Burt, 1980; Herman, 1984). This acceptance stems from culturally maintained traditional ideas about the dichotomous relationship between the dominant-aggressive male and subordinate-passive female as it is manifested through the sexual relationship. Essentially, the masculine norm teaches men to view sexuality as another area in which to exercise control while women learn to be the receivers of sexual attention and affection.

Rape Myths

Brownmiller's (1975) groundbreaking book, *Against Our Will*, was the first feminist scholarship of its kind to call attention to the existence of rape-supportive ideas or myths embedded within the context of a larger rape-supportive culture. Burt (1980) has defined rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists" (p. 217). Essentially, rape myths are adverse and false beliefs about rape that are widely and persistently

held and serve to justify male sexual aggression against women by blaming the victim and excusing the perpetrator (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Since Brownmiller's (1975) seminal publication nearly 35 years ago, much research has been devoted to identifying and better understanding the functions and consequences of rape myths (e.g., Abbey & Harnish, 1995; Boeringer, 1999; Burt, 1980; Burt & Albin, 1981; Carmody & Washington, 2001; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Giacomassi & Dull, 1986; Jenkins & Dambrot, 1987; Johnson et al., 1997; Kopper, 1996; Koss et al., 1984; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Margolin, Miller, & Moran, 1989; Sanday, 1996; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Schwartz & Nogrady, 1996; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1992; Wilson, Goodwin, & Beck, 2002).

This literature has consistently concluded that rape myths are part of a host of antisocial beliefs and attitudes correlated with violence against women (e.g., Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1985). Additionally, rape myth acceptance is a multidimensional construct tapping conceptually different beliefs about rape (Malamuth & Check, 1985). More specifically, Burt's (1980) analysis revealed that rape myths are part of a larger attitude structure that includes the acceptance of interpersonal violence, sex-role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, sex-role satisfaction, and sexual conservatism. Each of these attitude scales have been correlated with an individual's propensity to adhere to or maintain particular rape myths.

There are a handful of different rape myths that Koss and colleagues (1994) have grouped into three main categories. First, *victim masochism* argues that rape has not really occurred because the victim wanted it, enjoyed it, or just likes rough sex. Additional rape myths that fall into this victim masochism category include the notion that "women secretly desire to be raped" and "when a woman says no, she really means yes." Second, *victim precipitation* is characterized

both by the idea that 1) women ask for or deserve to be raped by dressing provocatively, engaging in risky behavior, and leading men on, and 2) that only certain types of women are raped (e.g., economically marginalized women, women who are sexually promiscuous, and those with histories of abuse). Essentially, this group of myths argues that victims *precipitate* rape and therefore, are blamed for their victimization. Finally, *victim fabrication* suggests that women lie or exaggerate rape to cover up or protect themselves, or that men who rape are justified or have not really harmed their victims.¹ Additional rape myths trivialize the psychological consequences of the rape or the degree of damage and trauma that has resulted from the rape by considering the victim's prior sexual experience in terms of its ability to mediate harm (see also Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Burt & Albin, 1981; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994)

There is relatively wide social acceptance of rape myths (Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978; Giacopassi & Dull, 1986; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994) and the acceptance of rape myths directly influences definitional conceptions of the crime of rape (Burt & Albin, 1981). Individuals who adhere to rape mythology have stringent and rigid ideas about what constitutes a rape (e.g., “only stranger rape is real rape”) (Fischer, 1986a, 1986b; Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988; Norris & Cubbins, 1992). As a result, sexual assault between known intimates or rape without the presence of bodily injury or force may not constitute “real rape.” Individuals who believe these myths are less likely to attribute blame to perpetrators (Check & Malamuth, 1985; Fischer, 1986b; Johnson et al., 1997; Linz, Donnerstein, & Adams, 1989; Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988; Quackenbush, 1989) and are more likely to hold victims responsible for their victimization (Blumberg & Lester, 1991; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Jenkins & Dambrot, 1987; Kopper, 1996; Linz et al., 1989; Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1988;

¹ This group of myths stems from the historically pervasive distrust of women that has been ingrained in social consciousness and manifested through American legal and political discourse and the function and practice of the criminal justice system (for related discussion see Franklin, forthcoming).

Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988; Norris & Cubbins, 1992) as if they had a role in precipitating the attack (Burt & Albin, 1981). This narrowly conceived definition has dangerous implications for the formal criminal processing and treatment of offenders. When the offense deviates from very strict rape definitions, police and prosecutors may be less likely to arrest, charge, and prosecute offenders (e.g., Feild, 1978). Additionally, victims holding these particular rape myths are less likely to seek help or report their assault to the authorities because they do not believe that their particular victimization meets the definition of “rape.”

Research on rape myths and rape myth acceptance has also concluded that specific demographic characteristics such as sex, race, age, and peer group affiliations influence adherence to rape myths. Sex is the most consistent predictor where men uphold these myths more than their female counterparts (Anderson, Simpson-Taylor, & Herrmann, 2004; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Feild, 1978; Giacopassi & Dull, 1986; Hink & Thomas, 1999; Johnson et al., 1997; Kopper, 1996; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Szymanski, Devlin, Chrisler, & Vyse, 1993; Ward, 1988). Further research indicates that men belonging to rape-supportive social groups such as fraternities and athletic teams (Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997) are more likely to hold rape myths when compared to controls (e.g., Boeringer, 1999). Race also has a predictive influence as blacks are more likely than whites to believe in rape mythology (Carmody & Washington, 2001; Feild, 1978). The effect of age on rape myth acceptance is less consistent (Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Additional influences include gender role traditionality, including more conservative and stereotypical views of women, women’s roles, and heterosexual relationships (Bunting & Reeves, 1983; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Costin, 1985; Feild, 1978; Johnson et al., 1997; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Pollard, 1992; Quackenbush, 1989; Shotland & Goldstein, 1983). This

relationship finds that individuals with traditional gender role attitudes and sex-role stereotyping are more likely to carry adverse or false beliefs about the causes and consequences of rape (Johnson et al., 1997). Likewise, individuals who adhere to rape myths typically believe that rape is not as serious/severe or does not cause as much harm to the victim (Borden, Karr, & Caldwell-Colbert, 1988; Burt & Albin, 1981; Linz et al., 1988, 1989; Weidner, 1983), are more likely to show sympathy to the rapist or excuse the perpetrator (Johnson et al., 1997; Kopper, 1996), believe that rape is a crime motivated more by sex than by power (e.g., Feild, 1978), and will typically express agreement when presented with scenarios that attribute blame to rape victims (Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Muehlenhard, 1988; Quackenbush, 1989; Szymanski et al., 1993) when compared to counterparts.

Rape myth acceptance has also been correlated with respondents' self-reported likelihood to rape (LR) and force sex (LF) if provided with a guarantee that they would not get caught (e.g., Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998; Briere & Malamuth, 1983; Malamuth & Check, 1981). Studies have also found that belief in rape myths among male subjects predicts aggressive behavior targeted toward women in both laboratory and non-experimental settings (Ageton, 1983; Koss et al., 1985; Malamuth, 1983). Abbey et al. (1998) found that men who held rape myths were both more likely to report that they would be willing to force sex on a woman and also that they were more likely to have actually perpetrated sexual assault as compared to their counterparts. Accordingly, rape myths function to create negative and false perceptions about the reality of rape and as a result, sexual violence against women is excused, minimized, and justified. Rape myth acceptance further entrenches individuals in a rape-supportive culture or a society that permissively allows woman abuse. Rape myths, taken together with traditional gender role socialization and adherence to sex scripts function to create sexual power hierarchies between

men and women that ultimately teach dangerous messages about sexual interaction and consequently, normalize violence and aggression against women.

Limitations of the Feminist Explanation of Rape

One fundamentally important and unresolved limitation in the literature concerning the feminist explanation of rape surrounds the ecological fallacy where feminist theories attempt to explain variation in rape rates and individual-level offending and victimization by looking to a patriarchal and male-dominated social structure. Despite the use of macro-level status indicators to test these feminist hypotheses, there remains an empirical disconnect because theories seek to explain not only aggregate rape rates, but also the existence of particular social ideologies discussed above (e.g., gender roles, sex scripts, rape myths) and the role of these ideologies on individual-level behavior. More specifically, while empirical analyses have tested the influence of societal-level gender inequality and male/female status differences on aggregate rape rates, feminist explanations of violence against women still hypothesize that a patriarchal society produces anti-woman beliefs that increase or enhance the propensity for men to target women as victims of violence and sexual aggression, and there is empirical literature that tests the effect of these ideologies on the *individual* likelihood or actual perpetration of sexual violence.

Missing from this research, however, are studies that test the effects of status indicators on the beliefs and attitudes of individuals. Indeed, research has not investigated the effect of structural inequality on the individual acceptance of traditional gender roles, sex scripts, and rape myths. Despite these limitations, the feminist explanation of rape remains one of the most consistently used theoretical frameworks from which scholars understand and empirically evaluate the occurrence of rape and sexual violence against women.

EMPIRICAL CORRELATES OF WOMAN ABUSE

The seriousness and prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses have prompted researchers to investigate the contextual, situational, and individual-level risk factors that contribute to its occurrence. Like research aimed at pinpointing the role of structural factors and cultural ideology on the occurrence of rape, research on sexual assault risk factors examines a multitude of different variables that each play a role in producing abusive outcomes for college women. These include contextual factors, situational factors, and individual offender and victim factors.

Contextual and Situational Factors

Existing empirical research has established a host of measurable risk factors that are specifically related to the broader context and variables surrounding the situation of a sexual assault. The prevalence of acquaintance and date rape has prompted criminologists to better understand the victim/offender relationship and as a result, sexual assault research has focused considerable attention on this relationship. Unlike the commonly held myth of the stranger rapist that many women are socialized to believe, taught to fear, and groomed to take active precautions against (see e.g., Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1997), rape more commonly occurs by perpetrators who know their victims (Gross et al., 2006). More specifically, between 50 to 90 percent of sexual assaults occur between known persons where the victim and offender are acquainted on some level (Abbey et al., 1996a; Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAuslan, 1996b; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Koss, Dinero, Seibel, & Cox, 1988; Ullman, Filipas, Townsend, & Starzynski, 2006). This is especially problematic because women who are acquainted with their assailants may be more likely to disregard or overlook danger cues. These victims may also

take longer to identify the sexually assaultive situation as rape (see Koss et al., 1988). Additional research has investigated the specific effect of the victim/offender relationship on other related outcomes and has reported that victims who are acquainted with their assailants may be less likely to label their experience as rape (Kahn et al., 2003; Koss, 1985), and are also more likely to be blamed for the assault (Tetreault & Barnett, 1987). Further, women report no differences with regard to mental health outcomes and post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) based on the victim/offender relationship (Ullman et al., 2006) disproving the belief that women who are raped by strangers suffer more negative psychological symptoms (e.g., depression, anxiety) than those who are assaulted by known perpetrators.

Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) found that dates involving a power differential between two acquaintances were more likely to result in sexual assault when compared to dates where there was no power differential between the man and woman. Feminist theory suggests that this is the result of structural-level social relationships between males and females that are often characterized by power disparity and male-dominance. This heterosexual power differential is manifested at the individual level through adherence to gendered sex scripts. These power differences have been operationalized in prior literature as differences in age between the victim and the perpetrator (Kanin, 1969), and particular characteristics of the actual dating event such as whether or not the man initiated the date, paid for the expenses, and provided transportation (e.g., Muehlenhard et al., 1985).

Early studies by Kanin and colleagues (Kanin, 1957, 1969; Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957) reported that sexual assault was correlated with a disparity in age between the man and woman participating in the interaction. Dates that resulted in sexual assault were characterized by larger age differences between parties as compared to dates that did not end with abuse. Kanin (1969)

posited that this was the result of the “superior bargaining power” afforded to the older male (p. 24). Consequently, this research assumes heterosexual interactions that give the male party more power increase the risk for sexual assault. Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) purported that specific characteristics of a date manifest themselves as power inequalities between men and women and thus, afford men more power, increasing the chance for sexual assault. For example, in a study of undergraduate student perceptions, Muehlenhard, Friedman, and Thomas (1985) found that students rated a date rape as more justifiable when the man paid the dating expenses as compared to when the couple split the bill. Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) also found that sexual abuse was more likely to occur on dates when the man initiated the interaction, paid for the date, and provided transportation as compared to those interactions when the man did not have control over these particular events. Other research reiterates these conclusions (e.g., Cornett & Shuntich, 1991).

Another common situational risk factor that has prompted considerable empirical attention is the consumption of alcohol by the victim and the offender. Research has consistently linked alcohol with sexually aggressive outcomes on dates and with acquaintances (Abbey, 2002; Felson & Burchfield, 2004; Koss, 1995a; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Criminologists estimate that approximately 50 percent of sexual assaults involve alcohol consumption by the victim, the offender, or both (Abbey, 1991b; Abbey et al., 1996a; Abbey et al., 1998; Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Koss, 1995a). In her nationally representative sample, Koss (1995a) found that 74 percent of the assailants and 55 percent of the victims had been drinking alcohol at the time of the assault. Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) similarly reported that dates involving alcohol consumption were more likely to result in sexually abusive outcomes than those dates where alcohol was not consumed. Additional research replicates these findings

(Abbey, 2002; Abbey et al., 2001; Gidycz et al., 1995; Gross, Winslett, Roberts, & Gohm, 2006; Ullman et al., 1999).

Alcohol and sexual assault commonly co-occur and as a result, scholars have attempted to disentangle this relationship. Society's normative messages about seduction and romance often include alcohol and thus, may influence the traditional sex script, promoting drinking on dates and during intimate interactions. There are a number of additional different pathways through which alcohol may be related to sexual assault (Abbey, 2002). First, men may expect alcohol to have an effect on their behavior—expectancies that are unrelated to the actual physiological effects of alcohol on human biology (Leigh, 1990). Men anticipate feeling more powerful, physically aggressive, and sexually assertive after drinking alcohol (Brown, Goldman, Inn, & Anderson, 1980; George & Norris, 1991). These alcohol expectancies influence the way men behave once they have consumed alcohol paving the way for more aggressive and less inhibited sexual initiation.

Second, there are pervasive stereotypes associated with women who drink. Men perceive women who are drinking alcohol as more promiscuous and sexually available than those women who do not drink (George, Gournic, & McAfee, 1988). Consequently, women who are drinking may be targets for excessive sexual attention because they are viewed as more willing to engage in sex and more easily seduced (George et al., 1995). Further studies have reported that when women are intoxicated, assailants are perceived as less culpable (Hammock & Richardson, 1997; Stormo, Lang, & Stritzke, 1997). Third, alcohol is viewed as a sexual signal both by individuals engaged in the social interaction and by outside parties who are charged with evaluating social circumstances and sexual vignettes (Abbey, 2002). To be sure, students exposed to rape vignettes are more likely to view the encounter as consensual when alcohol is involved (Norris & Cubbins,

1992). Male students report that, if under the influence of alcohol, they would likely behave similar to the assailant in a forced sex scenario (Norris & Kerr, 1993). Bernat, Calhoun, and Stolp (1998) exposed male college students to an audio rape vignette and asked them to identify the point at which the man in the scenario was forcing sex. Male respondents who thought that the couple had been drinking required the highest degree of physical resistance from the victim and the most physically coercive force from the assailant before they decided that the man should stop. Together these studies suggest that there are normative ideas surrounding sexual interaction when alcohol is involved. Indeed, aggression and forced sex tend to be excused and/or overlooked if the victim or the offender are drinking alcohol.

Alcohol also influences the ways in which men perceive female behavior. In general, men perceive women's friendly behavior as sexual interest even when their intentions are not sexually motivated (Abbey, 1982; Abbey, Cozzarelli, McLaughlin, & Harnish, 1987; Abbey & Harnish, 1995; Harnish, Abbey, & DeBono, 1990; Shotland & Craig, 1988). Sexual communication is oftentimes vague and subtle, further complicating the interaction and paving the way for miscommunication. Alcohol increases the chance that men will misperceive women's friendliness as sexual and therefore, force is a likely outcome (Abbey et al., 1996a; Abbey et al., 1998). Further links between alcohol and sexual assault include 1) alcohol's influence on men's tendency to behave aggressively (Abbey, 2002; Ito, Miller, & Pollock, 1996), 2) alcohol's effect on a woman's ability to assess risk and react appropriately (Abbey, 2002), thereby frustrating her ability to effectively resist unwanted sexual advances (Abbey et al., 1996b), and 3) the effect of alcohol consumption on perceptions of diminished responsibility for inappropriate or otherwise questionable male behavior (Norris & Cubbins, 1992).

Lastly, the location of the date and the degree to which that location is isolated or private has been cited as a risk factor associated with an increased likelihood of sexual assault (Abbey et al., 2001; Muehlenhard et al., 1985). As with so many of the factors already discussed, isolation on a date may easily be perceived as positive in terms of progress toward consensual intimacy because traditional sex scripts suggest that heterosexual interactions take place in private and between two people in a relatively isolated context. Isolation and privacy are also risk factors, however, because there is a diminished chance of being interrupted or getting caught (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987), and as a result, the potential for forced sex increases on dates where a man and a woman are alone together at one of their homes (Abbey et al., 1998; Abbey et al., 2001; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). The location of a date is also significantly related to male perceptions and sexual expectations. For example, studies report that men perceive women as more interested in sex when a date takes place at the man's apartment (Muehlenhard et al., 1985). When she resists his advances, he may feel justified in using coercive tactics to gain sexual access because she "led him on" by being alone with him at his residence (Goodchilds & Zellman, 1984).

In addition to the contextual and situational risk factors reviewed above, research also finds a number of individual offender and victim factors that are associated with the assailant and his increased propensity to offend (e.g., Carr & Van Deusen, 2004; Loh et al., 2005; Murnen, Wright, & Kalunzy, 2002) and the victim and her chances of experiencing sexual victimization (e.g., Combs-Lane & Smith, 2002; Davis et al., 2002; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Norris et al., 1996; Siegel & Williams, 2003). There is overlap between some of the broader social, contextual, and situational factors already discussed and those factors related specifically to the individual (e.g., traditional gender roles, alcohol consumption).

Individual Offender Factors

While there are many explanations for why sexual assault occurs, scholars have cited offender variables as risk factors that contribute to the occurrence of forced sexual contact. A sizable body of literature has focused on the influence of male sex role socialization on the increased propensity to sexually aggress against women (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004; Masser, Viki, & Power, 2006; Murnen et al., 2002). Almost without exception, research finds consistent correlations between gender role traditionality, hypermasculinity and masculine gender ideology, rape myth acceptance, and hostility toward women on rape proclivity and the self-reported likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive and violent behaviors (see e.g., Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004; Carr & VanDeusen, 2004; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Murnen et al., 2002).

Men who strongly conform to traditional gender roles or have exaggerated views of masculinity may be more tolerant of rape, with more calloused attitudes directed toward women (e.g., Burt, 1980; Truman et al., 1996). Further, these same men are more likely to engage in sexually coercive behavior (Mosher & Anderson, 1986; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; Tieger, 1981; Truman et al., 1996). Men holding traditional gender roles are also more likely to believe in rape myths—another robust predictor of sexual assault (Koss et al., 1985; Muehlendhard & Linton, 1987). Additionally, rape myth acceptance has been empirically correlated with victim blaming (Blumberg & Lester, 1991; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Linz et al., 1989; Norris & Cubbins, 1992), hostility toward women (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994), negative stereotypical attitudes toward women (Check & Malamuth, 1983, 1985; Muehlenhard & McNaughton, 1988), and misperceiving women's friendly behavior as sexually motivated (Abbey & Harnish, 1995). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) and Masser et al. (2006) report that men who hold hostile or sexist attitudes against women are also more likely to sexually aggress against them.

Research also consistently identifies rape supportive social relationships and male peer support as contributing to violence against women (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). In particular, men who belong to peer groups that approve of violence against women are more likely to engage in sexually violent behavior. These men are also more likely than their non-affiliated counterparts to hold rigid gender role beliefs, with an increased acceptance of rape myths (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Boeringer, 1999), and hold nonconforming views of masculinity. Typically, this research is conducted using fraternities and athletic teams (Boeringer, 1996; Boswell & Spade, 1996; DeKeseredy, 1990; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Garrett-Gooding & Senter, 1987; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Koss & Gaines, 1993; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Merrill, 1992; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997), but any male-only group has the potential to provide ample support for antifemininity, adversarial sexual beliefs, and violence against women (Franklin, 2005; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

As previously discussed, alcohol consumption is a robust predictor of rape and sexual aggression (Abbey, 1991b; Abbey et al., 1996a, 1996b; Carr & Van Deusen, 2004; Koss & Gaines, 1993; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Norris & Cubbins, 1992; Ullman et al., 1999). Briefly, alcohol contributes to aggression through behavioral expectancies (Brown et al., 1980; Crowe & George, 1989; Leigh, 1987; Mooney, Froome, Kivlahan, & Marlatt, 1987; Ratliff & Burkhardt, 1984). Alcohol also reduces behavioral inhibitions (Abbey, 1991b), encourages callous perceptions of rape victims (Hammock & Richardson, 1997; Richardson & Campbell, 1982; Stormo et al., 1997), excuses sexually coercive behavior in heterosexual interactions (Cook, 1995; Johnson, Noel, & Sutter-Hernandez, 2000; Kanin, 1984), and may play a direct role in

confusing male perceptions of female behavior (Abbey & Harnish, 1995; Abbey et al., 2001; Abbey et al., 1996b; Abbey et al., 1998).

Misperception of women's friendliness is also a fundamentally important consideration because the misperception of sexual intent may lead a man to feel justified in forcing sex (Goodchilds & Zellman, 1984; Kanin, 1984; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Research finds that men frequently misperceive women's sexual intentions and consequently, are more likely to overestimate a woman's willingness to engage in sexual intercourse. In their study of alcohol, sexual communication, and sexual assault, Abbey et al. (1998) found that alcohol consumption was significantly related to the misperception of women's sexual intent and the misperception of sexual intent significantly predicted the number of sexual assaults a man perpetrated.

Pornography consumption has also been empirically linked with sexual assault perpetration. In particular, exposure to violent pornography may increase sexual aggression among men (Allen, D'Alessio, & Brezgel, 1995; Vega & Malamuth, 2007). Additionally, research has reported positive relationships between pornography consumption and rape supportive attitudes including rape myth acceptance (Allen et al., 1995b; Malamuth & Check, 1995), and between pornography consumption and the self-reported likelihood of engaging in sexually aggressive behavior (Boeringer, 1994; Check & Guloien, 1989; Demare et al., 1988, 1993). Alcohol consumption positively influences the effect of pornography on rape proclivity and the self-reported likelihood of behaving in a sexually aggressive fashion (Crowe & George, 1989; Norris et al., 2002; Norris & Kerr, 1993).

Early and adverse sexual experiences and having multiple sex partners are also identified in the list of factors that influence rape and sexual aggression among college men (Abbey et al., 1998, 2001; Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004; Koss et al., 1985). Men who experience their first

intercourse at an early age or those men who experience adversarial sexual encounters are more likely to victimize women (Abbey et al., 1998; Kanin, 1985; Koss et al., 1985; Malamuth et al., 1995). Likewise, sexual promiscuity may also contribute to violence against women (Kanin, 1983, 1985). Early intercourse is correlated with sexual assault perpetration either as a result of variation in individual motivation, or because men who engage in sexual activity at an early age have increased exposure to potential victims (Kanin, 1985; Malamuth, 1986; Malamuth et al., 1991). Likewise, men who experience adverse sexual relations may learn that these behaviors are appropriate expressions of intimate and sexual interaction. Research also cites family dysfunction as a relatively robust predictor of rape and violence against women. More specifically, men with absent fathers (Fehrenback, Smith, Monastersky, & Deisher, 1986; Lisak, 1991, 1994) and those men raised in abusive homes are at higher risk for perpetrating rape than their counterparts (Bernard & Bernard, 1983; Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Gwartney-Gibs, Stockard, & Bohmer, 1987; Malamuth, 1998; Malamuth et al., 1995; Malamuth, et al., 1991; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1989; Wilson, Faison, & Britton, 1983).

Taken as a whole, this vast body of research establishes clear risk factors for sexual assault related to male sex role socialization including gender role traditionality and rape myth acceptance, rape supportive social relationships and peer support, alcohol consumption, misperception of women's sexual intent, and pornography consumption. This literature also highlights the dangers associated with early and adverse sexual experiences and multiple sex partners in addition to poor paternal relationships and family dysfunction.

Individual Victim Factors

Comparatively, there is a limited body of empirical literature that explores the influence

of particular victim factors on rape and sexual assault victimization. Scholars have cited two main reasons for this narrow focus. First, with few exceptions, victims of sexual violence are not much different from their non-victimized counterparts (see e.g., Amick & Calhoun, 1987; Koss, 1985). Second, feminist efforts to raise scholarly and public awareness by studying rape have attempted to mute the influence of victim factors for fear that focusing on the role of particular victim characteristics will encourage the propensity to victim blame. While this certainly is a worthy and realistic concern, it is nonetheless necessary to identify victim factors that are related to the increased chance of victimization to educate and empower women. To be sure, scholars have identified a handful of risk factors associated with the sexual victimization of women (Combs-Lane & Smith, 2002; Davis et al., 2002, 2002; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Siegel & Williams, 2003).

The relationship between prior victimization and childhood abuse and later victimization has been consistently demonstrated among both college (Koss & Dinero, 1989) and non-college populations (e.g., Russell, 1986). For example, studies find adult victims of rape and sexual assault more likely to be victims of childhood sexual violence (Banyard, Arnold, & Smith, 2000; Himelein, Vogel, & Wachowiak, 1994; Koss & Dinero, 1989). This may be because of the ways in which women with prior victimization histories assess and respond to sexual threats. For example, Norris et al., (1996) found that upon experiencing sexual coercion, revictimized women were more likely to use passive and indirect forms of resistance—often much more ineffective when compared to verbal and physical confrontation. Studies also reveal an empirical relationship between prior victimization and risky sex practices resulting in an increased likelihood of revictimization (e.g., Mandoki & Burkhart, 1989).

Empirical research highlights the important contributions of risk-taking behavior and the ways in which certain behaviors put women at an increased risk of victimization. Such behaviors have been operationalized as alcohol consumption (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987), risky sex practices including unprotected sex, sexual promiscuity (Combs-Lane & Smith, 2002; Koss, 1985) and having sex while under the influence of alcohol or other drugs (Koss & Dinero, 1989), and provocative dress (Abbey et al., 1987; Burt, 1980; Synovitz & Byrne, 1998). Alcohol consumption is clearly related to rape among women for a host of reasons, all of which have been discussed in previous sections of this chapter. Alcohol reduces a woman's ability to effectively assess and respond to threats and sexual coercion (Abbey, 2002; Abbey et al., 1996b; Testa & Livingston, 1999). Additionally, men perceive women who are drinking alcohol as more sexually available and more interested in sex and may therefore believe they are appropriate targets for aggression (George et al., 1988, 1995). Women who participate in risky sex practices, who frequently date and engage in consensual sex, or who have sex with multiple partners also face a higher risk of sexual victimization (Combs-Lane & Smith, 2002; Koss, 1985). Indeed, dating and consensual sex frequency exposes women to a greater number of potential perpetrators. Dressing provocatively increases a woman's vulnerability by signaling sexual interest among men (Synovitz & Byrne, 1998). Abbey et al. (1987) found that men reported perceptions of women who wore more revealing clothing to be significantly more flirtatious, sexy, seductive, and promiscuous than women whose clothing was not revealing despite the intention or behavior of the particular women.

Although this research is much less developed, some studies have included Greek affiliation in their list of risk factors (Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Kalof, 1993; Sawyer & Schulken, 1997). According to this literature, sorority women may face increased risk of sexual

assault as a result of the relationships they have with fraternity men in terms of sheer proximity to potential perpetrators (Nurius et al., 1996). It has also been consistently documented that social gatherings and parties among fraternity and sorority members involve heavy alcohol consumption (Baer, Kivlahan, & Marlatt, 1995; Marlatt, Baer, & Larimer, 1995; Riordan & Dana, 1998; Wechsler, Dowdall, Davenport, & Castillo, 1995; Wechsler, Kuh, & Davenport, 1996). Moreover, sorority women may misperceive danger cues (Norris et al., 1996; Norris et al., 1999; Nurius et al., 1996) because they are less inclined to believe that they are in danger of being victimized by men who belong to the Greek system (Norris et al., 1996). Research that has controlled for sorority membership or that has tested the relationship between female Greek affiliation and sexual assault risk will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

While the purpose of the current research is focused on uncovering the particular role of sorority membership on sexual assault risk, a thorough review of the current knowledge base, with regard to what factors increase sexual victimization, is necessary. In terms of victim characteristics, women may be more likely to experience forced sex if they were abused as children. Additionally, risk-taking behaviors, including alcohol consumption, sexual promiscuity, dating and consensual sex frequency, and provocative dress are all correlated with an increased risk of rape and sexual violence. There are also direct and indirect relationships between female Greek affiliation and college sexual assault, with proximity to potential perpetrators, misperception of danger cues, and alcohol consumption as factors mediating this relationship.

SUMMARY

A feminist analysis of rape suggests that structural factors such as patriarchy and a rape-supportive culture are largely responsible for creating an environment that permits violence against women. Specifically, cultural components, including the socialization processes that teach a male-dominance/female-submission power hierarchy, traditional gender roles, sex scripts, and rape myths, play fundamental role in targeting women as victims of sexual violence. Much research has been devoted to better understanding the role of these structural and social/cultural factors as they correlate with the incidence and perpetration of woman abuse. A large body of macro-level feminist research theorizes and tests the relationships between structural indicators of male/female status inequality and aggregate rape rates across geographical jurisdictions. Moreover, there is an additional empirical effort geared toward better understanding the role of individual-level ideologies on the occurrence of sexual assault victimization. This research has consistently concluded that adherence to traditional gender roles, sex scripts, and rape myth acceptance are part of a series of attitudes and beliefs that make up a larger cultural ideology that supports, reinforces, and perpetuates violence against women. An empirical disconnect exists, however, between the larger patriarchal and male-dominated social structure (as measured by status indicators) and its effect and influence on the individual-level ideologies that are correlated with violence against women. Despite this empirical shortcoming, the feminist analysis of rape remains useful in terms of better understanding and explaining why men continue to target women as victims of rape and sexual violence.

Finally, a considerable amount of attention has been devoted to discovering the role of particular contextual, situational, offender, and victim characteristics on the likelihood of sexual assault perpetration and victimization. This research purports that a victim/offender relationship

and significant age differences between the man and the woman are both contextual risk factors for rape and sexual violence. Likewise, dates where the man initiates, pays the expenses, and provides transportation, dates involving alcohol consumption by the victim, the offender, or both, or dates that take place in isolated and intimate settings are all at increased risk of resulting in sexually coercive outcomes. Additional research on individual-level variables suggests that men are at higher risk of forcing unwanted sex as a result of male sex role socialization, associations with rape-supportive peer groups or friends who approve of woman abuse, alcohol consumption, misperception of women's sexual intent, exposure to violent pornography, early and adverse sexual experiences and multiple sex partners, and poor paternal relationships and family dysfunction. Much less research has focused on victim characteristics. Nonetheless, there are empirical correlations between prior victimization and childhood abuse, risk-taking behaviors including alcohol consumption, risky sex practices, dating and consensual sex frequency, dressing provocatively, and Greek affiliation.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

Understanding the etiology of offending and victimization is central to the study of criminology. In particular, scholars have spent decades developing theories to explain the individual motivation for criminality (Burgess & Akers, 1966; Hirschi, 1969; Merton, 1938; Sutherland, 1947; Sutherland & Cressey, 1974), changes in aggregate crime rates across space and time (Shaw & McKay, 1942; Shaw, McKay, Zorbaugh, & Cottrell, 1929), and the likelihood of individual victimization (Amir, 1971; Cohen & Felson, 1979; Gottfredson, 1981; Hawley, 1950; Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978; Hough, 1987; Mendelsohn, 1956; Nelson, 1980; Skogan, 1990; Sparks, 1981; Von Hentig, 1948; Wolfgang, 1958). While countless theories investigate and purport to shed light on why people offend (e.g., Merton's strain theory, Sutherland's differential association, Hirschi's social control), the general criminological victimization literature has largely focused on frameworks that posit an ecological explanation (Hawley, 1950) such as exposure (Gottfredson, 1981), opportunity (Cohen, Kluegel, & Land, 1981), lifestyle (Hindelang et al., 1978; Miethe, Stafford, & Long, 1987), and routine activity theories (Cohen & Cantor, 1980, 1981; Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cohen, Felson, & Land, 1980).²

More recently, criminologists have begun to investigate the role of victim self-control (e.g., impulsivity and risk-taking behaviors) on victimization (Baron, Forde, & Kay, 2007;

² Early work on victimization postulated potential relationships between victim conduct/behavior and likelihood of victimization (e.g., Amir, 1971; Gottfredson, 1981; Mendelsohn, 1956; Nelson, 1980; Skogan, 1990; Sparks, 1981; Von Hentig, 1948; Wolfgang, 1958) but these ideas were not developed into testable scientific theories. There have also been attempts to integrate concepts from routine activities theory and lifestyle-exposure theories into the formulation of more developed conceptual frameworks such as the structural-choice model of victimization (Miethe & Meier, 1990) and the conceptualization of target selection (Hough, 1987), but the bulk of theoretical and empirical research on victimology remains dominated by investigations of routine activities and lifestyle-exposure approaches (but see Wenzel, Koegel, & Gelberg, 2000).

Piquero, MacDonald, Dobrin, Daigle, & Cullen, 2005; Schreck, 1999; Schreck, Stewart, & Fisher, 2006; Stewart, Elifson, & Sterk, 2004). Elements of these general victimization theories can provide helpful insight with regard to better understanding crimes against women, and in particular—rape and sexual assault (e.g., Belknap, 1987; Coster, Estes, & Mueller, 1999; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999, 2002; Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait, & Alvi, 2001; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). That said, feminist scholars have largely criticized the general victimization literature for failing to capture social structure influences and ideology (e.g., patriarchy, male-domination, differences in equality) and the broader context of violence against women in terms of the way these factors affect the motivation to 1) perpetrate violent sexual crime, and 2) choose women as appropriate targets of this violence (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999; Rodgers & Roberts, 1995; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). Additionally, general victimization theories most often fail to consider the unique situational context of women’s victimization where violence typically takes place in the home by intimate partners or otherwise known aggressors (e.g., Miller & Burack, 1993).

A large body of more focused theoretical and empirical literature explores the specific factors that explain sexual assault. This research has traditionally centered around theories that explain offender propensity to perpetrate rape and sexual violence. For example, Schwartz and DeKeseredy’s (1997) male peer support model (also see DeKeseredy, 1988, 1990; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1993), gendered social bond theory (Godenzi, Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2001), Kanin’s (1967, 1984, 1985) reference group theory, and Sanday’s (1990) psychoanalytic theory of gang rape all provide theoretical frameworks with which to understand why male offenders target and victimize women. The limited focus on offender attributes may have both theoretical and practical shortcomings. Indeed, particular

situational characteristics of victimization may be explained in terms of victim factors. In addition, variables associated with individual victims may enhance a woman's vulnerability to rape (e.g., Myers, Templer & Brown, 1984; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995; Selkin, 1978) or diminish her chance of effective resistance (Russell, 1984).

Early research that focused on victim characteristics pertaining to rape and sexual assault purported that victims may precipitate their own violence (Amir, 1967, 1971). Additional theoretical development focused on traumatic experiences positing that prior victimization produced an increased risk of repeat victimization (DeYoung, 1982; Herman, 1981; Russell, 1984). Scholars have also suggested that certain social or psychological traits possessed by specific women may predict their increased vulnerability to rape and sexual assault (Amick & Calhoun, 1987; Koss, 1985; Myers et al., 1984; Selkin, 1978). Essentially, this hypothesis argues that variation in victimization can be resolved by differences in victim personality traits, attitudes, and values. Weis and Borges (1973) argued that women who accept traditional stereotypes regarding femininity and subscribe to rape myths may be more sensitive to forced sex. In all, feminists criticized these victimization theories, first for their over-reliance on victim behavior. Second, some proponents demonstrated an increased propensity to blame women for their victimization (e.g., victim precipitation) (e.g., Amir, 1967, 1971). Finally, early victimization theories were charged with scapegoating victims and simultaneously excusing the men responsible for perpetrating the violence. As a result, scholars have tended to steer away from theoretically focusing too heavily on victim characteristics to alleviate problems associated with blaming victims and reinforcing prejudicial beliefs about rape causation. While victimization theories suffer from serious theoretical, empirical, and practical limitations, the

consideration of particular victim factors may be instructive in terms of better understanding the influence of structural and situational variables on sexual assault victimization.

Existing work on sexual assault has focused a great deal of attention on the victimization risk pertaining to college women. As discussed in chapter one, there are legitimate reasons to concentrate efforts on this particular population. To briefly reiterate, college students face an increased risk of rape and sexual assault because they are in the same age range as the bulk of rape victims and offenders. Moreover, college students are largely unsupervised (Boumil, Friedman, & Taylor, 1993), engage in social gatherings characterized by excessive alcohol consumption (Knight et al., 2002; O'Malley & Johnston, 2002; Prendergast, 1994; Sheffield et al., 2005; Wechsler et al., 1994), and are involved with peer groups that heavily encourage heterosexual interaction and sexual conquest (Hughes & Winston, 1987; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Theoretical and empirical literature that attempts to better explain sexual assault has focused on the role of these and other contextual, situational, offender, and victim attributes. This research recognizes particular variables that increase the likelihood of perpetration and victimization. Extant theory on offender propensity to engage in forced sex among college students focuses principally on the role of rape-supportive peer groups that encourage woman abuse (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1993; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Schwartz & Nogrady, 1996).

While victim-related theory-building in the college context is comparatively less developed, empirical predictors have been identified (Combs-Lane & Smith, 2002; Davis et al., 2002, 2002; Gidycz et al., 1995; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Siegel & Williams, 2003; Ullman et al., 1999). Moreover, a small body of literature has included the role of sorority affiliation on sexual assault victimization and, while early tests found significant correlations between Greek

membership and rape (e.g., Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Kalof, 1993; Sawyer & Schulken, 1997), this research generally lacks methodological rigor and theoretical development. The purpose of the current chapter, therefore, is to critically review existing victimization theories, highlighting the limitations and shortcomings of traditional theoretical approaches. In effect, this chapter proposes an alternative theoretical framework that borrows elements from extant victimization theories, but posits potential relationships between additional variables that center around membership in the sorority. Most importantly, this alternative theoretical approach underscores the importance of both attitudinal and behavioral variables that create a climate theoretically conducive to rape victimization as a result of a decidedly heterosexist ideology that is socialized through female Greek membership (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999; Handler, 1995).

The following sections explore the general criminological victimization literature by reviewing routine activity theory and self-control in terms of their theoretical and empirical contributions to the general study of victimization. A brief discussion on the shortcomings of these frameworks as posited by feminist criminologists is followed by an overview of existing offender and victimization theories on sexual assault. An alternative theoretical approach that uses sorority affiliation to predict attitudes and behaviors that may increase sexual victimization likelihood is introduced and theoretically driven research questions are formulated.

GENERAL CRIMINOLOGICAL VICTIMIZATION LITERATURE

Routine Activity Theory

In 1979, Cohen and Felson redefined criminological theory as it pertained to criminal perpetration and victimization in an attempt to explain increases in crime despite measurable positive social change. Analyzing aggregate crime rates from 1947 to 1974, Cohen and Felson

(1979) found existing criminological theories inadequate to reconcile trends in social and economic conditions. For example, increases in the percent of African Americans graduating from high school and median family incomes, and decreases in unemployment and the number of people living in poverty did not coincide with “paradoxical” increases in crime. Cohen and Felson (1979) argued, contrary to earlier frameworks that relied on community structure and spatial characteristics (Shaw & McKay, 1942; Shaw et al., 1929) and offender motivation to engage in criminality (e.g., Burgess & Akers, 1966; Hirschi, 1969; Merton, 1938; Sutherland, 1947; Sutherland & Cressey, 1974), that criminal perpetration and victimization are the result of *both* spatial and temporal factors involving particular persons and/or objects that assemble as a result of the predictable and repetitive routine activities or lifestyle patterns of individuals. More specifically, they proposed that crime is the result of the convergence of three factors—likely offenders, the presence of suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians. They postulated that individuals whose routine activities take place largely within households would experience less victimization and those who spend the majority of their time away from their homes would be subject to greater levels of victimization. In particular, a public lifestyle consisting of daytime work outside the home or frequent nighttime activity away from home increases exposure to risk and consequently, crime (see also Kennedy & Forde, 1990). This perspective, according to Cohen and Felson (1979), could effectively account for changes in the post-World War II period where the “circulation of people and property” corresponded with increases in crime rates (p. 594).

In 1981, Cohen et al. broadened the dimensions of routine activity theory to include the mediating role of five risk factors—“exposure, guardianship, proximity to potential offenders, attractiveness of potential targets, and definitional properties of specific crimes” (p. 505). They

argued that the earliest conceptualization of routine activity theory could be effectively extended by better clarifying the lifestyle patterns that may increase an individual's victimization risk. Cohen and Felson's (1979) originally conceived theory explained "direct-contact predatory violations," and did not examine the motivation for criminal behavior, but instead, "the manner in which the spatio-temporal organization of social activities helps people translate their criminal inclinations into action" (p. 589). Felson (1987) later expanded routine activities to address mutualistic, competitive, and individualistic offenses. Scholars have tested the routine activity approach and report its ability to successfully predict changes in aggregate crime rates (Cohen et al., 1981; Messner & Tardiff, 1985; Rotton & Cohn, 2003), variation in property victimization (Fisher, Sloan, Cullen, & Lu, 1998; Kennedy & Forde, 1990; Miethe et al., 1987; Stahura & Sloan, 1988), personal victimization (Kennedy & Forde, 1990), and violent crime (Stahura and Sloan, 1988).

Further research has tested the influence of drinking routines on predatory victimization, finding support for the routine activity approach (Lasley, 1989; Miethe, Stafford, & Stone, 1990; Windle, 1994). This particular conclusion has been consistently replicated among studies of college and non-college populations where alcohol consumption and drug use enhances victimization risk by increasing target suitability (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2001; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995), decreasing the self-protective capacity of individuals and, thus, their capable guardianship, and potentially exposing persons to likely offenders with whom they are drinking or using drugs (Bjarnason, Sigurdardottir, & Thorlindsson, 1999; Fisher et al., 1998; Hoyt, Ryan, & Cauce, 1999; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1998; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). Research has also investigated metropolitan inequality on rape rates (Maume, 1989), and routine leisure activities (e.g., television viewing, frequenting entertainment facilities) on aggregate crime trends

(Messner & Blau, 1987). Routine activity theory has been examined in the context of workplace victimization (Coster et al., 1999; Lynch, 1987; Wooldredge, Cullen, & Latessa, 1992), to better understand the perception of risk in the workplace (Madriz, 1996), and among college students on university campuses (Fisher et al., 1998; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1998, 2002; Schwartz et al., 2001; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2003).

Feminist Critiques of Routine Activity Theory

While the routine activity approach garnered significant scholarly empirical attention, early tests of the theory either 1) included rape only as a macro-level dependent variable along with other UCR crimes (e.g., Fisher et al., 1998; Maume, 1989; Messner & Blau, 1987), or 2) systematically excluded studying micro-level violence against women (but see Belknap, 1987). Despite widespread popularity, it was not until 1995 that criminologists began to test the applicability of the routine activity framework on women's victimization (e.g., Rodgers & Roberts, 1995; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). Feminist scholars criticized existing research on routine activity theory for its "isolated and apolitical" approach (Schwartz & Pitts, 1995, p. 27). Additionally, some argued that routine activity theory had been characterized by a "consistent lack of theoretical grounding" (Fisher et al., 1998, p. 673). Namely, that Cohen and Felson (1979) purposefully avoided developing theoretical explanations of offender motivation. The presence of *likely* offenders, as one of the three original necessary theoretical elements, assumed tautologically that if a crime had occurred then the perpetrator must have been motivated. Proponents of the theory and those who have used the framework to better understand victimization have built criminal motivation into the approach (see Schwartz et al., 2001). Additionally, feminist contributions to the study of violence against women specifically posit the

contributions of a rape-supportive and patriarchal culture to the occurrence of woman abuse (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971). Consequently, one of the primary shortcomings of routine activity, according to feminist critiques, is the lack of contextual development regarding the nature of motivation as it is related to the perpetration of violence and women as the recipients of this violence. In other words, the predominant theory in the study of victimology fails to explain the tolerance of male sexual aggression and the suitability of women as targets of this violence.

Routine activity theory was also criticized for its irrelevance related to the situational context of women's victimization—that crimes against women typically involve known offenders or intimate partners. First, existing routine activity research has largely focused on explaining crime rate changes and property and predatory crimes generally committed by strangers (Rodgers & Roberts, 1995). Second, Cohen and Felson's (1979) main premise with regard to guardianship and lifestyle routines in terms of increased victimization proposes that those individuals who engage in lifestyles that take place predominantly outside the home (daytime work, nighttime leisure) are more likely to encounter crime because of the lack of protection and guardianship that is obtained through family bonds in the home. This approach does not consider the unique experiences of women's victimization. Indeed, feminist research spanning the last 25 years has consistently demonstrated that women are victims of physical and sexual violence largely at the hands of male intimates and other known partners (Koss et al., 1994; Koss et al., 1987; LaViolette & Barnett, 2000). For example, acquaintances, friends, family members, dates, spouses, and domestic partners are the most likely perpetrators of sexual and physical abuse against women (Abbey et al., 1996b; Koss et al., 1987; Mills & Granoff, 1992). This research concludes, therefore, that a woman whose routine lifestyle patterns take

place principally in the home may not be safer or better protected than her working counterparts because she is most likely to be abused by her “guardians” (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Despite great strides in theoretical integration and statistical development, sex-related victimization was excluded from the study of routine activity theory for approximately fifteen years.

Routine Activity Theory and Female Victimization

Indeed, routine activity theory has provided useful contributions to the study of violence against women (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999, 2002; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995; Schwartz et al., 2001). In their noteworthy empirical analysis of college sexual violence, Schwartz & Pitts (1995) identified the effectiveness of integrating feminist theory and the routine activity framework to provide more clarity to the study of rape, sexual assault, and other forms of woman abuse. They examined the contributions of routine activity related to the notion of women as suitable victims of sexual violence on college campuses. Using feminist theory, Schwartz and Pitts (1995) hypothesized that women who frequently consume alcohol in large quantities, and women possessing male friends who believe it is okay to use alcohol to obtain sex with women who would otherwise say no, are more likely than their counterparts to be victims of sexual assault. In this analysis, frequency and quantity of alcohol consumption conveyed target suitability to likely offenders—or those college men who use alcohol for the specific purpose of obtaining sex. Women who are friends with these types of men are more regularly exposed and in closer proximity to likely sexual offenders. The results of Schwartz and Pitts’ (1995) multivariate analyses significantly supported their hypotheses. To be sure, lifestyle factors that place women in positions to be perceived as “fair game” because of alcohol consumption, and that put women

close to potential offenders who believe that alcohol can be used to “work out a yes,” because they are friends with these types of men, significantly increased the likelihood of sexual victimization. The contributions of Schwartz and Pitts’ (1995) work paved the way for further research and theoretical development on sexual assault by integrating a feminist routine activity theory.

Rodgers and Roberts (1995) were also among the first scholars to question the applicability of routine activity on women’s victimization. Using data from Canada’s national Violence Against Women Survey, they examined the influence of lifestyle factors, proximity to perpetrators, crime exposure, and guardianship on multiple non-spousal victimization. Unlike Schwartz and Pitts (1995), however, Rodgers and Roberts (1995) found only limited support for routine activity theory. They reported no relationship between proximity measures and victimization. Further, Rodgers and Roberts (1995) discovered a positive correlation between physical guardianship and women’s victimization. This finding may be explained in terms of a time-order problem where protective measures increase after women are victimized. Ultimately Rodgers and Roberts (1995) called for a reconciliation of theories in terms of considering the ways in which women’s victimization experiences uniquely differ from men’s victimization experiences.

In 1999, Mustaine and Tewksbury extended routine activity theory to explain stalking victimization among university women. Using victimization surveys, their findings emphasized the role of women’s social interactions and drinking routines. Unlike earlier empirical tests of routine activity, Mustaine and Tewksbury (1999) reported no significant associations between demographics and victimization. Additionally, they found that most public exposure variables were not predictors of stalking victimization. This null finding was explained in light of the

regularity at which women were stalked by people they know. Consequently, and consistent with Schwartz and Pitt's (1995) criticisms of routine activity theory, the degree to which women engage in a public lifestyle did not influence their likelihood of stalking victimization. Mustaine and Tewksbury (1999) reported that some of the activities that college women engage in may increase exposure to potential perpetrators, such as frequenting the mall, living off campus, and maintaining employment. Drinking and drug use were also significantly related to stalking victimization, supporting both routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979) and Schwartz and Pitts' (1995) feminist routine activity theory.

Building on Schwartz and Pitts' (1995) work, Schwartz et al. (2001) used a large-scale representative sample of undergraduate students to systematically test the presumptions posited by routine activity on sexual assault. Like Schwartz and Pitts (1995), Schwartz et al. (2001) were concerned with addressing motivation. Unlike earlier research, however, they used the male peer support framework (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997) to address this concern by proposing, based on existing research, that college men who belong to male-only peer groups may be motivated to aggress against women because they are socialized accordingly. Schwartz et al. (2001) found that men who drank frequently and who had rape-supportive peers were more than nine times as likely to report engaging in sexual abuse as compared to their counterparts who did not drink or associate themselves with rape-supportive peers, thus supporting their theoretical predictions.

Mustaine and Tewksbury (2002) also applied routine activity theory to college sexual assault. Their analysis, while not explicitly feminist in its theoretical framework, was informed by feminist theory. They argue that, while feminist contributions to the study of rape and sexual violence have considerably advanced theory and empiricism, the routine activity framework can contribute to existing analyses by explaining why there is variation in women's risk of sexual

assault. Stated simply, routine activity theory accounts for differences in victimization among women by highlighting the role of lifestyle patterns in the context of a societal ideology that normalizes violence against women. Mustaine and Tewksbury (2002) argue that routine activity theory is able to aid in explaining the distribution of victimization by focusing on high-risk activities or particular engagements that may put certain students in more vulnerable situations, increase their target suitability, and increase their exposure and proximity to potential perpetrators. Feminist theory aids in the analysis, according to Mustaine and Tewksbury (2002), by providing a context within which to interpret the behaviors of individuals and how these particular behaviors influence the risk of victimization. Mustaine and Tewksbury (2002) distributed self-administered surveys to 1,196 students in 12 institutions located in eight different southern states. Gathering data on a variety of lifestyle, exposure, proximity, suitability, and guardianship variables, they reported significant relationships between drug use, hanging out, nighttime leisure, athletic team membership, and victimization risk. Alcohol variables did not yield significant effects and neither did female Greek membership—of which, both findings are inconsistent with extant literature on routine activity theory (Bjarnason, et al., 1999; Fisher et al., 1998; Hoyt et al., 1999; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1998; Schwartz et al., 2001; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995) and college sexual victimization (Abbey, 2002; Abbey et al., 1996b; Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; George et al., 1988; George et al., 1995; Kalof, 1993; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Sawyer & Schulken, 1997; Testa & Livingston, 1999).

Related research has used the routine activity framework to predict women's fear of crime (Alvi, Schwartz, DeKeseredy, & Maume, 2001) and sexual harassment in the workplace (Coster et al., 1999). More recent analysis on routine activity theory and college sexual assault has emerged attempting to shed light on campus rape by employing more methodologically

sophisticated statistical techniques as compared to earlier tests of lifestyle, opportunity, and sexual abuse (e.g., Cass, 2007). Drawing from the pioneering work of feminist scholars (e.g., Schwartz & Pitts, 1995), this research also positions routine activity theory in a feminist theoretical context (Cass, 2007; Jackson, Gilliland, & Veneziano, 2006). Jackson et al. (2006) focused on male sexual deviance on college campuses and explored the role of prior general deviance and opportunity factors to explain high rates of sexual perpetration. Moreover, they argued that existing offender-focused theories do not sufficiently account for the role of opportunity. While Jackson et al.'s (2006) work contains theoretical limitations (they leave out a substantial portion of existing research that integrates feminist theory, routine activities, and sexual assault), their particular analysis contributes to existing knowledge on sexual assault because they target their sampling strategy on fraternity members and college athletes, and they ask questions related to general delinquency and deviance (Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991; Short & Nye, 1958), sex aggression (Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984), and opportunity. Jackson et al. (2006) reported that prior deviance is significantly and positively related to sexual aggression in college; opportunity alone has no direct effect on forced sex; and group affiliation is not significantly related to deviance *or* sexual aggression. Most importantly, Jackson et al. (2006) found a significant positive indirect relationship between prior general deviance, opportunity, and sexual aggression. In other words, situations that present an opportunity to force sex are significantly related to the occurrence of sexual assault perpetration when the male has engaged in other forms of prior deviance and delinquency. In contrast to other studies on rape-supportive peer groups (e.g., DeKeseredy, 1990; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Sanday, 1990;

Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997), Jackson et al. (2006) did not report a significant direct or indirect correlation between group affiliation and sexual assault perpetration.

Finally, Cass (2007) expanded on earlier attempts to apply routine activity theory to college sexual assault by accounting for both individual- and institutional-level factors. Using hierarchical linear modeling, she controlled for the size of student enrollment, campus acreage, and extensive university prevention strategies in addition to including individual-level variables such as demographics, class standing, Greek affiliation, drug and alcohol use, and time spent (days/nights) on campus. The results of her analysis provide no significant support for the effect of institutional variables on sexual assault. This is likely explained because her analysis only included 11 institutions, significantly impacting statistical power at level two, thus detracting from her ability to find statistical significance among institutional-level variables. Similar to existing research, Cass (2007) reported significant individual-level effects for gender, drug use, and marital status. In particular, single women who used drugs were the most likely to be victimized as compared to their male, single, and non-drug using counterparts. Neither Greek membership nor alcohol consumption had significant effect on sexual victimization. While her approach is progressive, the methodological limitations of her study inhibit the confident interpretation of the conclusions regarding the effects of institutional-level variables.

In all, research has only recently begun to focus efforts on integrating the general criminological routine activity theory with existing literature and empirical work on sexual assault and feminist theory. While shortcomings in the routine activity and lifestyle frameworks limit their ability to fully predict sexual assault, elements of these theories can be combined with other theoretical approaches and empirical work to create a more developed theoretical approach

in terms of explaining if and why particular college women face an increased risk of sexual victimization.

Theoretical Implications for the Current Study

The current study can draw theoretical insights from the relevant components of routine activity theory in an effort to determine if sorority affiliation adversely influences vulnerability to coercive sexual outcomes. In addition, contributions of routine activity theory lend an explanatory hand in terms of explaining particular lifestyle factors that may significantly affect sexual victimization likelihood. The utility of Cohen and Felson's (1979) spatial-temporal assemblage of likely offenders, suitable targets, and absent capable guardians, in addition to Cohen et al.'s (1981) exposure, proximity, and target attractiveness variables are easily translated to the college campus context. Borrowing from Schwartz and Pitts (1995) and Schwartz et al.'s (2001) work on feminist theory and routine activities, sorority members may be at increased risk for sexual victimization as a result of the following factors: excessive alcohol consumption (diminished capacity for self-protection/lack of guardianship), coupled with the socialization of an overly-feminine and beauty-oriented lifestyle (target attractiveness/suitability) (Robbins, 2005), along with the possibility of participating in risky behavior (target suitability/proximity to potential perpetrators) may put sorority women in a particularly vulnerable position with regard to their suitability as sexual conquests. Moreover, routine participation in Greek-affiliated activities (exposure) coupled with regular contact to fraternity members (proximity to potential perpetrators) from whom danger cues may be unrecognizable (lack of guardianship), and who are typically part of an organization that can be characterized as rape-supportive (likely

offenders) in an environment largely characterized by heightened sexual pressure (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997) may further increase victimization risk.

The General Theory of Crime

Unlike routine activity theory, the literature on self-control and victimization is in its infant stage of development, in part because Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) general theory of crime was proposed as a framework to understand criminal and offending behavior. Conceived as a general theoretical model that explains crime and similarly related imprudent behavior, the general theory assumes that low levels of self-control predict involvement in an array of gratifying behaviors that coincide with crime and related deviance (e.g., smoking, drinking, fast driving, illicit and unprotected sex). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that low self-control has "many manifestations." In particular, they posit that low self-control may produce a variety of criminogenic and non-criminogenic behaviors and lifestyles, including undesirable life circumstances such as poor social relationships, unstable work histories, and deficient educational attainment. They argue that self-control is made up of six dimensions that come together to form one latent construct. Persons low in self-control will have little regard for the future, exhibit self-centeredness and lack empathy, anger easily and possess a low tolerance for frustration, lack diligence, prefer physical rather than mental activity, and take risks.

Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) theory has generated considerable theoretical and empirical attention (see e.g., Barlow, 1991; Evans, Cullen, Burton, Dunaway, & Benson, 1997; Forde & Kennedy, 1997; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1993; Miller & Burack, 1993; Pratt & Cullen, 2000; Sellers, 1999). Using both behavioral and attitudinal measures of self-control (see e.g., Pratt & Cullen, 2000), tests of the theory have produced findings that support Gottfredson and

Hirschi's (1990) propositions in multiple contexts including drunken driving (Keane, Maxim, & Teevan, 1993; Piquero & Tibbets, 1996), youth crime (Piquero et al., 2005), juvenile delinquency (Wood, Pfefferbaum, & Arneklev, 1993), imprudent behavior (Forde & Kennedy, 1997), and adult crime and other related behavior (Arneklev et al., 1993; Burton, Cullen, Evans, Alarid, & Dunaway, 1998; Evans et al., 1997; Grasmick et al., 1993; Nagin & Paternoster, 1993; Pratt & Cullen, 2000). Scholars have also recently devoted research attention to the ways in which self-control predicts variation in offending by gender (e.g., Burton et al., 1998; Higgins & Tewksbury, 2006; LaGrange & Silverman, 1999).

Despite the empirical support afforded Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) propositions, scholars have criticized the general theory for its inability to effectively generalize across populations and crimes (Miller & Burack, 1993), its lack of operationalization (Barlow, 1991), lack of attention to opportunity, reward (Barlow, 1991; Grasmick et al., 1993; Tittle, 1995), and other social factors that may influence and/or change the trajectories of individuals that exhibit low self-control (Laub & Sampson, 1993), and its tautological explanation of crime (Akers, 1991; Kennedy & Forde, 1990; Tittle, 1991). These shortcomings have not, however, detracted from its significance as a highly valued criminological theory that has been widely studied, tested, and cited (e.g., Burton et al., 1998; Piquero & Bouffard, 2007; Pratt & Cullen, 2000).

Self-Control and Victimization

Recent research has linked self-control with victimization (Baron, et al. 2007; Piquero et al., 2005; Schreck, 1999; Schreck et al., 2006; Schreck, Wright, & Miller, 2002; Stewart et al., 2004). In 1999, Schreck extended Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) general theory by applying their propositions regarding self-control to determine its potential role in influencing

vulnerability and victimization. In light of the similar attributes shared by offenders and victims, and after nearly a decade of empirical work boasting support for the general theory among offenders (see Pratt & Cullen, 2000 for a meta-analytic review), Schreck (1999) argued that low self-control may similarly contribute to risk and vulnerability among victims. In particular, Schreck (1999) presumed that individuals with low self-control may be less likely to think about the consequences of their actions and less likely to perceive themselves in danger of personal threat, therefore, more likely to place themselves in potentially undesirable situations with an increased vulnerability to risk. Using a sample derived from the 1996 Tucson Youth Project survey, Schreck (1999) found that low self-control significantly contributed to the odds of personal and property victimization. While his study offers preliminary support for the link between low self-control and victimization, he did not disaggregate specific offenses and instead focused on risk of general victimization.

Building on his earlier work, Schreck et al. (2002) examined the effects of both individual factors (including self-control) and situational characteristics (such as those proposed by Cohen and Felson's (1979) routine activity theory) on risk of violent victimization. Again, the dependent variable—violent victimization, includes only simple assault, robbery, and aggravated assault. Nevertheless, Schreck et al. (2002) found support for self-control theory in terms of its contributions to victimization where self-control had a stronger effect on risk of violence than did delinquent peers or risky activities. Using a sample of female offenders, Stewart et al. (2004) re-tested Schreck's (1999) and Schreck et al.'s (2002) self-control propositions. They reported that, after controlling for lifestyle behaviors, low self-control significantly predicted violent victimization among their sample of women. Consistent with earlier work, Stewart et al.'s (2004) measure of violent victimization did not consider specific offenses.

While theoretically innovative and practically implicative, Schreck's (1999), Schreck et al.'s (2002) and Stewart et al.'s (2004) empirical analyses used cross-sectional data to test the general theory of crime in terms of its contribution to victimization. Without longitudinal data, research cannot specify temporal ordering or make causal statements about the effects of particular individual and/or situational variables on victimization risk. To remedy this shortcoming, Piquero and colleagues (2005) and Schreck et al. (2006) conducted tests of the general theory on victimization risk using longitudinal data. Piquero et al. (2005) used five-year post-parole data on male youth from the California Youth Authority that provided information on violent offending and homicide victimization. With a behavioral measure of self-control, Piquero et al. (2005) reported that low levels of self-control predicted both homicide death and violent offending. Schreck et al.'s (2006) work on self-control and victimization examined the role of prior victimization experiences and behavioral modification using longitudinal panel data. They reported that self-control measured at an earlier point in time predicted later victimization. This finding remained stable even after controlling for other variables such as delinquent peers, social bonds, and self-reported delinquency. Additionally, their analysis revealed that those individuals possessing low self-control who were victimized early, did not change risky lifestyle behavior so as to reduce their future risk of victimization.

While this body of literature remains scant, findings produced from these studies provide ample reason to continue investigating the relationship between self-control and victimization. Indeed, research has produced empirical results supporting Schreck's (1999) proposition that individuals who exhibit low self-control may engage in risky lifestyles and put themselves in situations that may increase their vulnerability and exposure to victimization.

Limitations of Linking Self-Control with Sexual Victimization

Beyond the obvious risk of blaming victims, the dearth of research on self-control and victimization suffers from some of the same shortcomings as early male-centered criminological and criminal justice theory and research (e.g., Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Hirschi, 1969; Merton, 1938; Miller, 1958). In particular, of the six studies conducted since Schreck's (1999) extension of the general theory of crime, only three control for sex (Schreck, 1999; Schreck et al., 2002; Schreck et al., 2006), two are conducted on a sample of *male*-only youth (Baron et al., 2007; Piquero et al., 2005), and one study sample consists entirely of female offenders (Stewart et al., 2004). While Stewart et al.'s (2004) empirical analysis tests the influence of low self-control on the victimization experiences of a female offending population to, in part, determine the similarities and overlap between offenders and victims, they entirely neglect decades of research calling attention to the "blurred boundaries" of female offenders (e.g., Belknap, 2007; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2004), and the broader cultural, social, and situational factors that influence their criminality (e.g., early physical and sexual victimization experiences that lead to self-protective behaviors and self-medication often times resulting in drug use, drug sales, prostitution, and a life embedded in crime). Instead, they propose that female offenders who also experience high rates of victimization may be similarly characterized as exhibiting low self-control as if they had rationally decided to embrace a life of crime and thus, were vulnerable to subsequent victimization.

Additionally, the dependent variable used in this body of research—victimization, is measured either as a general victimization construct (Stewart et al., 2004), violent victimization construct (Baron et al., 2007), personal violence (simple assault, robbery, aggravated assault)

(Schreck et al., 2002), disaggregated personal and property victimization, but not including rape and sexual assault (Schreck et al., 2006; Schreck, 1999), and homicide victimization (Piquero et al., 2005). None of these studies consider sexual or domestic violence—both of which are violent crimes disproportionately experienced by female victims—as their predicted outcome. On one hand, this research appears to have completely overlooked the victimization experiences that are unique to women and pertinent to the study of female victimization. Similar to the shortcomings of routine activity theory, the work on self-control has focused on the impact of this individual latent construct, sometimes including situational measures of risky lifestyle, delinquent peer groups, social attachment, and the like, but never considering the broader sociocultural contextual influence of a normative structure that permits or tolerates the violent victimization of women. Most importantly, victimization does not occur in a social vacuum and as such, pairing low levels of self-control with increased victimization risk for women who have been sexually assaulted is potentially very problematic. Instead, this may be the reason why existing research has neglected to include any mention of the impact of victim self-control on violence against women.

Theoretical Implications for the Current Study

There may be value in examining the role of victim self-control on the sexual victimization of college women. Most notably, the routine activity/lifestyle frameworks explain crime as the convergence of three necessary factors—suitable targets, likely offenders, and absent guardians. Rather than relying on demographic data to predict target suitability and risky lifestyle, the suitability of targets may be affected by levels of self-control. For instance, drinking, drug use, imprudent behavior, and risky sex practices all qualify under what

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) termed non-criminogenic but similarly gratifying and pleasurable behaviors that persons low in self-control would be likely to engage in. Related to the previously reviewed literature on predictors of sexual assault, these types of behaviors—alcohol consumption, multiple sex partners, dating frequency, and imprudence—increase the risk of experiencing forced sex among undergraduate college women. As such, women with lower levels of self-control may associate with peer groups who similarly engage in these types of lifestyles, and participate in activities that downplay consequences, thus increasing victimization risk. It is also plausible that self-control may have no effect on sexual victimization—an equally important and instructive finding. In all, it is crucial to remember that regardless of the significance or non significance of victim self-control on sexual victimization, efforts to curtail this violent and degrading form of woman abuse need to center on changing the ideology and behavioral patterns of the men who perpetrate these crimes and the society that facilitates them.

That said, the inclusion of victim self-control may also contribute to the current analysis in two distinct ways 1) to disentangle the unique effects of sorority affiliation on victimization likelihood, and 2) to control for the problem of self-selection into the sororal organization. According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), individuals with low levels of self-control will associate with likeminded or similarly deviant peer groups. While some may argue the degree to which sororities are considered a “deviant” peer group, the publicized reputation of sororities—in terms of the party culture characterized by alcohol consumption and a pre-occupation with social functions—could be considered a “gratifying lifestyle” in the context of the university environment where focus should be on education and scholarship. One could argue that self-control may predict the particular types of women who belong to the university Greek system.

Thus, the inclusion of self-control in the current analysis serves to statistically control for self-selection bias into these particular Greek-affiliated groups.

TRADITIONAL THEORETICAL APPROACHES—OFFENDER ATTRIBUTES

In contrast to the general victimization literature, a more focused body of research that spans roughly four decades, has theorized the particular causes of rape and sexual assault victimization with specific attention to theory building and proposing explanations that account for the high rate of rape and sexual violence on college campuses.³ Traditionally, this literature focuses largely on offender behavior by proposing frameworks that explain why men perpetrate sexual violence (e.g., Martin & Hummer, 1989; Warshaw, 1988). Drawing from the rich history in criminology on social learning theory (Akers, 1973, 1977; Akers et al., 1968, Akers et al., 1979; Bandura, 1977; Burgess & Akers, 1966;), differential association (Sutherland, 1947; Sutherland & Cressey, 1974), and general behavioral reinforcement theory (e.g., Bandura and Walters, 1963; Bandura, 1969, 1977; Skinner, 1953), current theoretical efforts to explain sexual assault and rape have integrated feminist approaches (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971; Russell, 1975) and social support theories (see DeKeseredy, 1990; Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 1997 for an in depth discussion) with the concept of behavioral conditioning to better understand the role of peer influences on sexual assault perpetration in the university setting.

In particular, dominant theoretical perspectives in the college sexual assault literature include Schwartz and DeKeseredy's (1997) male peer support model (also see DeKeseredy, 1988, 1990; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1993, 1998, 2002; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2000; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995; Schwartz et al., 2001) that proposes empirical

³ This more focused body of research includes efforts by Mustaine and Tewksbury (1999, 2002), Rodgers and Roberts (1993), Schwartz and Pitts (1995), and Schwartz et al. (2001), who have extended routine activity theory and effectively applied it to college campus sexual assault.

connections between rape-supportive peer group membership and forced sex perpetration. Variations of this peer support framework include gendered social bond theory (Godenzi et al., 2001), Kanin's (1967) reference group theory, and Sanday's (1990) psychoanalytic theory of gang rape. Most importantly, each of these theories proposes that rape-supportive social relationships directly influence individual cognition, and thus, behavior, prompting woman abuse as an effective relationship outcome (see also Garret-Gooding & Senter, 1987; Martin & Hummer, 1989).

Where the current study does not investigate the role of either offender propensity to perpetrate sex crimes or particular offender characteristics on the likelihood of sexual assault victimization, this body of research is instructive in terms of its contributions to the existing scientific and theoretical knowledge on campus sexual assault. Further, a brief review of offender theories helps to establish the presence of likely offenders on the college campus so that later investigations of victim factors proceed from this starting point—that the college campus is an environment where there are men willing and likely to engage in predatory sexual aggression. The limitations of focusing primarily on offenders when theorizing sexual violence are highlighted with special attention afforded to the social and political necessities of holding offenders accountable for perpetrating sexual violence. Finally, the theoretical implications of this research to the current study are discussed.

Social Learning Theory: The Transmission of Attitudes and Behaviors

The theoretical perspective that crime and deviance can be explained by looking to the role of peer influences and behavioral reinforcement has a significant and lengthy history in criminology (e.g., Akers et al., 1979; Elliott et al., 1985; Erickson & Empey, 1965; Hepburn,

1977; Jensen, 1972; Johnson, 1979; Matsueda & Heimer, 1987; Reiss & Rhodes, 1964; Short, 1957; Tittle et al., 1986; Warr, 2005; Warr & Stafford, 1991; Winfree & Bernat, 1998; Voss, 1964). For example, nearly 70 years ago, Sutherland (1947) posited that identification with particular peer groups may reinforce individual behavior through adverse values and attitudes. In particular, “a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of the law over definitions unfavorable to violation of the law” (Sutherland, 1947, p. 7). This sociological breakthrough spawned further theoretical formulation purporting that the transmission of deviant attitudes could cause criminal behavior (e.g., Akers, 1973, 1977; Akers et al., 1968; Burgess & Akers, 1966; Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). There is currently a developed body of theoretical and empirical research testing the effect of peer group interaction on criminality. Generally, this literature has concluded that association and identification with deviant peer groups may produce behavioral imitation among individuals who will act according to group norms. Ultimately, peer groups reinforce particular attitudes and behaviors that are deemed socially desirable and thus, appropriate according to the group—despite the legality of such behaviors.⁴

Aker’s (1977) social learning theory built on Sutherland’s (1947) differential association by proposing that particular behaviors are adopted as a result of the differential reinforcement of attitudes and group members’ behavior that is imitated and conditioned. In other words, group members transmit particular attitudes and engage in specific behaviors that are learned and modeled by other group members. These behaviors elicit responses (both good and bad). When rewarded, behavior will persist. If punished, group members will learn to discontinue the use of that behavior because it is either met with adverse reactions or is not rewarded. Either way,

⁴ According to Matsueda and Anderson (1998), however, the relationship is spurious and individuals who engage in delinquent behavior, outside of their peer group, are more likely to associate themselves with delinquent peers. In other words, deviant individuals self-select into deviant peer groups.

individuals learn that certain behaviors are deemed acceptable and others are not. Deviant behavior can thus be explained in terms of the degree to which a peer group differentially reinforces that behavior. Warr and Stafford (1991) tested the above presumptions in order to determine if group attitudes had a greater or lesser effect on individual behavior as compared to group behaviors. Using the National Youth Survey, Warr and Stafford (1991) found that both attitudes and behaviors affected delinquency, but the effect of friends' attitudes on delinquency was mild as compared to friends' behaviors. Further, when attitudes and behaviors were inconsistent (e.g., a group norm that was not acted upon), peer behavior remained the significant predictor. Their study has important implications for the study of peer group influences where behaviors may potentially outweigh the impact of adverse attitudes alone—providing support for Aker's (1977) social learning theory.

It is from this learning theory perspective that feminist criminologists and criminal justice scholars have begun to understand the reasons why university men perpetrate sexual violence. In particular, early studies on peer group affiliation and university sexual assault proposed that formal social institutions (e.g., fraternities, athletic teams) facilitated and conditioned adverse attitudes and behaviors prompting members to deem it appropriate to sexually aggress against women (DeKeseredy, 1990; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Warshaw, 1988). After much theoretical and empirical investigation, Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) posited a male peer support model that essentially integrated fundamental attitude transmission and behavioral conditioning concepts from Sutherland's (1947) differential association and Aker's (1977) social learning theory. They combined these theoretical perspectives with feminist scholarship on the influence of patriarchy and social system influences (Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971; Johnson, 1997), social support theories (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Durkheim, 1951; Mead, 1934), and much

empirical research related to the impact of additional variables found to consistently predict individual sexual assault perpetration.

Male Peer Support

Schwartz and DeKeseredy's (1997) male peer support model suggests that men engage in sexually predatory behaviors because they belong to male-only peer groups that support and encourage their behavior (see also DeKeseredy, 1990). In their discussion of male peer support, Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) define social and courtship patriarchy and its influences on socialization and male behavior, male support group membership, a narrow conception of masculinity, group secrecy, the sexual objectification of women, alcohol consumption, and the absence of deterrence in the context of an elite social group. In particular, they argue that the fraternity, characterized by these traits, is an environment conducive to the abuse of women. Men belonging to the fraternity learn to degrade and appropriate women as sexual conquests, targeting them as victims of physically coercive sex. These beliefs and behaviors are supported and encouraged by like-minded men who are also participating in a value-driven social group that boasts superiority in membership status and thus, influences conformity through a participatory "group-think" mentality (Sanday, 1990).

While numerous studies have incorporated elements of male peer support into theory building and empirically testable frameworks (e.g., DeKeseredy, 1988, 1990; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1993, 1998, 2002; DeKeseredy, Schwartz, & Tait, 1993; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2000; Schwartz et al., 2001; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995; Smith, 1991), Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) propose male peer support as a heuristic model primarily because of the difficulty in testing each of the components and separating the effects of self-

selection to accurately determine if the fraternity socializes or “causes” men to be sexually coercive, or if sexually coercive men seek out the ideology manifested by the fraternity. Indeed, scholars have utilized and theoretically extended male peer support to better understand all-male group behavior and the propensity for group members to behave in ways that promote anti-femininity (e.g., Franklin, 2005).

To date, however, there have been no published empirical investigations of the full male peer support model. Even so, Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) argue that a host of research has established connections between each of the individual components contained in their model and woman abuse. For example, research has reported direct and indirect empirical relationships between a narrow conception of the masculine gender role and sexual coercion (Mosher & Anderson, 1986; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; Tieger, 1981; Truman et al., 1996); pornography consumption and rape proclivity (Allen et al., 1995; Boeringer, 1994; Check & Guloien, 1989; Demare, Briere, & Lips, 1988; Demare, Lips, & Briere, 1993; Vega & Malamuth, 2007); rape supportive social relationships (e.g., fraternity/athletic team membership) and sexual assault perpetration (Boeringer, 1996; Boswell & Spade, 1996; DeKeseredy, 1990; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Garrett-Gooding & Senter, 1987; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Koss & Gaines, 1993; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997); all-male living space and anti-feminine attitudinal outcomes (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993; Spain, 1992); and alcohol consumption and violence against women (Abbey, 1991b; Abbey et al., 1996a, 1996b; Carr & Van Deusen, 2004; Koss & Gaines, 1993; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Norris & Cubbins, 1992; Ullman et al., 1999).

In one form or another (e.g., DeKeseredy, 1990; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Martin & Hummer, 1989), the concept of male peer support has generally dominated the study of college

sexual assault through its explanation of patriarchal socialization influences, individual variables, contextual factors, motivation, and relevance to the campus social context. The majority of mainstream theories that explain offending behavior in the context of campus sexual assault either stem from some form of male peer support or incorporate elements of Schwartz and DeKeseredy's (1997) theory into their formal explanations.⁵ As such, the male peer support framework lays the foundation for the following brief overview of earlier conceptualized (e.g., Kanin, 1967b; Sanday, 1990) and later integrated theories (Godenzi et al., 2001).⁶

Gendered Social Bond

Using Hirschi's (1969) social bond theory, Godenzi et al. (2001) integrated feminist theory, the study of masculinities, male peer support, and control theory to explain male-perpetrated violence against women on college campuses. Similar to Schwartz and DeKeseredy's (1997) male peer support model, Godenzi et al. (2001) argued that their gendered social bond theory serves as a heuristic framework for better understanding violence against women in the university setting. In particular, they suggest that, while Hirschi's (1969) original formulation explicitly ignored female experiences, the ideas presented in his social bond theory—coupled with information related to society's gendered power relations and informed by male peer support theory—can be applied to the behavioral conformity that is characteristic of men who

⁵ While Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) are credited with the formal creation of the revised male peer support model, their work stems from and expands on the ethnographic, qualitative, and quantitative empirical research of other earlier scholars who positioned the dynamics of the male-only fraternity as a uniquely dangerous, patriarchal, heterosexist, masculine, and predatory peer group responsible for targeting and violently victimizing college women (e.g., DeKeseredy, 1990; Kanin, 1967a, 1967b; Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957; Martin & Hummer, 1987; Sanday, 1990).

⁶ The discussion of Schwartz and DeKeseredy's (1997) male peer support precedes the examination of other earlier conceptualized, related theories for the sake of ease in terms of fully understanding the propositions as posited by this body of theory. Ultimately, Schwartz and DeKeseredy's (1997) framework is the most well-developed and thus, the most useful and readily accessible for understanding the fundamentals of theories related to rape-supportive social affiliations that rely on male-only peer groups.

belong to male-only peer groups. Hirschi (1969) argued that people have a natural propensity to behave deviantly and engage in criminality. He theorized that conformity to law-abiding behavior is the result of strong social bonds to conventional institutions (e.g., school, family, religion). Individuals with weakened social bonds are less likely to conform to pro-social norms and, thus, more likely to engage in crime.

Godenzi et al. (2001) argue that, upon consideration of the ideology socialized by a patriarchal society, Hirschi's (1969) social bond theory may actually be used to explain woman abuse on college campuses as conforming behavior rather than crime or deviance. If the prevailing social norm provides direct or indirect support for gender inequality, and consequently, gender violence, then men who aggress against women are participating in behavior parroted by legitimate or conventional institutions. The college campus resembles one of these legitimate institutions that arguably promotes and supports rape by diverting attention away from instances of sexual victimization or pretending that rape and sexual assault are not serious and systemic problems (see Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Furthermore, all-male peer groups like fraternities and athletic teams—conventional institutions by Hirschi's standards, typically support rape and woman abuse (Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Martin & Hummer, 1989). Where Hirschi (1969) used the concepts of attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief to denote social ties to and active participation in the ideologies, values, and belief systems of conventional institutions resulting in conformity to pro-social behavior, Godenzi et al. (2001) proposed that college men who are attached, committed, involved, and hold similar beliefs as their male-only peer group (e.g., fraternity, athletic team) will necessarily conform to the expectations and ideologies of the peer group by participating in various forms of woman abuse. Moreover, the men who do *not* engage in forced sex are acting in “deviant” ways

against behavioral norms expected by their male peers. In sum, ties to conventional institutions and peers, rather than encouraging conformity to pro-social ideals as argued by Hirschi, may, according to Godenzi et al. (2001), actually motivate deviance—but that deviance conforms to the unacknowledged social norms of forced sex and other forms of violence against women.

Reference Group Theory

In one of the earliest attempts to study college sexual assault by looking at male sexual aggression, Kanin (1967) tested the relationship between sexual frustration and sexually aggressive outcomes. He collected survey data from 341 undergraduate men and conducted face-to-face interviews with 60 of the men to obtain rich case details. To his surprise, as compared to the sexually non-aggressive men, the sexually aggressive men were more sexually successful—engaging in altogether more consensual sex, persistently searching for new opportunities to engage in sexual intimacy, employing calculated and sometimes potentially sneaky strategies for obtaining sex, and expressing frustration at their relative lack of sexual conquests. Kanin (1967) discovered that the sexually aggressive men had peer influences that served as a “reference group” to encourage intimate contact so that, regardless of their actual level of sexual activity, men aspired to and expected intimacy according to group norms and thus, became dissatisfied (and resultantly sneaky and potentially coercive) when their experiences did not meet their expectations. In all, Kanin (1967) theorized—contrary to his initial hypotheses, that sexually aggressive men were motivated by a peer group that created group norms in terms of the frequency at which men were expected to obtain sex and thus, encouraged and rewarded sexual contact. This reference group became the basis for sexual aspirations, leading to sexual frustration and consequently, sexual coercion and aggression.

Schwartz and DeKeseredy's (1997) male peer support model borrowed theoretical elements of Kanin's (1967) reference group theory, but highlighted the shortcomings of his research. Namely, Kanin (1967) did not specify or operationalize the group support or encouragement that he argued creates the unobtainable sexual norm. In particular, Kanin (1967) did not clarify that support provided by the reference group must be verbal. Instead, men may provide status rewards and other forms of non-verbal encouragement. This is contrary to research that finds explicit verbal support and encouragement is directly related to abusive outcomes (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Additionally, Kanin (1967) did not consider the influence of friendship bonds and contact with regard to time spent with sexually abusive men—overlooking a theoretical relationship that has proven empirically fruitful in other research (e.g., Alder, 1985; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Gwartney-Gibbs & Stockhard, 1989; Schwartz & Nogrady, 1996).

Psychoanalytic Theory of Gang Rape

A more daring and slightly risqué attempt to explain fraternity sex aggression, Sanday's (1990) psychoanalytic theory is derived from her ethnographic case study of fraternity gang rape, sex practices, and group rituals. Sanday (1990, p. 10) argues that the act of gang rape is a form of male sexual bonding where the men participating “[express] and display...the power of the brotherhood to control and dominate women.” She suggests that gang rape is a normative outlet participated in by fraternity men to signify the social ideology of male power through sexual aggression. This typically takes place with a woman who is too drunk to consent or who may be unconscious. The woman's body is used to legitimize male heterosexuality but, Sanday (1990) argued, the entire act is really a homoerotic event designed to mask “polymorphous sexuality” or the desire that the men experience for one another. Stated simply, the men who belong to the

group experience sexual desire for one another and they vent this desire through gang rape where they watch each other have sex with an unconscious woman to publicly express their individual heterosexuality and collectively participate in a form of symbolic and tangible group dominance over women.

While Sanday's (1990) theory has garnered literary support from others (e.g., Deighton, 1990), and her broad assumptions, like the role of all-male organizations in promoting and legitimizing woman abuse, have been empirically established (e.g., Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Martin & Hummer, 1989), the specifics of her psychoanalytic theory are only speculative and have not been tested. Further, any attempt to quantitatively measure and/or test her presumptions about the *subconscious* nature of the fraternity members' homoerotic desire would be increasingly difficult, if not impossible. In sum, Sanday's (1990) psychoanalytic theory has contributed to the study of college sexual assault through her non-traditional approach to explaining male sex aggression and has produced some empirically testable assumptions, but her ambitious attempt to explain gang rape through Freud's (1959: as cited in Sanday, 1990) concept of polymorphous sexuality remains both untested and consequently, unproven.

Limitations of Focusing Solely on Offender Attributes

As implied by Cohen and Felson (1979), Schwartz and Pitts (1995), and Schreck (1999), focusing only on the impact of offender factors when studying violent crimes generally and sexual victimization in particular may fall short in terms of underestimating the contributions of variables like situational context (e.g., spatial-temporal ordering), organizational influence, and individual-level factors such as availability, access to, and vulnerability of a potential victim

(e.g., target suitability as determined by theoretically and crime-specific variables). While motivation and propensity to engage in woman abuse are central to the study of college sexual assault, other variables should also be theoretically considered and empirically investigated. As posited by Cohen and Felson (1979) and reiterated by Schwartz and Pitts (1995), the *opportunity* to victimize a woman—whether because of her alcohol-impaired mental/physical state, her regular proximity to potential perpetrators, or her inability to recognize danger cues in intimate and interpersonal interactions—combined with the attractiveness and suitability of a potential target [her inclination to behave overly feminine (e.g., sexually passive) or the stereotypically narrow conception she may hold of rape] may further increase the likelihood of victimization. Additionally, the study of college sexual assault can be informed by considering not only the larger social context as evidenced by existing work (e.g., Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997), but also the potential role of the sorority organization as a socializing agent. It is for these reasons that the exploration of college sexual assault utilizes alternative approaches to better understand the types of factors that may predict the occurrence of woman abuse on college campuses.

Theoretical Implications for the Current Study

Existing offender-based theories such as Schwartz and DeKeseredy's (1997) male peer support model, Godenzi et al.'s (2001) gendered social bond, Kanin's (1967) reference group theory, and Sanday's (1990) psychoanalytic theory of gang rape have something to contribute to the current study of female sexual victimization. In particular, all four theories establish the presence of, in Cohen and Felson's (1979) words, "likely offenders" or college men who have the propensity to engage in coerced sex. Furthermore, that these men are identified as typically belonging to fraternities makes them all the more theoretically relevant as a result of the regular

contact that sorority women have with such men and the degree to which sorority women believe that they are personally not at risk for sexual victimization at the hands of their fraternity “brothers.” Typically the latter is the result of both their characteristic underestimation of personal risk (e.g., Norris et al., 1996) and their belief that the familial bonds of the Greek organization will override the individual motivation that Greek-affiliated men may have to aggress against those women who share a common bond through fictitious kinship (e.g., sorority “sisters”) (Norris et al., 1996; Nurius et al., 1996).

These theories also provide the theoretical and empirical foundation for the role of group dynamics (whether they are male or female) in socializing appropriate normative behavior and producing “group think” (see Wade and Brittan-Powell, 2001 for a related discussion about the role of reference group identity). Godenzi et al.’s (2001) integrated theory suggests that attachment to conventional institutions (e.g., fraternity) produces conforming behavior that Hirschi (1969) originally conceptualized would be defined as legitimate or pro-social. In light of Godenzi et al.’s (2001) work however, such conformity may produce anti-social behavior. The application of Godenzi et al.’s (2001) theoretical propositions lay the foundation for understanding the socialization process that may occur in all-female groups like the sorority. *Women* who belong and are thus attached to this conventional institution participate in social, psychological, and physical conformity where they may be socialized or “groomed” to adopt beliefs and behave in ways that increase their chances of sexual victimization.

TRADITIONAL THEORETICAL APPROACHES—VICTIM ATTRIBUTES

There has been substantially less theoretical development and empirical work on the role of victim characteristics in terms of how they relate to woman abuse. This is compared to the

well-developed body of literature on offender propensity to engage in sexually coercive behavior both generally and in the university setting. As stated earlier, the reason for this lack of development is primarily attributed to the social and political dangers associated with victim blaming. Nonetheless, sexual assault research that has centered on the role of victim attributes is typically couched in educational and empowerment terms. Research conclusions provide women with the knowledge and power to engage in self-protective behaviors and stay away from dangerous situations that increase their risk of assault. Over time and with the advent of more methodologically sophisticated techniques, this literature has evolved. The following section reviews existing sexual victimization theory on victim attributes.

Victim Precipitation

Also categorized as the *vulnerability-enhancing situational hypothesis* (Kanin, 1985), this theory suggests that rape victims, despite their intentions, may hold some responsibility for their assault. This framework proposes that victim behavior, attributes, language, actions, and the situational context of victimization (e.g., location of incident, victim dress, time of night, socializing company)—all variables ultimately controlled by the victim, play a direct role in sexual assault in terms of the ways in which these factors are interpreted by offenders. So, according to this perspective, when a woman consents to early stages of sexual intimacy or behaves in ways that lead men to believe she is sexually available or desires intercourse, and rape is the unintended outcome, the victim's behavior is somewhat to blame.

The first scholarship to call attention to the influence of victim factors on sexual violence was Amir's (1967) empirical work on victim-precipitated rape. A student of Von Hentig (1940, 1948), Amir (1967) applied Von Hentig's research on victim-precipitated homicide to the crime

of rape by theoretically speculating that victims participate in their own victimization through behavioral cues (such as when the victim “uses what could be interpreted as indecency in language and gestures” or acts in ways that “could be taken as an invitation to sexual relations”) that are misinterpreted by male offenders and consequently, result in sexual assault (p. 495). Using a sample of 646 Philadelphia rape cases, Amir (1967) found statistically significant differences between the demographic characteristics of individuals victimized in what he characterized as victim-precipitated rape (VP) and those victims who did not provoke their assault. His research was met with much criticism, especially from feminist scholars and women’s advocates, because his conclusions ultimately placed some responsibility for the attack on the victim.

Despite the political upheaval created by Amir’s (1967) research, later scholarly efforts continued to more carefully develop this theoretical vein, drawing attention to particular victim characteristics and factors that separate rape victims from rape resisters (Selkin, 1978). Current survey research continues to include measures questioning respondents on their propensity to consider various victim characteristics when attributing believability, blame, and harm in rape vignettes and sexual assault scenarios (e.g., Koss, 1985; Koss & Dinero, 1989). This work typically finds that, despite widespread educational efforts, the general population continues to place some significance on victim attributes when determining the criminal and psychological outcome of forced sex (Johnson & Lee, 2000; Workman & Freeburg, 1999).

Traumatic Experiences Hypothesis

The traumatic experiences hypothesis proposes that early sexual victimization predicts victimization experiences later in life through an array of directly and indirectly related factors

(Arata, 2000, 2002; Breitenbecher, 1999, 2001; Classen, Palesh, & Aggarwal, 2005; DeYoung, 1982; Gidycz et al., 1995; Herman, 1981; Himelein, 1995; Hines, 2007; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Macy, 2007; Messman-Moore & Long, 2002; Rich, Combs-Lane, Resnick, & Kilpatrick, 2004; Roodman & Clum, 2001; Russell, 1984). As previously discussed in chapter two, early victimization experiences may motivate women to behave in ways that increase their risk of assault. Women with prior victimization experiences have been found to engage in risky sex practices, putting them in danger of being revictimized (Mandoki & Burkhart, 1989). Research also finds that victimized women may be more likely to delay their response to sexually threatening situations—leaving a risky situation later than women with no history of victimization (Messman-Moore & Brown, 2006).

Prior victimization experiences have been shown to cloud a woman's ability to perceive threat and judge and/or recognize danger in potentially volatile situations (Breitenbecher, 2001; Chu, 1992; Gidycz et al., 2006). For example, Norris et al. (1999) found that women with prior victimization experiences needed a greater level of ambiguous risk factors before they determined a situation was potentially dangerous. Further, sexually victimized women may behave in ways that decrease their ability to successfully avoid/resist attack through the use of ineffective response strategies (Norris et al., 1996; Nurius et al., 1996). Research also establishes that early victimization may correlate with subsequent victimization through proximity to potential perpetrators. In particular, women who have abuse histories likely consume alcohol to self-medicate, putting them in situations where they are exposed to dangerous and/or sexually aggressive men (Logan, Walker, Cole, & Leukefield, 2002). Ultimately, this theoretical framework suggests that, through factors such as risk-taking behavior, the diminished capacity to

recognize and/or appropriately react to danger cues, and the proximity to male perpetrators, women with victimization histories face an increased risk of later revictimization.

Social-Psychological Hypotheses

Unlike the concept of victim precipitation or the ideas presented by the traumatic experiences framework, the social-psychological hypotheses argues that rape victims differ significantly from non-victims in terms of their vulnerability to attack by way of biological and cultural differences in their personalities (Selkin, 1978). This perspective supposes that victims of rape should look differently with regard to their responses to social and psychological inventories or scales that are designed to test personality traits/characteristics (see Koss & Dinero, 1989). Scholars have investigated the personality characteristics of victims and non-victims and research reports inconsistent results (Amick & Calhoun, 1987; Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Koss, 1985; Koss & Dinero, 1989). For example, Amick and Calhoun (1987) tested personality variables to determine their relationship to a victim's ability to successfully resist sexual attack and found that victim dominance and social presence differentiated between successful and unsuccessful resistance. In contrast, Koss (1985) used a sample of non-victimized, low-, moderately-, and highly-sexually victimized women and found no differences in personality and attitudinal variables between the groups of women. Similar results were reported by Koss and Dinero (1989) in their nationally representative study of college women's sexual assault experiences. They found that victims and non-victims could not be separated by attitudinal and personality factors. Forbes and Adams-Curtis (2001) tested the influence of personality factors and attitudinal characteristics and found significant relationships between three particular personality variables and female sexual assault victimization. The relationships,

while statistically significant, were only modest in terms of magnitude.

Social Control Theory

Similar to social-psychological hypotheses, the social control theory of rape suggests that women who internalize and “oversubscribe” to social messages about femininity and traditional gender roles—thus likely accepting rape myths, are more vulnerable to sexual coercion and attack (Weis & Borges, 1973). Early studies sometimes included this theoretical framework as an explanation of the causes and predictors of victimization, but empirical tests of the social control theory on rape victimization were sparse until the mid-1980s (Amick & Calhoun, 1987; Koss, 1985; Runtz, 1987). Where decades of research has emphasized the importance of gender role traditionality (Lackie & de Man, 1997; Loh et al., 2005; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Sigelman, Berry, & Wiles, 1984; Truman, Tokar, & Fischer, 1996) and rape myth acceptance (Abbey et al., 1998; Briere & Malamuth, 1983; Malamuth & Check, 1981) among male perpetrators, several empirical tests have failed to find significant differences between female victims and non-victims in terms of their acceptance of traditional gender roles and rape myths (Ageton, 1983; Amick & Calhoun, 1987; Koss, 1985).

Limitations of Focusing Solely on Victim Attributes

Like the studies that precede the current analysis, many scholars have reiterated the fundamental concern regarding the dangers associated with drawing attention to particular victim attributes when discussing sexual assault. The persistent tradition of male domination, female powerlessness, and the pervasive distrust of women that has been socialized in the life functioning and processes of a patriarchal society (Johnson, 1997)—and thus, ingrained in our

legal and political discourse and criminal justice system (Franklin, forthcoming), presents the very real potential for reversing decades of feminist scholarly and political progress on violence against women. When people and institutions continue to hold misinformed views of rape, domestic violence, and other crimes that target women as victims, research and policy that focuses exclusively on victim behavior will only reiterate these confused and misguided assumptions. In particular, educational programs and public policy should question the very social system that says it is appropriate to target women as victims of violent sexual crime and hold male perpetrators accountable for their sexual predations. Instead, educational programs and social policy often preach the dangers and associated consequences for women who walk alone unsupervised at night, who dress inappropriately and participate in high-risk behavior, and who jeopardize their safety by surrounding themselves with predatory men (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

Theoretical Implications for the Current Study

Despite these risks, components derived from the social-psychological hypotheses and the social control theory of rape victimization can effectively contribute to the current analysis. The general criminological victimization literature proposes that individual levels of low self-control may predict victimization experiences. This proposition is directly in line with Selkin's (1978) assumptions regarding the differences between rape victims and non-victims in terms of the biological and cultural differences in personality factors and attitudinal characteristics. Additionally, components of the social control theory of rape victimization contribute to the present research. This study focuses on sorority socialization and because prior empirical literature has found that sorority members report higher levels of gender role traditionality and

rape myth acceptance as compared to their non-affiliated counterparts, elements of their subscribed gender ideologies, as they have been socialized and inculcated, may predict increased vulnerability to victimization.

ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL APPROACH

The study of sexual assault on the college campus is a well-developed body of theoretical and empirical literature spanning nearly four decades. This chapter has reviewed existing theories pertinent to this topic in terms of their contributions to the study of victimization, empirical findings regarding the factors that predict victimization, and theoretical and methodological limitations in this literature. One area that is especially lacking among the plethora of feminist theory building and empiricism as related to campus sexual violence has to do with the role of victim sorority affiliation. While scholars have conceived the role of individual victim characteristics on rape and sexual violence (see e.g., Koss & Dinero, 1989), existing research lacks development with regard to the role of *organizational socialization* on female victimization in the university setting.

Godenzi et al.'s (2001) gendered social bond reformulates Hirschi's (1969) original conceptualization about the role of conventional institutions in supporting law abiding behavior for the purpose of better understanding male sexual predation facilitated through the fraternity. This study proposes that these same "conventional institutions" (e.g., the sorority), may socialize or breed attitudes and behaviors that create a climate conducive to victimization. As previously discussed, fraternity membership and the Greek organization are robustly associated with anti-social outcomes, and research highlights the role of social context and patriarchal society on these outcomes (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Individual victim

theories (with the exception of the previously discussed social control theory) do not consider broader social context and, in particular, to the best of my knowledge, no theory has proposed the facilitation of vulnerability and victimization through the organizational socialization of the sorority with particular attention to the host of empirical factors that create dangerous environments for women. Indeed, research on sexual assault has focused on the impact of sorority affiliation (Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Kalof, 1993) and has included control measures of sorority membership (e.g., Cook, 1995; Costin, 1985; Flack et al., 2007; Fromme, Katz, & Rivet, 1997) on adverse sexual outcomes. This research is reviewed below in detail. There are, however, gaps in this literature including limitations of both theory and method. The remaining sections of this chapter considers the dearth of research on sorority affiliation and campus rape and proposes an alternative theoretical framework with regard to the influence of sorority affiliation on a number of attitudinal and behavioral variables related to vulnerability and sexual victimization. First however, the organization and function of the sorority is reviewed in terms of the gendered nature of its existence for the purpose of providing a context from which to understand its role as a socializing agent and its potential for breeding vulnerability to rape and sexual aggression.

The Fraternal Sisterhood

The development of sororities in the late 1800s, in part, mirrored the cultural and academic organization and subculture of their male fraternal forerunners. Women's Greek letter societies were created as a response to the harsh criticism and ridicule offered women who dared enter the male-dominated sphere of the academy—violating existing social norms regarding the appropriate place for women (Anderson & Danis, 2007; Whipple & Sullivan, 1998). To be sure,

sororities provided women limited access to power in their relatively powerless social position (Handler, 1995; Horowitz, 1987; Lee, 1955). Additionally, collegiate sororities provided both support and companionship in the form of kinship bonds or “sisterhood” (Handler, 1995). This historical tradition continues where currently, sororities command an active membership roster, creating both social and intellectual opportunities for female undergraduate students (Lord, 1987). The sororal organization was ultimately founded on philanthropic principles like charity and humanitarian assistance, but institutional norms and values were heavily influenced by traditional gender roles and the cultural ideology of parent-aged alumnae who guarded and shaped the sorority subculture (Scott, 1965).

While college sororities assumed attributes similar to their fraternity counterparts, one fundamental difference separating these organizations has centered on the sorority’s overt preoccupation with mate selection and heterosexual pairing (see Scott, 1965). In particular, sororities differ from fraternities primarily because they focus largely on coupling and marriage (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999), with the latter being a goal that has historically provided measurable advantages to women’s social status and prestige (Larson & Leslie, 1968; Rogers & Havens, 1960). Fraternities were not created to provide men access to marriageable women for the purposes of status enhancement and as a result, did not place the same degree of importance on finding a mate. This has been largely attributed to differences in gender socialization and gendered relations of power. Traditionally, men have been afforded social status through wage-earned labor and not through relational dependence and/or association with their employed wives. Consequently, college sororities provided women with a readily accessible and economically and racially homogenous dating pool (Scott, 1965). In particular, sororities facilitated the mate selection and heterosexual coupling of its female members by providing

ready access to fraternity men through Greek-sponsored formal dances, Greek-only co-ed parties, and highly-coveted, secret, structured ceremonies designed to provide praise and recognition to sorority women for obtaining relationship milestones with fraternity men (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999; Scott, 1965).

Despite measurable changes in the social climate pertaining to women's social roles and opportunities for economic independence and occupational advancement, these institutional pairing mechanisms remain in place today. Sororities continue to focus a great deal of energy and attention on mate selection and dating (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999; Robbins, 2004). This is evidenced by 1) continued participation in social events that are largely characterized by a Greek-only invitation list with the intended purpose of "finding men" (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999), and 2) highly-valued relational milestones such as being "lavaliered," "pinned," or "promised," and participating in the announcement of these milestones during the ritual ceremony known as "the candlelight." As a result, women belonging to sororities often face immense pressure to conform to standards of feminine beauty and body image for the purposes of both collective group status and increasing individual chances in the romantic marketplace (Handler, 1995). So while these organizations were originally created to provide an institutional all-female support mechanism offered to progressive women seeking advancement through post-secondary education, patriarchal notions of femininity, beauty, and relational dependence on men permeated the organizational culture. Consequently, women continue to conform to group standards, seeking to meet the goals of status, prestige, and achievement through their relationships with Greek-affiliated men (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999; Handler, 1995; Robbins, 2004).

It must be stated that, as with any organization, not all sororities represent and/or

continue to conform to the ideologies described above. Additionally, individual women belonging to sororities that do socialize particular messages about the importance of heterosexual coupling and romance will not equally assimilate and develop personal beliefs that correspond to these institutional messages. Moreover, while relatively current empirical research continues to document the degree to which sororities are shaped by a fundamentally traditional social ideology (e.g., Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999; Handler, 1995), this is largely a manifestation of the residue left over from the dogmatic traditionality that sororities were founded on (e.g., Scott, 1965) and probably less the result of continued intentional and/or conscience participation in a patriarchal and decidedly heterosexist belief system. Nevertheless, according to recent scholarship, sororities continue to participate in and teach strategies for success in the college romantic marketplace.

Historically Black Sororities

This preoccupation with marriage and heterosexual relationships has not been similarly documented among black women's sororal organizations where the focus in these institutions is geared more toward educational achievement, occupational advancement, community service, and obtaining and developing social, economic, and occupational gains for the minority community. In fact, the institutional mechanisms in place that support and encourage mate-selection and a preoccupation with heterosexual relationships characteristic of white sororities are absent from black sororities (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999).

Membership in Greek institutions on college campuses was historically reserved only for white students. The entrance and matriculation of black students into the traditionally white academy was not an easy feat. Progressive black students on these campuses sought academic

and leadership opportunities and believed that the organized fraternity would be able to provide both social support and academic promotion in an otherwise limited environment (Parker, 1990). The establishment of black fraternities and sororities did not occur until the early 1900s and was met with much resistance (Giddings, 1990). Black women in particular faced the daunting task of fitting in both as women and as minorities (Giddings, 1988). The result was the formation of the Black Panhellenic system that provides minority men and women membership in a Greek system whose focus typically reflects the ideals put forth by the first founders of early black fraternities and sororities (White, 1974). That is not to say that historically black fraternities and sororities are without problems (Kimbrough, 1996), but overall, the institutional focus and deliberate practice of these organizations—and of black sororities in particular, promote the advancement of leadership and community contributions (see Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999; Kimbrough, 1996).

That said, the current theoretical formulation and empirical research centers on the traditional attitudes and ideologies characteristic of white sororities. As such, black women may be less likely to belong to sororities and black women who do belong to the sorority may be less likely to believe in, agree with, and engage in the vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors that past research has established as characteristic of historically white sororities.

Empirical Research on Female Greek Affiliation

A host of criticism aimed at university Greek organizations in the late 1950s and early 1960s motivated empirical studies that were designed to investigate the influence of social fraternities on developmental- and educational-related outcomes. These early studies focused on between-group differences in terms of demographic characteristics (Jackson & Winkler, 1966) and cognitive differences comparing affiliated and independent students on factors such as

morality, personality variables, and attitudinal outcomes (Collins & Whetstone, 1965; Jackson & Winkler, 1966; Marlowe & Auvenshine, 1982; Plant, 1958; Schmidt, 1971; Wilder, Hoyt, Doren, Hauck, & Zettle, 1978; Wilder, Hoyt, Surbeck, Wilder, & Carney, 1986). Beginning nearly three decades after the publication of Kirkpatrick and Kanin's (1957) groundbreaking analysis of campus rape revealed that Greek students were overrepresented among both perpetrators and victims of campus sexual assault, a handful of studies published results testing the relationships between sorority membership on forced sex and other similarly associated attitude and value outcomes (Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Fromme & Wendel, 1995; Handler, 1995; Kalof & Kalof, 1993; Cargill, 1991; Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994a; Norris et al., 1996; Nurius et al., 1996; Risman, 1982; Rivera and Regoli, 1987; Sawyer, Schulken, & Pinciaro, 1997). At the same time that empirical efforts focused on Greek student populations, other studies included demographic controls for sorority and fraternity affiliation to determine if membership in these social organizations influenced alcohol- and sex-related behaviors (Amick & Calhoun, 1987; Armstrong, Hamilton, & Sweeney, 2006; Baird, 1969; Combs-Lane & Smith, 2002; Cook, 1995; Costin, 1985; DeKeseredy et al., 1993; Flack et al., 2007; Fromme et al., 1997; Tyler, Hoyt, & Whitbeck, 1998).

Sexual Victimization Risk. Indeed, Copenhaver and Grauerholz (1991) were among the first to examine a population of sorority women to determine their risk of sexual coercion. They framed their investigation in terms of the danger that sorority women face due to their close proximity to fraternity men. Research had already identified fraternity members as a predatory and potentially dangerous population posing sexual risks against women (Garrett-Gooding & Senter, 1988; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Warshaw, 1988). Copenhaver and Grauerholz (1991) hypothesized that sorority women would experience victimization disproportionately at the

hands of fraternity men and that this relationship would be influenced by a woman's degree of active Greek involvement. Using a sample of 140 sorority women, Copenhaver and Grauerholz (1991) found that nearly 25 percent of the sample reported attempted rape and 17 percent had experienced completed rape. Where they only obtain data from sorority women, Copenhaver and Grauerholz (1991) compared their findings to Koss et al.'s (1987) nationwide representative survey of college women who reported slightly less incidents of sexual aggression. They concluded that sorority women are in a more vulnerable position and have a higher likelihood of experiencing forms of sexual aggression and coercion when compared to their non-affiliated counterparts. Copenhaver and Grauerholz (1991) also found that active sorority women were more likely than those who were less involved with the Greek system to report their sexually coercive and aggressive experiences taking place during fraternity functions and by fraternity members.

Their study is one of the earliest to question the dangers of proximity to fraternity men by testing a population made up entirely of sorority women, Copenhaver and Grauerholz (1991) did not include a counterfactual to make comparisons between groups. Instead, they compared their results using a sorority sample, against Koss et al.'s (1987) findings on college sexual assault. Additionally, they made no mention of the potential dangers associated with *sorority* membership in its own right, but rather, focus their discussion, and thus, their theoretical efforts toward the dangers presented by the organizational culture of the fraternity. Here they reiterated the importance of offender propensity to sexual assault while muffling the potential dangers of membership in an organization that has been developed and mirrored after an elite hypermasculine all-male "old boys club," but with the expressed purpose of heterosexual pairing (Scott, 1965). Copenhaver and Grauerholz (1991) highlighted the contributions of frequent

association with fraternity members, rather than the role of sorority membership as a vulnerability-enhancing socialization agent, suggesting that unaffiliated or independent women with frequent fraternity contact may be similarly vulnerable. Rivera and Regoli (1987) also surveyed sorority women to determine their rate of sexually coercive experiences and found a high incidence of aggression where 51 percent report forced touch, 35 percent report attempted penetration, and 17 percent experienced completed rape. Like Copenhaver and Grauerholz (1991) however, Rivera and Regoli (1987) did not survey non-affiliated women and were consequently, unable to make comparisons against a control group to identify if these rates of forced sexual contact among sorority women were higher than those experiences of independent university females.

To alleviate problems associated with early studies, Kalof (1993) tested a sample of undergraduate women (both sorority and non-affiliated) with the intent purpose of investigating the potential “perpetuating or inhibiting” influence of sorority membership on sexual victimization (p. 768). Kalof (1993) posed a series of questions using Burt’s (1980) attitude scale, Koss and Oros’ (1982) Sexual Experiences Survey, and key demographic questions. Her results revealed significant differences between sorority and independent women regarding the acceptance of rape myths and interpersonal violence. Moreover, sorority women were more likely to experience physically coercive forced sex and alcohol-related nonconsensual intercourse. There were no differences between sorority and non-affiliated women with regard to social, verbal, or non-violent sexual coercion. Kalof’s (1993) study is the first of a small body of literature to question the direct role of sorority membership on sexual assault. Her work is limited however, because she was only able to obtain survey responses from 21 sorority women out of a sample of 216 total survey respondents.

Sawyer, Schulken, and Pinciario (1997) gathered survey data on sexual victimization experiences, consensual sex practices, alcohol consumption and demographic variables from 627 sorority members from one university and reported that, consistent with earlier results, nearly half of the sample population reported victimization experiences, with the highest proportion of victimized women reporting experiences of verbal sexual coercion. Similar to the scholars that preceded them however, Sawyer et al. (1997) did not include a comparison group, and instead contrasted their findings with the results of Koss et al.'s (1987) nationally representative research. While their sample is larger than any other empirical study of college sorority sexual victimization, the lack of a counterfactual limits the explanatory power of their findings in terms of determining the extent to which the experiences differ significantly from non-sorority affiliated women on that particular college campus.

Similarly Related Attitudinal and Behavioral Outcomes. During the same time period that Copenhaver and Grauerholz (1991) were investigating the victimization experiences of sorority women, Kalof and Cargill (1991) conducted a study that sought to shed light on the correlation between Greek affiliation and gender dominance attitudes. Where early studies consistently reported that sorority and fraternity members possessed more conservative and strict sex roles as compared to their non-affiliated counterparts, changes in social climate and the upward mobility of women's economic and social status prompted renewed interest in the role of Greek socialization. Kalof and Cargill (1991) reported that, for both male and female students, Greek affiliation was correlated with more traditional gender role attitudes compared to independent students, further cementing the continued role of sororities in structuring a traditional ideology preoccupied with gender role traditionality and femininity (Scott, 1965).

Shortly thereafter, a group of researchers at the University of Washington published two studies conducted on sorority members that focused on risk perception, resistance to attack, and perception of danger cues (Norris et al., 1996; Nurius et al., 1996). Both studies reported results from focus groups involving the same sample of 60 sorority women to determine risk perception and danger cue recognition among the Greek population, respectively. These studies, while progressive in both their research questions and qualitative methodology, continue along the relatively limited path of focusing on small components of a larger organizational structure that may contribute to victimization. Furthermore, their small sample sizes and exclusion of a comparison group limit the generalizability of their findings. Later studies have examined marital rape attitudes (Auster & Leone, 2001), threat responses (Dunn, 1999), risky sexual behavior (Eberhardt, Rice, & Smith, 2003), parental and peer sex socialization (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994a), and helping strategies (Anderson & Danis, 2007) employed by sorority members and Greek-affiliated college students. As evidenced by this literature, sorority women may be less likely to fear and/or label attempts at forcible interaction as coercive and intrusive when the attempts are coupled with flowers, cards, gifts, and other cultural symbols of romance and love, than when male attempts to have contact do not involve similar items (Dunn, 1999). This research implicates the cultural imagery of romance in masking the dangers associated with potentially coercive behavior experienced by sorority women.

Further research concludes that Greek affiliation influences the neglect of safe-sex behaviors, and in particular, engaging in unprotected sex after drinking (Eberhardt et al., 2003). This may be directly related to the frequency and consumption of alcohol among Greek populations, and the degree to which alcohol influences behavioral expectations and reduces inhibitions related specifically to Greek-sponsored events. The historical tradition of attending

fraternity and sorority social functions for the expressed purpose of heterosexual pairing (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999; Handler, 1995; Scott, 1965), combined with the use and abuse of alcohol as a way to “loosen up” in conjunction with these social functions (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999; Handler, 1995; Martin & Hummer, 1989) may play heavily into the resultant likelihood of risky sex practices. According to Fromme and Wendel (1995), beliefs about alcohol, held by Greek-affiliated students, have demonstrated empirical correlations between sexual expectations in both consenting and coercive sexual situations. In particular, Greek-affiliated male students are more likely to believe that they will engage in coercive sex if they have been drinking. In contrast, sorority members are no more likely to negatively associate coercive sex when they are sober or under the influence of alcohol.

Lottes and Kuriloff (1994a) found that sorority membership influenced sex socialization where affiliated women reported more permissive attitudes about sex as socialized from their sororal peer group. Rather than questioning the role of sororities with regard to this socialization process, Lottes and Kuriloff (1994a) explain these findings in light of the repeated and frequent association with fraternity men who may influence the sorority woman’s permissive sex beliefs. Finally, Anderson and Danis (2007) questioned 35 sorority women regarding their perceptions of the occurrence of relationship violence, degree of awareness of sorority policies regarding such violence, likelihood of helping the recipient of relationship violence, awareness of university resources, and ideas regarding ways that the sorority might address violence-related issues. In all, the women were unaware of any sorority-specific policies or other formal supports in place to address relationship violence, were reluctant to talk about relationship violence and reluctant to acknowledge its existence. Finally, they lacked awareness on the occurrence of violence among fellow members and overestimated the existence of informal helping strategies.

Controlling for Female Greek Membership. Additional research on college populations that includes female Greek membership as a control variable has documented that sorority affiliation influences the experience of sexual victimization (Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957; Pezza, 1995) and date rape (Tyler et al., 1998), the approval of aggression in college heterosexual interactions (Cook, 1995), and the acceptance of traditional sex roles (Costin, 1985). Sorority women are also more likely than independents to be involved in high-risk social situations (Armstrong, Hamilton, & Sweeney, 2006). Research also consistently demonstrates that sorority women are more likely than their non-sorority counterparts to consume alcohol (Gross et al., 2006; Tyler et al., 1998; Whitbeck & Hoyt, 1991). They have an increased vulnerability to rape while intoxicated (Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004) and are more likely to be the recipient of alcohol- and drug-related sexual coercion (Tyler et al., 1998) as compared to independent women.

While this body of research has included sorority affiliation as part of the research sample (e.g., Armstrong et al., 2006; Kahn et al., 2003; Nasta et al., 2005; Ward, Chapman, Cohn, White, & Williams, 1991) or used female Greek membership as a demographic control (e.g., Combs-Lane & Smith, 2002; Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957; Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004; Pezza, 1995; Tyler et al., 1998), sometimes results are not reported according to how sorority membership influences the particular outcome that is being studied (e.g., Hinck & Thomas, 1999). This may be because the intention of the study was not to make between-group comparisons but rather, sorority membership was only discussed with reference to the demographic profile of the sample. It may be the case that the sheer number of sorority women did not provide enough statistical power to model particular between-group differences (e.g., Nasta et al., 2005). Regardless, the dearth of research that controls for and reports results that include the effect of sorority membership is limited and many questions are left unanswered.

The collective results of these studies indicate that sororities may be an environment conducive to the abuse of women both in terms of absolute numbers of victimization incidents and with regard to related attitudes and behaviors expressed predominantly among sorority-affiliated women. There are, however, consistent limitations present in this body of literature. In particular, studies lack comparison groups when investigating particular phenomenon that may differ according to peer group affiliation (Anderson & Danis, 2007; Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Rivera & Regoli, 1987; Sawyer et al., 1997). Further, when a counterfactual is included, sample sizes are relatively small, questioning the generalizability of the findings (Anderson & Danis, 2007; Kalof, 1993; Norris et al., 1996; Nurius et al., 1996). Finally, this dearth of research poses interesting questions of related attitudes and behaviors that have contributed to the literature on sororities in measurable ways. Most often however, these studies focus narrowly on one particular variable or socialization component and neglect to consider or theorize the greater role of the organization and the types of outcomes or consequences that result from these various organizational socialization processes (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994a; Norris et al., 1996; Nurius et al., 1996). Despite the scholarly attention afforded the Greek organization in terms of cognitive development and retention, alcohol consumption, attitudes and behaviors, and sexual assault, there is much that remains to be done. Specifically, how do these existing phenomenon directly and indirectly contribute to the attitudes and behaviors that may increase sorority women's vulnerability to victimization?

SORORITIES AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF VICTIMIZATION

In light of the research reviewed, it is apparent that the college sorority has the potential to be a particularly dangerous institutional environment that is conducive to the sexual

victimization of college women. While research has empirically tested various relationships between specific factors that, individually, increase the likelihood of sexual victimization, no research has combined these factors to posit the collective effect of their overrepresentation among sorority-affiliated women. The current research proposes an in-depth theoretical model to test the effect of sorority affiliation on both attitudes and behaviors conducive to rape victimization (see Figure 1).

The historical evolution and cultural ideology manifested and socialized by female Greek organizations has consistently portrayed the conservative message that sororities are operating to provide these women with both ready access to and success in the romantic marketplace. Limited research has reported that college women who belong to formal sororities may report higher levels of a host of attitudinal- and behavioral-related factors that result in environments that are conducive to the sexual victimization of college women. Thus, the current research tests the following three research questions:

RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

Do sorority women hold attitudes that are conducive to rape victimization?

Traditional Gender Roles

The greater acceptance of traditional gender roles among sorority women, while empirically established in limited research, presents the increased potential for victimization. This is primarily the result of the ways in which a traditional gender role ideology assumes a male-dominant/female-submissive social and sexual power dynamic. In particular, women perceive their appropriate behavior as feminine—thus, they behave accordingly passive,

subordinate, and willing to defer to a masculine and more assertive man in a variety of social and sexual situations.

Rape Myth Acceptance

Like traditional gender roles, existing research has correlated Greek affiliation with rape myth acceptance, but the majority of this research focuses on fraternity men. Additionally, women are typically less likely to believe in and accept myths that justify rape. If sorority women report higher levels of rape myth acceptance (in part as a result of their gender role traditionality), they will be less likely to define sexually coercive and/or sexually assaultive experiences as rape. Further, rape myth acceptance, coupled with gender role traditionality may influence these more conservative women to disregard situations in which coercive tactics are used to gain sexual access, and instead, invite them as normal and natural heterosexual relations.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2:

Do sorority women engage in behaviors that put them at risk for rape victimization?

Proximity to Potential Perpetrators

Where sororities were founded on principles of heterosexual pairing and coupling, institutional mechanisms continue to be in place that provide female members ready access to fraternity men, and direct reinforcement associated with dating these men. As such, Greek-affiliated women are in constant and direct contact with a pool of predators and/or likely offenders who have, according to decades of empirical research, consistently targeted college women as victims of sexual violence. Further, the mate-selection culture touted by the female sorority identifies their male Greek counterpart as the preferred object of their romantic affection

largely because of their cultural, socioeconomic, and organizational membership similarities that are reiterated through fictitious and misleading bonds of kinship. This dynamic not only creates a desirable dating pool, but it conveys messages about the appropriateness of men with whom women may not be safe.

Excessive Alcohol Consumption

Greek societies are known for their consumption and abuse of alcohol. This behavior is perpetuated by a social culture that suggests alcohol consumption prepares men and women for more easily negotiated heterosexual interaction. In particular, individuals hold a host of behavioral expectations related to drinking alcohol. For example, alcohol will “loosen you up” and “get you ready to party.” The most dangerous of these deal with expecting to participate in coercive sex and attributing less blame to perpetrators of sexual violence. Nevertheless, sorority women consume alcohol at high rates and most often, in the company of fraternity men—reiterating their proximate distance to potential perpetrators. Alcohol intoxication limits Greek-affiliated women’s ability to perceive danger cues, and thus their ability for self-protection while at the same time, it conveys well-accepted social messages about their availability and willingness for sex. In all, excessive alcohol consumption among sorority women may directly influence sexual victimization. Further, it may be indirectly related to the misperception of danger cues, proximity to potential perpetrators, and strict definitions of the crime of rape.

Danger Cue Recognition

Pervasive patriarchal socialization and existing sex scripts already prescribe appropriate male/female dating and heterosexual encounters according to an ambiguous collection of

relationship- and intimacy-related expectations. In light of the research reviewed, however, the events that occur just prior to a sexual assault closely, if not, identically resemble the events surrounding relationship progress and consensual sexual encounters. In addition, the Greek membership that both female and male members are part of has the potential to lull women into a false sense of security in terms of trust and assurance. They may not therefore, be able and/or willing to appropriately recognize, label, and respond to danger cues if such cues are perpetrated by fraternity “brothers.”

Risk-Taking Behaviors

Women who are more inclined to engage in risk-taking behaviors may find themselves in situations where they are more easily targeted as victims of violence. Research predicting the occurrence of rape and sexual violence cites frequency of dating and consensual sex partners, alcohol consumption, and other similarly risky behaviors that may encourage and correlate with vulnerability.

Consensual Sex Partners

Extant literature on sexual victimization risk highlights the important role of consensual sex and dating activity. In particular, women with active heterosexual dating lives and multiple sex partners face an increased likelihood of coming into contact with sexually abusive and/or aggressive men and are therefore, more likely to be victimized. Greek membership provides a ready supply of available heterosexual contacts through carefully planned Greek-only social events.

RESEARCH QUESTION 3:

Do attitudes and behaviors predict sexual victimization?

Sexual Victimization

Extant empirical research has consistently identified particular predictors of rape and sexual violence. Literature on cultural and social ideology reiterates the correlation between traditional gender roles and the acceptance of rape myths on an increased likelihood of woman abuse. Are these same attitudes, when held by women, predictive of rape victimization? Further, a host of behavioral-related factors have been cited as contributing to enhanced vulnerability and increased victimization. For example, does the assemblage of likely offenders, the absence of capable guardians or the inability of individuals to self-protect, the consumption of alcohol, and the inability to recognize, assess, and respond to threat increase harmful outcomes directed toward women?

SUMMARY

Decades of research have focused on effectively identifying the factors that contribute to general victimization. This body of criminological victimization literature has produced a handful of theoretically relevant and empirically testable frameworks from which criminologists and criminal justice scholars have drawn. Namely, the routine activity and self-control theories have provided frameworks to investigate research questions related to victimization in a plethora of situations and circumstances. Feminist scholars and women's advocates have criticized this literature for neglecting to consider the larger social and structural components that contribute to violence against women. These theories also do not consider the unique circumstances surrounding women's victimization. A host of sexual assault victimization literature posits and

tests theories that specifically position the influence of offender factors on sexual violence. This literature has effectively contributed to the knowledge on violence against women by establishing factors that empirically predict sexual violence but limitations remain in terms of particular variables that are outside the scope of narrowly defined perpetrator variables. There is a less developed body of sexual victimization research that focuses particularly on victim characteristics. In an effort to alleviate victim blaming, however, less attention and intellectual resources have been devoted to further developing this vein of research. Where each of these theoretical literatures suffer from limitations, components of the respective theories may contribute to the existing study.

The role of sorority affiliation on sexual victimization has been relatively neglected in the effort to identify and predict what motivates sexual violence on college campuses. Existing research that tests this relationship is limited in theoretical development and methodological rigor. That said, the current research tests a more comprehensive model that is designed to account for both attitude- and behavior-related variables on the occurrence of sexual victimization. This model looks specifically to the role of Greek affiliation and, in particular, the socialization of an environment conducive to the victimization of sorority women.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This research uses path analysis to test the three research questions as outlined in chapter 3. In particular, three conceptually and structurally similar models that examine the predictive capacity of sorority affiliation on vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors and their impact on sexual assault victimization are empirically evaluated. The current chapter outlines the sampling strategy, data, and variables included in the statistical models. Additionally, the research questions are presented along with conceptual models that illustrate the proposed direct and indirect relationships. Finally, hypotheses are formulated.

DATA

Data for the current study were obtained from a convenience sample of survey responses collected in undergraduate classes ranging in course level and substantive material at a large Northwestern public university during the spring semester of 2007. Researchers solicited voluntary participation among students enrolled in criminal justice, political science, sociology, and education courses by making a short announcement about the purpose of the study and the times and locations where the survey would be administered. Students were told that their voluntary participation in this survey would aid researchers in terms of obtaining information about the “dating and sexual experiences of young adults.” These announcements were made during the scheduled class meeting time. Rooms were reserved for the purpose of administering surveys and students were notified of the times and locations where the survey could be

completed. Students were offered extra course credit for their participation. Those students who chose not to participate were provided with an alternative opportunity to earn extra course credit.

Self-administered survey questionnaires were completed during scheduled times and, just prior to survey administration, respondents were informed that their participation was both completely voluntary and anonymous. Students were also told that they did not have to answer any question that they did not feel comfortable answering and that they could stop filling out the survey at any time. They were made aware that, should they decide not to complete the survey, they would still be granted course credit. Further, due to the sensitive nature of the survey questions, contact numbers for university counseling services were listed on the instrument cover sheet along with the research protocol and confidentiality statement. The survey questionnaire and cover sheet were approved by the University's Institutional Review Board and as such, student were provided with contact information and a reference number associated with the study if they chose to contact the IRB. Subjects took approximately 45 minutes to complete the survey. Respondents were seated in small groups to ensure distance and privacy in answering any questions pertaining to the survey instrument. Administration of the survey yielded a total of 522 male and female responses. Only data derived from the female respondents were included for the purpose of the current analysis. As such, the initial female sample totaled 282 survey questionnaires.

The current study relies on a convenience sample of undergraduate students enrolled in social science and education courses in order to assess attitudes and behaviors that result in rape victimization outcomes. Consequently, results of this study are only generalizable to students on this college campus best represented by those included in the study sample. Results should thus be interpreted with caution and not be used to inform particular preventive/programming

responses on other university campuses. Additionally, while the size of the sample exceeds studies that precede it (e.g. Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1990; Kalof, 1993,), the number of sorority-affiliated women included in the study sample is still relatively small in terms of population representativeness and generalizability. That said, the sample population is representative of the college population from which it was drawn.

Sample Characteristics

Table 4.1 provides demographic characteristics of the sample. The average age of the female respondents was 20.6 years old. With regard to race, 82.9 percent were white, 5 percent were Asian, 4.3 percent were Hispanic, 1.4 percent were African American, and approximately 1 percent of the sample were Native American. Juniors comprised the largest class (31.2%), closely followed by sophomores (30.9%), seniors (22.3%), and freshman (15.2%). Additionally, a wide range of academic majors were represented among the sample population. In particular, 7.3 percent of the students were studying fields in the college of agricultural, human, and natural resource sciences, 8 percent were business majors, 8 percent were majoring in education-related fields, 50 percent of the sample were majoring in the social sciences, 17.2 percent were studying humanities- and arts-related academic fields, 4.4 percent were nursing majors, 1.5 percent were pharmacy students, and 3.5 percent of the sample were majoring in the sciences. This overrepresentation of social science majors is primarily the result of the researchers' selection of courses from which to recruit students.

Only 2.5 percent of the students were married while the overwhelming majority of the students were single (95.7%). Of those non-married students, approximately 51.9 percent were

currently in an exclusive dating relationship—with an average relationship length of less than one year. Sorority members comprised 29.8 percent of the sample and 21 percent of the entire

Table 4.1. Sample Characteristics.

Variable	Percentage
<i>Age</i>	20.69* (3.076)
<i>Race</i>	
White	82.9%
Asian	5.0%
Hispanic	4.3%
African American	1.4%
<i>Year in College</i>	
Senior	22.3%
Junior	31.2%
Sophomore	30.9%
Freshman	15.2%
<i>Academic Field of Study</i>	
Agricultural, Human, and Natural Resource Sciences	7.3%
Business	8.0%
Education	8.0%
Social Sciences	50.0%
Humanities and Arts	17.2%
Nursing	4.4%
Pharmacy	1.5%
Sciences	3.6%
<i>Marital Status</i>	
Married	2.5%
Divorced	1.1%
Separated	0.7%
Single	95.7%
<i>Currently in a Dating Relationship</i>	51.9%
<i>Living Arrangement</i>	
Off campus w/more than one roommate	28.1%
Off campus w/one roommate	29.9%
On campus single-sex residence hall	8.9%
On campus co-ed residence hall	12.1%
Sorority House	21.0%
<i>Roommate Status</i>	
Same-sex roommates	67.5%
Opposite-sex roommates	6.8%
Mixed-sex roommates	6.1%
Live alone	18.6%
Spouse	0.4%

Dependent children	0.7%
<i>Greek Affiliated</i>	33.3%
<i>Consensual Sexual Activity</i>	
Sexually active	80.3%
Age at first intercourse	17.05*
	(1.670)
Number of partners	4.76*
	(4.32)

*Means are listed with standard deviations displayed in parentheses.

female sample were currently living in a sorority house. The majority of the students resided off campus (58%) with one (29.9%) or more than one roommate (28.1%). Twenty-one percent of the students lived in an on-campus residence hall and 81.4 percent of the sample lived with at least one other person.

Questions pertaining to particular characteristics surrounding the consensual sexual activity of the respondents revealed that approximately 80 percent of the sample had at some point in time engaged in consensual sexual intercourse. The average age of first intercourse ranged from 12 to 23 with a mean of 17.05 and standard deviation of 1.670. Those respondents who had engaged in consensual sex had an average of 4.76 partners ($SD=4.32$).

Sample Comparison to University Undergraduate Population

A brief comparison of the current sample to the population from which it was drawn reveals that the subjects whose responses are used in the current analysis are largely representative of the university population (see Table 4.2). In particular, a comparison of the age makeup of the student population indicates only slight differences where the sample mean was nearly 22 years old, the population mean for the academic year 2006-2007 was 23 years old (Enrollment and Persistence, n.d.). Additionally, a racial breakdown of the university population

indicates that the undergraduate students enrolled at this particular university during the data collection time period was made up disproportionately of white students (75.5%), followed by Asian (6.1%), Hispanic (4.2%), and African American students (2.6%). These percentages are similar to those revealed in the sample demographics, with white students slightly overrepresented (82.9%), followed by Asian (5%), Hispanic (4.2%), and African American students (2.6%) respectively (Enrollment and Persistence, n.d.).

Table 4.2. Differences Between Sample and University Population.

Variable	Sample	University (N=18,995)*
<i>Age</i>	20.7	23.0
<i>Race</i>		
White	82.9%	75.5%
Asian	5.0%	6.1%
Hispanic	4.3%	4.2%
African American	1.4%	2.6%
<i>Year in College</i>		
Senior	22.3%	
Junior	31.2%	
Sophomore	30.9%	
Freshman	15.2%	
<i>Academic Field of Study by College</i>		
Agricultural, Human, and Natural Resource Sciences	7.3%	11.6%
Business	8.0%	11.9%
Education	8.0%	8.8%
Liberal Arts	67.2%	30.9%
Nursing	4.4%	5.6%
Pharmacy	1.5%	2.0%
Sciences	3.6%	10.3%
<i>Living Arrangement</i>		
Currently living in college-owned, -operated, or -affiliated housing	42.0%	33.0%
<i>Greek Affiliated</i>	33.3%	13.0%

*Statistics represent the undergraduate university population.

Greater disparity between the student sample and university population was found in the representation of academic majors by college. More specifically, in 2007, 11.6 percent of declared majors were in the college of agricultural, human, and natural resource sciences (compared to 7.3 percent of the sample), 11.9 percent were business majors (compared to 8 percent of the sample), 8.8 percent were majoring in education-related fields (compared to 8 percent of the sample), 30.9 percent were majoring in liberal arts (compared to 67.2 percent of the sample), 5.6 percent were nursing majors (compared to 5.6 percent of the sample), 1.5 percent were pharmacy students (compared to 2 percent of the sample), and 10.3 percent of the university population were majoring in the sciences (compared to only 3.6 percent of the sample) (Certified Majors by Campus and College, Fall 2003 to Fall 2007, n.d.).

Moreover, according to information on student life obtained from Institutional Research (n.d.), approximately 33 percent of the university population resided in college-owned, college-operated, or college-affiliated housing, as compared with 42 percent of the sample. Finally, the Center for Fraternity and Sorority Life (n.d.) revealed that during spring 2007 semester, 13 percent of the student body belonged to a Greek sorority. Sample statistics indicate an overrepresentation of sorority women as compared to the percent affiliated in the larger population. This will prove useful for the current research as the intent of empirical analysis is to make between-group comparisons of particular attitudes and behaviors that are hypothesized to predict rape victimization.

MEASURES

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in the current research is illegal sexual victimization. *Illegal*

sexual victimization is captured through the use of the modified version of Koss and Oros' (1982) Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) which includes an item that asks the respondent to indicate if they "have ever been raped." The SES has been consistently used in empirical research on the incidence, prevalence, and predictors of sexual assault, rape, and other forms of sexual violence among college women (e.g., DeKeseredy et al., 1993; Gidycz et al., 1993; Krahe, Reimer, Scheinberger-Olwig, & Fritsche, 1999; Koss, 1985; Koss & Gidycz, 1985; Koss et al., 1987; Koss & Oros, 1982; Karabatsos, 1997; Ullman et al., 1999). The revised SES is made up of 13 items and captures victim experiences of verbal and physical coercion (including threats of violence) resulting in sexual contact (including petting, kissing, and other forms of intimacy not including oral, anal, or vaginal penetration), attempted, and completed rape (Koss et al., 1987). The original SES did not ask subjects to identify if they had ever been the victim of rape and/or sexual assault as a result of intoxication or alcohol/drug incapacitation where they were unable to consent (Koss & Oros, 1982). Research on the prevalence of alcohol-related sexual violence prompted researchers to include items that measure the frequency of alcohol-related sexually coercive situations as experienced by female victims (Koss et al., 1987). As a result, through the use of a well validated and reliable survey instrument (Koss & Gidycz, 1985), the current analysis captures the prevalence of verbal and physical sexual coercion, including alcohol-related coercion and threats of force. Responses to questions about sexual victimization experiences were measured on an ordinal scale from 0 to 2 where "no" was coded 0, "yes" was coded 1, and "yes, more than once" was coded 2.

Multiple measures were created from the responses provided by the SES to capture victimization among the female survey sample. Consistent with prior literature, victims often experience multiple forms of sexual coercion. To alleviate problems associated with inflating the

total number of victims, an ordinal-level variable termed *victimization experience* was created and included victimization responses that were limited so that only the most serious experience was included in the dependent variable. For the purpose of providing more detail, the survey questions were categorized into ordered groups and included: “no victimization” coded 0 (52.7%), “verbal coercion” coded 1 (14.8%), “force resulting in sexual contact” coded 2 (4%), “threats or physical force resulting in attempted rape” coded 3 (2.9%), alcohol-initiated completed rape” coded 4 (17%), and “threats or physical force resulting in completed rape” coded 5 (8.7%). Respondents that did not indicate any victimization experience were grouped into the “no victimization” category. Victimization experiences that were the result of verbal coercion include instances where the subject engaged in sexual intercourse as a result of “menacing verbal pressure” (Koss et al., 1987, p. 166). These particular situations include intercourse that is the result of 1) threats to end a relationship, 2) pressure or continual arguments, and 3) because a male partner said things he did not mean to obtain sex. These situations are unfortunate and are certainly not ideal sexual interactions, but are not behaviors that are categorized as illegal according to jurisdictional statutes (see Belknap, Fisher, & Cullen, 1999 for a related discussion). The group labeled “force resulting in sexual contact” included incidents where force was used to obtain some degree of unwanted sexual contact including kissing or petting. “Threats or physical force resulting in attempted rape” included individuals who had experienced attempted rape (where intercourse did not occur) as a result of threats to use physical force like twisting an arm or being held down or when perpetrators actually used physical force to obtain sex but intercourse did not occur. “Alcohol-initiated completed rape” included those instances where a woman was given alcohol or drugs with the intent purpose of engaging in sexual intercourse. Individuals who had been sexually victimized as a result of

alcohol-induced incapacitation were included in this category. The final category, “threats or physical force resulting in completed rape,” included individuals who were verbally threatened with the use of physical force or who experienced any form of physical force that resulted in completed non-consensual sexual intercourse.

Additionally, dummy variables were created to capture the experience of different forms of victimization (coded 0 for no, 1 for yes) including *verbal coercion*, *physical force sexual contact*, *threats/physical force attempted rape*, *alcohol/drug-initiated intercourse*, *threats/physical force completed rape*, and *illegal victimization*. Thirty-four percent of the sample had experienced verbal coercion that resulted in sex—including threats to end a relationship, continuous pressure for sex, or because a partner said things he did not really mean in order to obtain sex. Approximately 17 percent of the sample had experienced physical force that resulted in unwanted sexual contact such as kissing or petting. Additionally, 8.2 percent reported experiencing threats of force or physical force resulting in attempted rape, 20 percent of the women reported experiencing alcohol/drug-related sexual victimization, and 8.5 percent reported completed rape as a result of threats of force or physical force that resulted in completed rape. The first four dichotomous variables captured all responses, including those that may have overlapped because these variables are operationalized separately from one another and therefore, the risk of victimization inflation was not a concern. The fifth dummy variable, *illegal victimization*, captures responses to all of the questions on the SES instrument that are legally defined as crimes (attempted rape, completed rape, threats/force that resulted in sexual contact, alcohol-induced rape). Indeed, 31.9 percent of the sample reported experiencing illegal victimization based on the descriptions provided in the survey instrument (see Appendix A for a complete list of items included in the SES). Table 4.3 summarizes the measurement of the

dependent variable along with the independent variables and all control variables included in the present analysis and discussed below. Additionally, descriptive statistics for the dependent variables in the analysis are displayed in Table 4.4.

Table 4.3. Measurement of Variables in the Analysis (N = 282).

Dependent Variable	
<i>Victimization Experience</i>	0 = No victimization; 1 = Verbal Coercion, 2 = Verbal Threats (Attempted), 3 = Physical Force (Attempted), 4 = Alcohol (Completed), 5 = Verbal Threats (Completed), 6 = Physical Force (Completed)
<i>Verbal Coercion</i>	Dichotomous: 1 = Yes; 0 = No
<i>Physical Force/Threats Attempted/Completed</i>	Dichotomous: 1 = Yes; 0 = No
<i>Rape</i>	
<i>Illegal Victimization</i>	Dichotomous: 1 = Yes; 0 = No
Independent Variables	
<i>Greek Affiliation</i>	Dichotomous: 1 = Yes; 0 = No
<i>Attitude Measures</i>	
Traditional Gender Roles	Continuous: ranging from 10 to 50
Rape Myth Acceptance	Continuous: ranging from 18 to 90
<i>Behavioral Measures</i>	
Risk-taking Behavior	
Risky Sex Practices	Continuous: ranging from 7 to 42
Sex while Intoxicated	Continuous: ranging from 1 to 7
Alcohol consumption	Continuous: ranging from 3 to 21
Drug Use	Ordinal: ranging from 0 to 6
Danger Cue Recognition	
Threat Appraisal	Continuous variable: ranging from 1 to 26
Risk Response	Continuous variable: ranging from 1 to 26
Proximity to Fraternity Men	Interval variable: ranging from 0 to 5
Control Variables	
Race	1 = Non-White; 0 = White
Year in College	1 = Freshman, 2 = Sophomore, 3 = Junior, 4 = Senior,
Exclusive Dating Relationship	Dichotomous: 1 = Yes; 0 = No
Low Self-Control	Interval: ranging from 9 to 45

Demographic information related specifically to the subject's sexuality was obtained from the survey respondents. While the current research draws from a large body of literature on the gendered nature of heterosexual interpersonal interactions and relationships, the initial inclination may be to exclude cases where respondents reported homosexual dating and sexuality preferences. The dependent variable in this research, however, focuses on forced sex perpetrated by men who have targeted women as victims of violence. As a result, survey items questioning respondent's experiences of sexual coercion and violation were phrased in such a way as to specifically capture the experience of male-perpetrated victimization. The dependent variable is unaffected by the sexuality of the survey respondent and so victims identifying themselves as homosexual were included in the current analysis.

Table 4.4. Descriptive Statistics—Dependent Variables.

Dependent Variables (N = 282)	Mean	Standard Deviation
<i>Victimization Experience</i>	1.43	1.851
No victimization (0)	52.7%	
Verbal coercion (1)	14.8%	
Force resulting in sexual contact (2)	4.0%	
Threats/Force resulting in attempted rape (3)	2.9%	
Alcohol-initiated completed rape (4)	17.0%	
Threats/Force resulting in completed rape (5)	8.7%	
<i>Verbal Coercion</i>		
No (0)	86.9%	
Yes (1)	13.1%	
<i>Threats/Force Attempted/Completed Rape</i>		
No (0)	82.6%	
Yes (1)	17.4%	
<i>Illegal Victimization</i>		
No (0)	68.1%	
Yes (1)	31.9%	

Independent Variables

Sorority Affiliation. Two questions assessing official Greek membership were used in this study: current sorority membership and whether or not the student had ever “rushed a sorority.” *Greek affiliation* was captured through the use of a dichotomous variable indicating current sorority membership where non-Greek affiliation is coded 0, and Greek affiliation is coded 1 (29.8%). Descriptive statistics for the independent variables included in the current analysis are displayed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Descriptive Statistics—Independent Variables.

Independent Variables (N = 282)	Mean	Standard Deviation
<i>Sorority Affiliation</i>		
No (0)	70.2%	
Yes (1)	29.8%	
<i>Attitude Measures</i>		
Traditional Gender Roles	35.18	8.095
Rape Myth Acceptance	33.03	9.318
<i>Behavioral Measures</i>		
Risk-Taking Behaviors	11.10	5.541
Sex while Intoxicated	2.60	1.812
Alcohol Consumption	5.56	3.174
Drug Use	.61	1.224
Threat Appraisal	11.12	5.422
Risk Response	14.78	5.154
Proximity to Fraternity Men	.65	1.082

Attitudinal Measures. Traditional gender role acceptance was captured with the Traditional Egalitarian Sex Role scale (TESR) (Larsen & Long, 1988)—a psychometrically developed and validated index used to measure traditional and egalitarian sex roles. The TESR is composed of 20 items that address particular traditional gender ideologies portraying women as

weak, passive, and incapable of protecting themselves, and portraying men as strong, aggressive, and inherently capable of providing for, protecting, and having authority over women.

Responses to each question were captured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” Results from an exploratory factor analysis indicate that 10 of the 20 items load on one factor with the remaining items loading on separate factors. As a result, only 10 items were included to represent the theoretically coherent underlying factor structure. The 10 item loadings ranged from .591 to .741. Scale reliability analysis indicated acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach’s Alpha = .863). As such, the 10 traditional gender role items were summed to create a scale representing traditional gender role acceptance. The scale ranged from 10 to 50 ($M = 16.73$, $SD = 5.133$), with higher numeric values representing increased acceptance of traditional gender roles. Table 4.6 provides the item factor loadings and scale reliability diagnostics for the attitude measures.

The rape myth acceptance construct was derived from Lonsway and Fitzgerald’s (1995) rape myth scale that consists of 19 questions reflecting stereotypical beliefs about rape that deny and justify its occurrence. In particular, each item poses questions about the degree to which respondents believe that victims are masochistic (enjoy rape), are raped because of their inability to communicate, precipitate rape by putting themselves in situations to be raped, or by inviting rape as a result of their dress or demeanor. Questions also capture perceptual stereotypes about how subjects may define rape. Responses to each question were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” Results from an exploratory factor analysis indicate that 18 of the 19 items load on one factor. When a one-factor structure is used, item factor loadings range from .475 to .739, and a test of scale reliability indicates acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach’s Alpha = .898). The 18 items were summed to create a scale

Table 4.6. Attitude Measures—Item Factor Loadings and Scale Reliability Diagnostics.

Scale	Factor loading	Reliability
<i>Traditional Gender Roles</i>		.863
The man should be more responsible for the economic support of the family than the woman.	.604	
Ultimately, a woman should submit to her husband's decision.	.702	
Having a job is just as important for a woman as it is for her husband.	.591	
Some equality in marriage is good, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters.	.696	
In groups that have both male and female members, it is more appropriate that leadership positions be held by males.	.697	
Men make better leaders.	.662	
Almost any woman is better off in her home than in a job or profession.	.695	
A woman's place is in the home.	.741	
The role of teaching in elementary schools belongs to women.	.649	
As head of the household, the father should have the final authority over the children.	.737	
<i>Rape Myth Acceptance</i>		.898
Even though a woman may call it rape, she probably enjoyed it.	.632	
If a woman is raped, often it's because she didn't say "no" clearly enough.	.657	
When men rape, it is because of their strong desire for sex.	.509	
When a woman is raped, she usually did something careless to put herself in that situation.	.603	
When women talk and act sexy, they are inviting rape.	.739	
Any woman who teases a man sexually and doesn't finish what she started realistically deserves anything she gets.	.672	
Men don't usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get to sexually excited.	.475	
In some rape cases, the woman actually wanted it to happen.	.647	
If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was a rape.	.702	
A rape probably didn't happen if the women has no bruises or marks.	.691	
When a woman allows petting to get to a certain point, she is implicitly agreeing to have sex.	.685	
Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them.	.655	
It is just part of human nature for men to take sex from women who let their guard down.	.688	
In any rape case, one would have to question whether the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.	.624	
Rape mainly occurs on the "bad" side of town.	.477	
Many so-called rape victims are actually women who had sex and "changed their minds."	.667	
If a husband pays the bills, he has the right to sex with his wife whenever he wants.	.456	

ranging from 18 to 90 representing respondent rape myth acceptance. ($M = 31$, $SD = 9.03$). Items were reverse coded so that when the 18 items were summed, higher numeric values represented increased rape myth acceptance (see Table 4.6).

Behavioral Measures. Respondent risk-taking behavior was captured through the use of a 6-item Risky Sex Practices measure derived from Fromme et al.'s (1999) research on behavioral expectations and involvement in risky activities, and an observed measure taken from Fromme et al.'s (1999) scale that captures subject engagement in sexual intercourse while under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. The risk-taking behavior scale originally consisted of seven questions regarding the likelihood of the respondent's engagement in particular reckless and/or hasty behaviors such as having sex with multiple partners, leaving a social event with a stranger, and staying at a party after friends have left. Responses to each question were measured on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from "not at all likely" to "extremely likely." Results from an exploratory factor analysis indicated that six items load heavily on one factor, while the remaining seventh item loads on a separate, second factor. As a result, the first six items were included in the risk-taking behavior scale used in the current research. Factor loadings ranged from .691 to .843 and a test of scale reliability indicated acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha = .81). The final risk-taking behavior scale was created by summing the responses to those previously mentioned six questions ranging from 7 to 42 where higher numbers indicated increased engagement in risk-taking behavior ($M = 11.10$, $SD = 5.541$). Table 4.7 provides the item factor loadings and scale reliability diagnostics for the behavioral measures.

The seventh measure that was excluded from the risk-taking behavior scale poses the question, "In the next six months, how likely would you be to have sex after drinking alcohol or

Table 4.7. Behavioral Measures—Item Factor Loadings and Scale Reliability Diagnostics.

Scale	Factor Loading	Reliability
<i>Risky Sex Practices</i>		.814
Going on dates with lots of different guys	.691	
Accepting a ride from someone I don't know well	.727	
Leaving a social event with someone I have just met	.843	
Staying at a party of social event after my friends have left	.717	
Having sex with multiple partners	.748	
Having sex with someone I have just met or don't know well	.739	
<i>Alcohol Consumption</i>		.911
During the past six months, how often did you drink alcoholic beverages including beer, light beer, wine, wine coolers, or liquor?	.910	
During the past six months, how often did you drink five or more alcoholic beverages in one day or evening?	.933	
During the past six months, how often did you drink to the point of intoxication or drunkenness (i.e., feeling dizzy, feeling ill, passing out, or feeling out of control)?	.924	

using drugs?” While results of the factor analysis indicate that this particular item did not function similarly in terms of the other items included in Fromme et al.’s (1999) original risky sex practices scale, the current research uses this question as a separate item to measure the observed variable that captures a respondent’s likelihood to engage in sexual intercourse while under the influence of drugs or alcohol. This single item is included as a separate measure primarily because of its theoretical relevance to the subject matter at hand. In particular, respondents in the current research consistently answered affirmatively to their individual engagement likelihood (58.8 percent expressed at least some likelihood of having sex while intoxicated or under the influence of drugs). This is likely a function of the broad socialization messages regarding the acceptable and appropriate linkage between alcohol and sex (e.g., Ryan, 1988). In other words, subjects may not have identified this particular behavior as similarly risky because of both the social acceptability and the expectation to combine drinking with seduction

and sex despite the vast research that has established alcohol as a significant victimization risk factor.

The alcohol consumption measure was created by summing the responses to three questions that captured the frequency, quantity, and variability of alcohol consumption as identified in prior literature (Cahalan, Cisin, & Crossley, 1969; Felson & Burchfield, 2004; Leigh, 1990; Ullman et al., 1999). Specifically, respondents were asked: 1) “During the past six months, how often did you drink any alcoholic beverages, including beer, light beer, wine, wine coolers, or liquor?” 2) “During the past six months, how often did you drink five or more alcoholic beverages in one day or evening?” 3) “During the past six months, how often did you drink to the point of intoxication or drunkenness (i.e., feeling dizzy, passing out, or feeling out of control)?” An exploratory factor analysis revealed that all three items load on a single factor. Factor loadings ranged from .910 to .933 and reliability tests indicated acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach’s Alpha = .91). For each item, responses were captured on a 7-point ordinal scale where 0 indicates “never” and 6 indicates “every day.” Responses to the three items were summed to create a scale ranging from 3 to 21 capturing alcohol consumption ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 3.174$). Individuals scoring higher on the resulting scale demonstrated more frequent and problematic alcohol consumption patterns.

Drug use was captured with one item measuring the frequency at which the respondent uses illegal drugs. Subjects were asked, “During the past six months, how often did you use illegal drugs (e.g., marijuana, cocaine, heroin, mushrooms, etc.)?” Responses were captured using the same 7-point ordinal scale with 0 indicating that the respondent “never” used illegal drugs and 6 indicating that the respondent used illegal drugs “everyday.” Approximately 29.4 percent of subjects reported using drugs socially with some regularity, with 15.2 percent using

once a month or less, 6 percent using two or three days a month, 3.9 percent using once or twice a week, .7 percent using three or four days a week, 2.5 percent using nearly every day, and 1.1 percent using drugs every day.

Existing rape victimization literature generally focuses on the contribution of intoxication as a result of alcohol consumption. Most of this literature also includes drug use as an additional factor that affects incapacitation thus influencing a woman's inability to consent (e.g., Abbey et al., 1998; Abbey et al., 2003; Koss et al., 1987; Koss & Oros, 1982). In light of the above mentioned information, it may be especially instructive to include drug use as a predictor of vulnerability-enhancing behaviors that may put women in this sample at increased risk for victimization.

Respondent consensual sexual contact was included in the current analysis. *Number of Consensual Sex Partners* was captured through the use of one item that asked the subject to report the number of consensual sex partners that they have had in their lifetime. Responses were measured on a continuous scale and ranged from 0 to 27 ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 4.27$). Current research illustrates empirical connections between dating behavior and sexual assault in terms of the frequency and number of dates a woman has and the regularity at which she engages in consensual sexual intercourse as predicting an increased risk of interacting with sexually aggressive men (Koss & Dinero, 1989; Wyatt, Newcomb, & Riederle, 1993). In other words, victimization likelihood may increase when a woman has more sexual contacts, if for no other reason than sheer exposure.

Danger cue recognition was measured using two separate items as distinguished in existing literature (Messman-Moore & Brown, 2006). In particular, research on female rape-risk recognition draws from prior research on the situational factors that are empirically correlated

with sexual assault (e.g., Breitenbechner, 1999; Muehlenhard et al., 1985; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1985). Danger cue recognition research highlights the importance of behavioral and attitudinal cues that elicit a risk response in female respondents. Through the use of factor analysis, empirical research has distinguished situational factors that present *clear risk* and factors that present *ambiguous risk* (Norris et al., 1999). In empirical tests of danger cue recognition, risk is not conceived as “all or nothing” so responses are often scaled according to “what point on the continuum [respondents] would feel *on guard*, *really uncomfortable*, and *seriously at risk*” (Norris et al., 1999, p. 235). Clear risk factors include particular sexual comments or derogatory jokes (e.g., “you’ve got great tits”), forms of verbal persuasion (e.g., “don’t you like me?”), physical pressure that is used while the sexual aggressor is fondling, and a continued sexual persistence after the female tightens up or closes down.

As previously discussed, ambiguous risk factors are those that are associated with normal dating and heterosexual interaction such as alcohol consumption, male physical size, and the degree to which the location where the incident takes place is isolated. These particular incident characteristics may be expected in heterosexual interactions but they have also been identified in prior literature as predicting rape victimization (Abbey et al., 1996a, 1996b; Amick & Calhoun, 1987; Felson & Burchfield, 2004; Kanin, 1984; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Morr & Mongeau, 2004; Muehlenhard et al., 1985; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Rada, 1975; Scully, 1994; Ullman et al., 1999; Weis & Borges, 1973).

The current study uses two items derived from Messman-Moore and Brown’s (2006) analysis of prior victimization and risk perception.⁷ Respondents were presented with a scenario

⁷ The scenario was slightly altered to accommodate the particulars of the current research. More specifically, Messman-Moore and Brown (2006) presented subjects with two separate vignettes—one representing a stranger rape scenario and one representing an acquaintance rape scenario. The current research used a slightly modified version of the acquaintance rape scenario where the vignette describes a social event that takes place at a fraternity.

that contained both clear and ambiguous risk factors and were asked to pretend as if they were participating in each activity as it was described. The vignette was broken down into 25 statements that were numbered according to the chronological progression of the event so that as the activities/situation becomes more risky, the numbers increase (see Appendix B). Respondents were asked to circle the number corresponding with the particular event in the situation where they would first feel uncomfortable. This response captures a “discomfort score” that ranges from 1 to 25 and indicates the subject’s ability to recognize and appraise threat among both ambiguous and clear risk factors ($M = 11.12$, $SD = 5.422$). Again, this item represents the point at which the subject identifies a particular *feeling* of discomfort. Respondents were also asked to place an X over the number corresponding with the particular event in the situation where they would leave. This response captures a “leave score” that ranges from 1 to 25 and indicates the subject’s *response* to risk ($M = 14.78$, $SD = 5.154$). The leave score differs from the discomfort score both conceptually and empirically where respondents are signifying the point at which they would physically *act* in response to the threat by exiting the situation. Higher numbers corresponded with increasingly risky events and as a result, the selection of higher numbers by subjects captured their decreased ability to recognize and effectively respond to danger cues.

Proximity to fraternity men was captured through the use of an item that assessed the respondent’s average weekly involvement in fraternity-sponsored, co-ed Greek activities. Existing research has consistently demonstrated the connection between fraternity membership and university sexual assault perpetration where male fraternity members are more likely than their non-affiliated counterparts to engage in verbal and physical forms of coercion and force in order to obtain sex from college women (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz et

The acquaintance/would-be perpetrator is a “known fraternity member” indicating both that the subject knew the individual and that the individual was a fraternity member. Appendix B provides a copy of the vignette used in the current analysis.

al., 2001; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). In addition, prior literature on female dating and sex behavior has isolated the sexual assault risks associated with quantity and frequency of contact with men who belong to male-only peer groups (e.g., fraternities and athletic teams) (e.g., Norris et al., 1996). The current research measures the subject's proximity to fraternity men by asking respondents to indicate, "On average, how many co-ed Greek sponsored activities (e.g., social events, parties, fund raisers, community service events) do you participate in each week?" Responses were captured on an ordinal scale ranging from "zero" to "five or more" ($M = .65$, $SD = 1.082$). There was limited variability in terms of the response categories for those that did participate in fraternity co-ed events and as a result, a dichotomized measure (*Greek co-ed participation*) was also created to capture participation in fraternity sponsored co-ed events so that if a subject responded that they participated at all, responses were coded 1 (33.1%), and if they reported no participation, they were coded 0 (66.9%).

Control Variables. To isolate the degree to which the independent variables affect rape victimization for sorority affiliated and non-sorority affiliated college women, several individual variables are included as controls in the current research: race, year in college, dating status, and self-control. *Age* is a continuous measure in years. *Race* is measured on the survey instrument as a categorical variable where subjects self select between five race categories ("white/Caucasian," "African American," "Asian," "American Indian," "Hispanic") and "other," but because there was little variation between the categories and the majority of respondents identified themselves as white/Caucasian, the race variable included in the analysis is a dichotomous measure of white, coded 0 and non-white, coded 1. *Year in College* is a continuous measure ranging from 1 to 5, capturing the subject's current class standing. Freshman were coded 1, sophomores, coded 2, juniors were coded 3, and seniors were coded 4. The *Exclusive Dating Relationship* variable is a

dichotomous measure captured by one question asking if the unmarried student is currently in an exclusive dating relationship. Respondents who answered “no” were coded 0 (47.8%) and “yes” were coded 1 (52.2%).

The current research also controls for respondent self-control as recently published prior literature has highlighted the importance and contribution of accounting for victim levels of self-control to predict and/or explain vulnerability and victimization (Baron et al., 2007; Piquero et al., 2005; Schreck, 1999; Schreck et al., 2006; Schreck et al., 2002; Stewart et al., 2004). In addition, the inclusion of low self-control in the statistical models will inform the problem of sorority self-selection and aid in disentangling the effects of sorority affiliation on victimization.

Low self-control is captured through the use of Grasmick et al.’s (1993) 24-item self-control measure that has been widely used in existing research on criminal offending and victimization (e.g., Pratt & Cullen, 2000). Responses to each question were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” Constraining the data to fit a one-factor model in a confirmatory factor analysis produced factor loadings that range from .212 to .681. As a result, items loading less than .4 were eliminated from the scale, leaving nine items with factor loadings that range from .442 to .736. Additionally, a test of scale reliability indicates acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach’s Alpha = .705). The nine items were summed to create a scale ranging from 9 to 45 with lower values representing lower levels of self-control ($M = 30.27$, $SD = 4.58$). Table 4.9 provides the item factor loadings and scale reliability diagnostics for the self-control measure.

In addition to controlling for race, year in college, exclusive dating relationship, and low self-control by including path coefficients from the control variables to the dependent variable, race and low self-control are included as predictors of Greek affiliation. Much research on the

existence and attributes of black sororities has differentiated institutional foci and individual member characteristics from white sororities. In particular, black sororities do not suffer from many of the same institutional problems related to gender role traditionality and an overemphasis

Table 4.8. Low Self-Control—Item Factor Loadings and Scale Reliability Diagnostics.

Scale	Factor Loading	Reliability
<i>Low Self-Control</i>		.705
I often act on the spur of the moment.	.520	
The things in life that are the easiest to do bring me the most Pleasure.	.477	
I frequently try to avoid things that I know will be difficult.	.442	
I often do whatever brings me pleasure here and now, even at the cost of some distant goal.	.736	
Sometimes, I will take a risk just for the fun of it.	.498	
I will try to get the things I want even when I know it's causing problems for other people.	.570	
I'm more concerned with what happens to me in the short run than in the long run.	.635	
I sometimes find it exciting to do things for which I might get into trouble.	.565	
I try to look out for myself first, even if it means making things difficult for other people.	.458	

on social group and heterosexual relationship success. Instead, black sororities typically focus their efforts on maintaining and establishing educational and career networking opportunities, community service endeavors, and productive and positive contributions for the black community (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999).

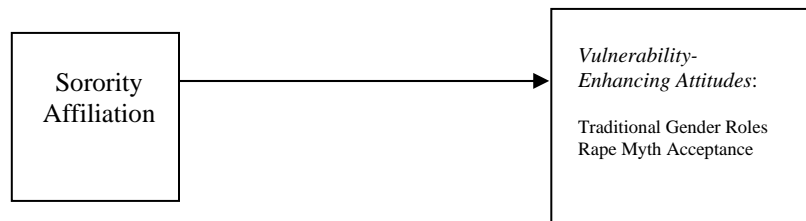
Low self-control is hypothesized to predict sorority affiliation to the degree that individuals with low self-control would select the opportunity to be a part of an organization in order to behave in ways that would be characterized as gratifying and potentially deviant (e.g., abusive patterns of alcohol consumption, multiple sex partners). Additionally, path coefficients are predicted from low self-control to each of the vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors. These relationships are predicted in order to control for the unique effect of sorority affiliation.

RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

Do sorority women hold attitudes that are conducive to rape victimization?

Figure 1 displays the predicted conceptual model according to the theoretical and empirical literature reviewed in chapters two and three. The adequacy of the first model will be evaluated using path analysis in light of the theoretical relationships as outlined in the above research.

Figure 4.1. Model 1—Vulnerability-Enhancing Attitudes Predicted by Sorority Affiliation.



As can be seen by the conceptual model in Figure 4.1, sorority affiliation is hypothesized to predict attitudes that may increase or enhance a woman's vulnerability to sexual aggression, net of control variables. These attitudes are represented by two latent constructs: *Traditional Gender Roles* (Larsen & Long, 1988) and *Rape Myth Acceptance* (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). This hypothesis is consistent with the dearth of existing research on female Greek affiliation in terms of the traditional attitudes and sex-related roles that exist as part of the residue left over from ideologies and principles that sororities were founded on (Berkowitz & Padavic, 1999; Handler, 1995; Scott, 1965). Additionally, this predicted relationship is consistent with limited existing empirical research on the increased proportion of Greek-affiliated women who hold more traditional social and gender ideologies than their independent or non-affiliated counterparts (Arthur, 1999; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Gross, 1991; Risman, 1982). In light of the previously displayed model, the current research tests the following hypothesis:

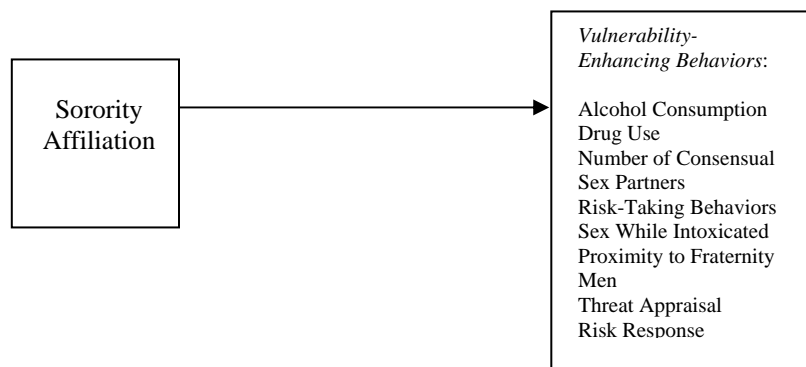
Hypothesis 1: There will be a positive direct relationship between sorority affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing attitudes as measured by traditional gender role acceptance and rape myth acceptance.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2:

Do sorority women engage in behaviors that increase their risk of rape victimization?

Figure 4.2 displays the conceptual model used to test the second research question. In particular, Model 2 is both structurally and conceptually similar to Model 1 where sorority affiliation is hypothesized to predict a host of behaviors that may contribute to sexual victimization. To be sure, this model proposes that sorority affiliation will increase the degree to which a woman engages in particular behaviors that increase victimization risk as measured by alcohol consumption, drug use, number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, having sex while intoxicated, proximity to fraternity men, threat appraisal, and risk-response.

Figure 4.2. Model 2—Vulnerability-Enhancing Behaviors Predicted by Sorority Affiliation.



As can be seen from Model 2 displayed above in Figure 4.2, a direct positive relationship is predicted from *sorority affiliation* to *vulnerability-enhancing behaviors* where women who belong to the sororal organization are hypothesized to engage in behaviors that increase their risk of victimization more so than their independent or non-affiliated counterparts. This hypothesis is

consistent with prior literature on the relationship between Greek affiliation and various behavioral outcomes (Dunn, 1999; Eberhardt et al., 2003; Fromme & Wendel; 1995; Norris et al., 1996; Nurius et al., 1996).

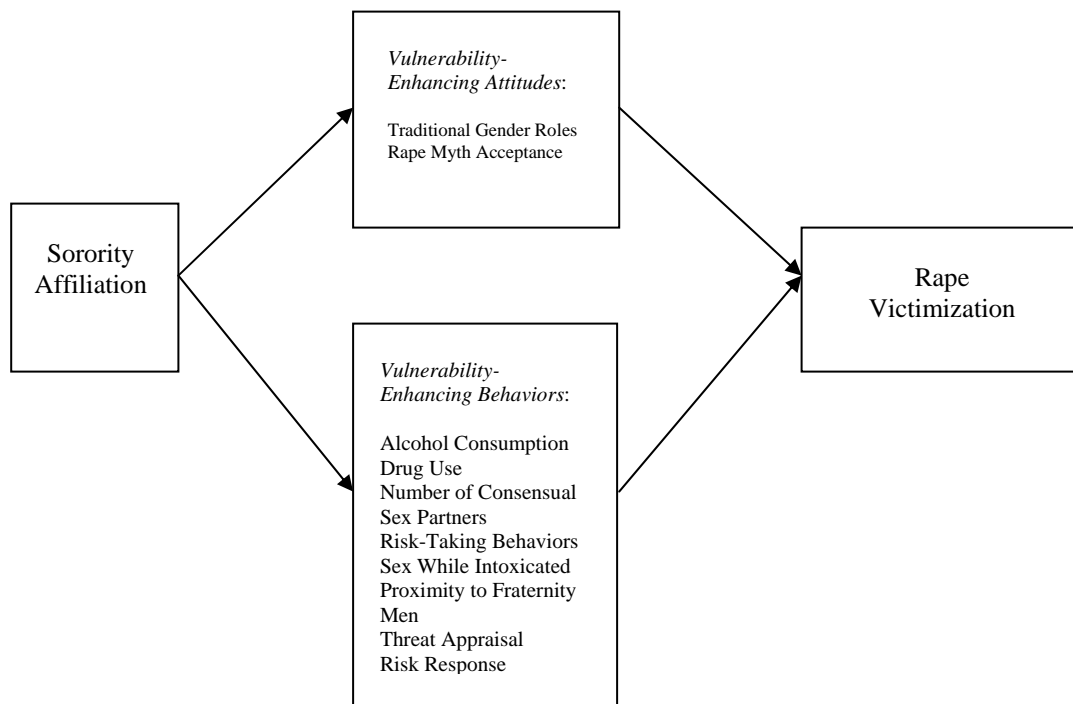
Hypothesis 2: There will be a positive direct relationship between sorority affiliation and the latent construct *vulnerability-enhancing behaviors* as measured by alcohol consumption, drug use, number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, having sex while intoxicated, proximity to fraternity men, threat appraisal and risk-response.

RESEARCH QUESTION 3:

Do behaviors and attitudes predict victimization?

Prior empirical literature indicates the extent to which routine activities put individuals in vulnerable situations which increase their likelihood of victimization (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The current research borrows from the main theoretical tenets of feminist routine activity theory (Schwartz & Pitts, 1995; Schwartz et al., 2001), components derived from peer support models that expect socialization messages to effectively influence the behavior and attitudes of group members (e.g., Godenzi et al., 2001; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997), and extant victimization theory that proposes a relationship between particular vulnerability-enhancing social and psychological contributions (such as attitudes and ideology) to hypothesize that sorority-affiliated members will hold particular attitudes and engage in select behaviors that will thus predict rape victimization. This relationship is tested according to the conceptual model displayed in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3. Model 3—The Effects of Attitudes and Behaviors on Rape Victimization.



As displayed in Figure 4.3, Model 3, sorority affiliation is hypothesized to predict the attitudes and behaviors that increase a woman’s risk of sexual victimization, net of controls. The attitude and behavior constructs are empirically observed as a result of a range of variables identified in existing research. The predictive relationships between attitudes/behaviors and rape victimization are also examined. These attitudes and behaviors, in turn, may predict rape victimization so that ultimately there is no direct effect of sorority affiliation on victimization. In light of the third research question, the following hypotheses are tested:

Hypothesis 3a: An increase in vulnerability-enhancing attitudes, as measured by the latent constructs traditional gender role acceptance and rape myth acceptance, will result in increased rape victimization.

Hypothesis 3b: An increase in vulnerability-enhancing behaviors, as measured by alcohol consumption, drug use, number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, having

sex while intoxicated, proximity to fraternity men, threat appraisal, and risk response, will result in increased rape victimization

Hypothesis 4: There will be no direct effect of sorority affiliation on rape victimization.

SUMMARY

Using data from a sample of undergraduate survey responses collected at a large Northwestern public university during the spring semester of 2007, this research uses path analysis to test three models positing relationships between sorority affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors, and the impact of these attitudes and behaviors on the experience of illegal sexual assault victimization.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

The current chapter presents the results of several statistical analyses that have been conducted in order to examine the relationships between sorority affiliation, vulnerability-enhancing attitudes, vulnerability-enhancing behaviors, and sexual assault victimization. This has been accomplished through the use of bivariate statistical models (independent samples *t*-tests and chi-squares) and path analysis. In particular, the following three research questions were tested: 1) do sorority women hold attitudes that are conducive to rape victimization, net of control variables? 2) do sorority women engage in behaviors that increase their risk of rape victimization, net of control variables? and 3) do these attitudes and behaviors predict illegal sexual assault victimization, net of control variables?

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

In order to assess the relationships between sorority affiliation, vulnerability-enhancing attitudinal/behavioral outcomes, and rape victimization, path analytic techniques using EQS were conducted (Bentler, 2004; Byrne, 2006). The explanatory power of the models was evaluated through the use of multiple fit statistics, including the comparative fit index (CFI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and the standardized root mean-square residual (SRMR). A good fitting model will typically yield a CFI of .95 or higher, an RMSEA of .06 or less, and an SRMR of .08 or less (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

The use of causal modeling or path analysis is appropriate for the current study as this research posits three conceptually similar correlational models to predict illegal sexual victimization. Path analysis differs from simple regression techniques in that it allows the researcher to test theoretical predictions based on multiple independent variables in a causal or path model (Duncan, 1966; Land, 1969). In other words, the researcher can “measure the direct influence along each separate path in such a system and thus... find the degree to which variation of a given effect is determined by each particular cause” (Wright, 1921, p. 557).

The theoretically created path model is tested against the fit of the correlation matrix. The dependent variable is regressed upon each of the independent or exogenous variables and a partial regression coefficient is estimated for each relationship. The partial regression coefficient represents the direct relationship between two variables after controlling for previous paths included in the model. Goodness-of-fit statistics are calculated to determine the overall model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Post-hoc modification indices are calculated that advise the researcher on which particular paths should be added and/or eliminated in order to improve the model fit. Specifically, the Wald Test reports which constraints to release as a way of increasing model fit. The constraints to be released are reported based on their statistical significance in terms of whether or not they will significantly improve the model. The LaGrange Multiplier test reports which paths to include between variables that will significantly increase the model’s fit. The inclusion or elimination of these paths are informed by existing theory. In other words, paths are added and/or eliminated only if it makes theoretical sense to do so. The best fitting model is assessed and adopted for the purpose of furthering knowledge and theory on a given topic. Thus, the path model serves as the basis for additional scientific experimentation (see Petraitis,

Dunham, & Niewiarowski, 1996 for a discussion of *a priori* hypothesis testing versus *a posteriori* exploratory analyses).

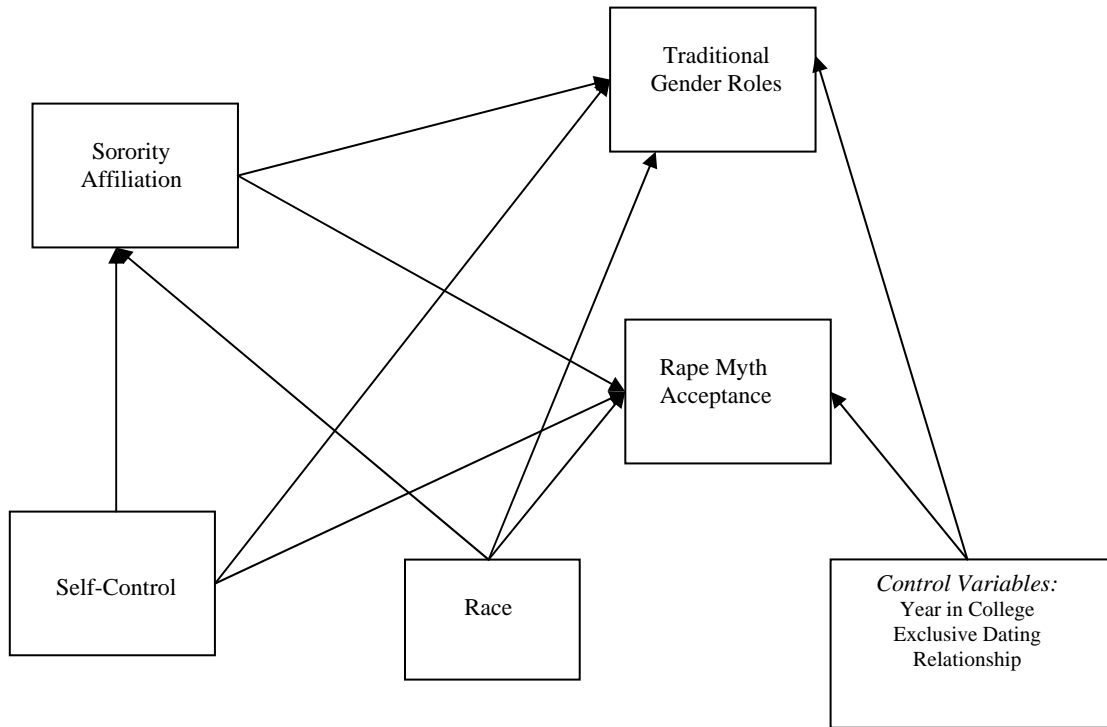
The current research estimates bivariate models, in the form of chi-square and independent samples *t*-tests, in order to determine the bivariate relationships between 1) sorority affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors, and 2) vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors and illegal sexual victimization. Next, the three hypothesized path models (representing the relationships between sorority affiliation and attitudes, the relationships between sorority affiliation and behaviors, and the full model) are tested using path analysis and the fit of these models is assessed using multiple goodness-of-fit statistics. Post-hoc modifications to these path models are made based on the results of specific modification indices and informed by theory in order to improve the overall fit of the three models.

RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

Do sorority women hold attitudes that are conducive to rape victimization?

In order to determine the relationship between sorority affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing attitudes, the hypothesized attitudes path model was tested (see Figure 5.1). The hypothesized model posits direct relationships between 1) sorority affiliation and traditional gender role acceptance, and 2) sorority affiliation and rape myth acceptance, while controlling for the effects of race, year in college, exclusive dating relationship, and self-control on each of the attitude measures. Based on previous research discussed in chapters 3 and 4, race is hypothesized to predict sorority affiliation so that white women are more likely than minority women to be affiliated with the university Greek system. Additionally, a path coefficient is

Figure 5.1. Hypothesized Vulnerability-Enhancing Attitudes Path Model.



drawn from self-control to sorority affiliation in order to identify the role of subject self selection and disentangle the unique effects of sorority affiliation on the dependent variables.

First, independent samples *t*-tests were employed in order to assess the difference of means between sorority and non-sorority women for each of the attitude measures. Results from these initial analyses are displayed in Table 5.1. As indicated by the non-significant *t*-ratio, sorority women did not differ from their non-sorority counterparts on either of the vulnerability-enhancing attitude measures. Indeed, there was no difference in responses to the acceptance of traditional gender roles and to the acceptance of rape myths for sorority versus non-sorority affiliated women. Independent samples *t*-tests were also used to determine the difference of means between sorority and non-sorority women on measures of low self-control. Results from

Table 5.1. Independent Samples t-Test for Difference of Means among Sorority and Non-Sorority Affiliated Women.

Variable	Sorority	Non-Sorority	t Ratio
<i>Attitudes</i>			
Traditional Gender Roles	16.583 (4.355)	16.798 (5.439)	.321
Rape Myth Acceptance	31.976 (9.846)	31.092 (8.681)	-.710
<i>Behaviors</i>			
Alcohol Consumption	6.52 (2.618)	5.15 (3.304)	-3.725*
Drug Use	.56 (1.090)	.63 (1.279)	.418
Number of Consensual Sex Partners	4.10 (3.878)	3.77 (4.432)	.583
Risk-Taking Behavior	12.14 (6.224)	10.66 (5.180)	-2.053*
Sex while Intoxicated	2.67 (1.868)	2.57 (1.792)	-.435
Proximity to Fraternity Men	1.99 (1.00)	.08 (.394)	-16.754*
Threat Appraisal	12.32 (5.277)	10.58 (5.413)	-2.423*
Risk Response	15.89 (4.605)	14.29 (5.315)	-2.403*
<i>Low Self-Control</i>	29.214 (3.859)	30.734 (4.803)	2.799*

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

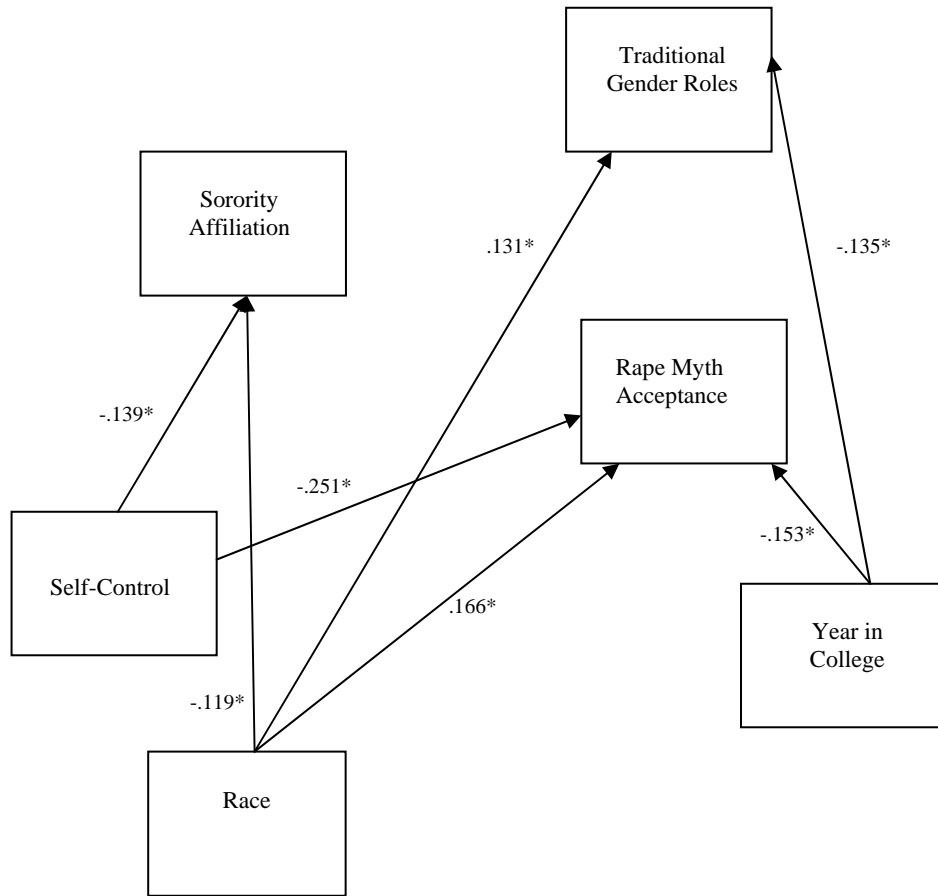
* $p \leq .05$

the bivariate analysis indicated significant differences where sorority women were significantly more likely to exhibit lower levels of self-control ($M = 29.214$, $SD = 3.859$) as compared to independents ($M = 30.734$, $SD = 4.803$; $t = 2.799$).

Next, the proposed attitudes path model was tested using path analysis in EQS. In this first path model, sorority affiliation was hypothesized to predict both traditional gender role acceptance and rape myth acceptance, net of control variables. More specifically, the traditional gender role acceptance and rape myth acceptance measures were regressed on the endogenous variable—sorority affiliation, and on all control variables. Additionally, the exogenous variables race and low self-control were both situated to directly predict sorority affiliation. Due to the conceptual similarity of the attitude measures, the error variances for both traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance were allowed to correlate. The results of the first path analysis are displayed in Figure 5.2. Only significant partial regression coefficients are displayed in Figure 5.2. Consistent with the bivariate analyses, path coefficients from sorority affiliation to the attitude measures were nonsignificant and as a result, were not displayed in the path model.

The path from low self-control to sorority affiliation was significant and in the direction predicted. In particular, women with lower levels of self-control were more likely to be members of the university Greek system ($b = -.139$, $t = -2.165$). Additionally, low self-control significantly predicted rape myth acceptance so that women with lower levels of self-control were also more likely to agree with the range of rape myths contained in the rape myth index ($b = -.251$, $t = -4.423$). Race significantly predicted sorority affiliation and both attitude measures—traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance. The partial regression coefficients estimated for each of these paths indicate that minority students were less likely than white students to belong to a sorority ($b = -.119$, $t = -1.987$) and were more likely than their white counterparts to hold

Figure 5.2. Vulnerability-Enhancing Attitudes Path Model—Final Model.



CFI = 1.00, Standardized RMR = .039, RMSEA = .000, $X^2 = 12.647$

Note: Non-significant paths have been eliminated. Error variances were allowed to correlate for traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance.

* $p \leq .05$

vulnerability-enhancing attitudes in the form of traditional gender roles ($b = .131$, $t = 2.249$) and rape myths ($b = .166$, $t = 2.808$). Year in college was negatively related to both of the attitude measures where younger students were more likely to agree with statements denoting traditional gender roles ($b = -.153$, $t = -2.150$) and accept rape myths ($b = -.135$, $t = -2.707$). Exclusive dating relationship emerged as non-significant and as a result, the path coefficients between exclusive dating relationship and the dependent variables were not included in the Figure 5.2.

Despite the relatively weak relationships between the observed variables contained in the path model, the goodness-of-fit statistics indicate a good model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Steiger, 1998). In particular, the comparative fit index (CFI) was estimated at 1.00, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) was estimated at .000, and the standardized root mean-square residual (SRMR) was estimated at .028. Table 5.2 also displays the partial regression coefficients and standard errors for each of the path coefficients estimated in the first path model.

Table 5.2. Vulnerability-Enhancing Attitudes Path Model—Final Model: Partial Regression Coefficients.

Endogenous Variables	Sorority	Self-Control	Race	Year in College	Exclusive Dating Relationship
Sorority Affiliation		-.130* (.006)	-.119* (.075)		
Traditional Gender Roles	-.001 (.658)	-.062 (.066)	.135* (.818)	-.128* (.596)	-.074 (.297)
Rape Myth Acceptance	.030 (1.155)	-.256* (.116)	.162* (1.436)	-.155* (.521)	.046 (1.046)

Note: CFI = 1.00, Standardized RMR = .039, RMSEA = .000, $X^2 = 12.647$. Standard errors are in parentheses.

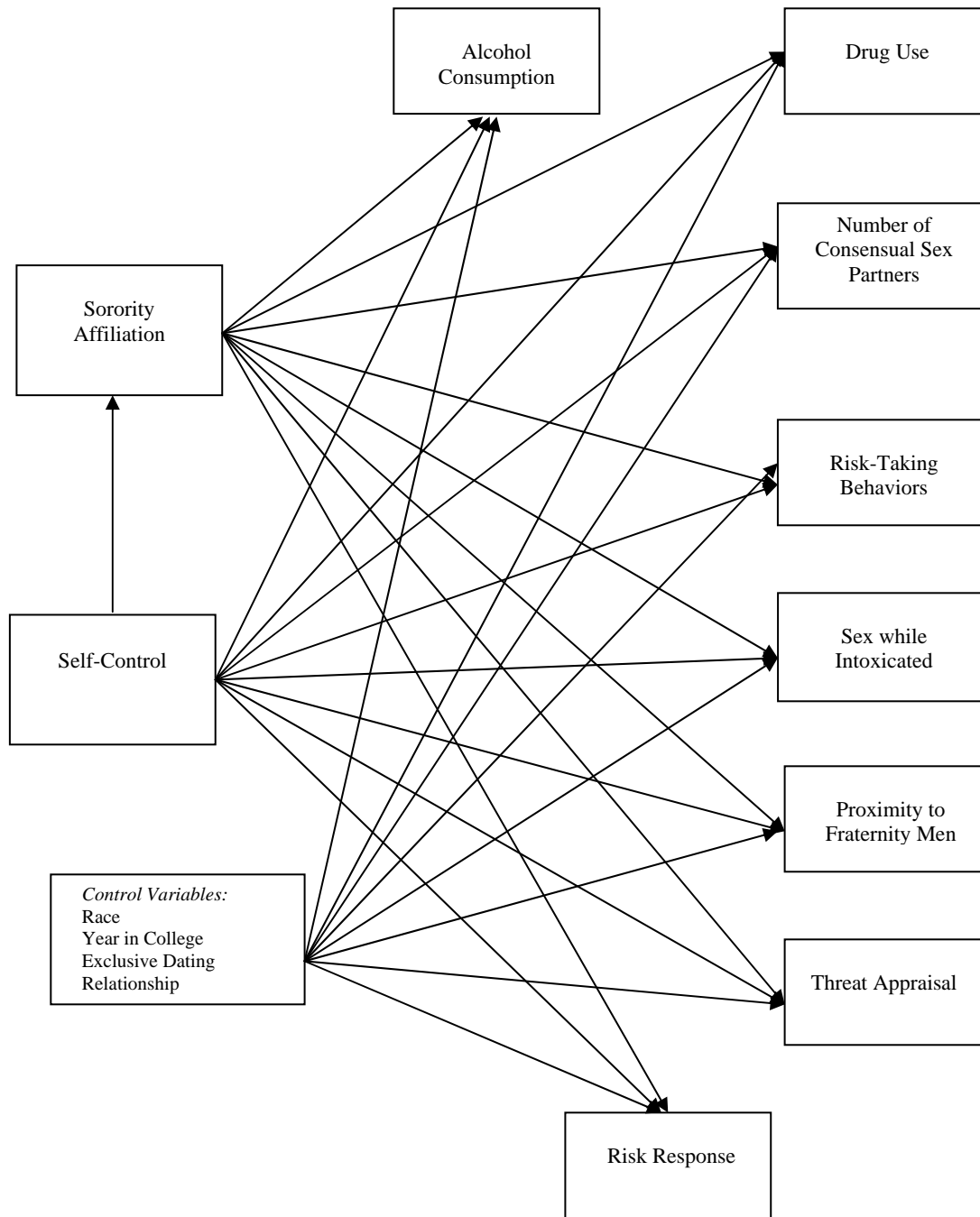
* $p \leq .05$

RESEARCH QUESTION 2:

Do sorority women engage in behaviors that increase their risk of rape victimization?

In order to determine the relationship between sorority affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing behaviors, the hypothesized behaviors path model was tested (see Figure 5.3). The hypothesized model posits direct relationships between sorority affiliation and each of the theoretically relevant behaviors discussed in chapters 3 and 4. Sorority affiliation is predicted to

Figure 5.3. Hypothesized Vulnerability-Enhancing Behaviors Path Model.



affect abusive patterns of alcohol consumption, drug use, number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, having sex while intoxicated, proximity to fraternity men, threat appraisal, and risk response. Path coefficients were also drawn from the four control variables to each of the nine endogenous dependent variables. Additionally, race was predicted to influence sorority

affiliation where white women are more likely than their minority counterparts to belong to the sororal organization. Finally, a path coefficient was drawn from low self-control to sorority affiliation in order to identify the role of subject self selection and disentangle the unique effects of sorority affiliation on the dependent variables.

Independent samples *t*-tests were run in order to assess the difference of means between sorority and non-sorority women for each of the behavior measures. Results from these initial analyses are displayed in Table 5.1. According to the difference of means test, sorority affiliation significantly predicted alcohol consumption, risk-taking behavior, proximity to fraternity men, threat appraisal, and risk response. These relationships were all in the predicted direction. As evidenced by the significant *t*-ratio, sorority women were more likely to engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption ($M = 6.52, SD = 2.618$) as compared to their non-sorority affiliated counterparts ($M = 5.15, SD = 3.304, t = -3.725$). Further, sorority women were significantly more likely to engage in a host of risky behaviors as evidenced by their responses to the risk-taking behaviors scale ($M = 12.14, SD = 6.224$) as compared to independents ($M = 10.66, SD = 5.180, t = -2.053$). Perhaps the most substantively strong bivariate relationship is the difference of means between sorority women and non-sorority women in terms of their self-reported proximity to fraternity men [($M = 1.99, SD = 1.00$) and ($M = .08, SD = .394, t = -16.754$) respectively]. Sorority women also scored significantly different on danger cue perception measures. Indeed, Greek affiliation significantly predicted higher threat tolerances ($M = 12.32, SD = 5.277$), and more delayed risk responses ($M = 15.89, SD = 4.605$) as compared to non-affiliates [($M = 10.58, SD = 5.413, t = -2.423$) and ($M = 14.29, SD = 5.315, t = -2.403$) respectively]).

Additionally, as indicated by the non-significant *t*-ratio, sorority women did not differ from their non-sorority counterparts on drug use, number of consensual sex partners, and having sex while intoxicated. In particular, there was no difference in sorority and non-sorority women's responses to the frequency of drug use, the number of lifetime consensual sex partners, and the likelihood of having sex while under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol.

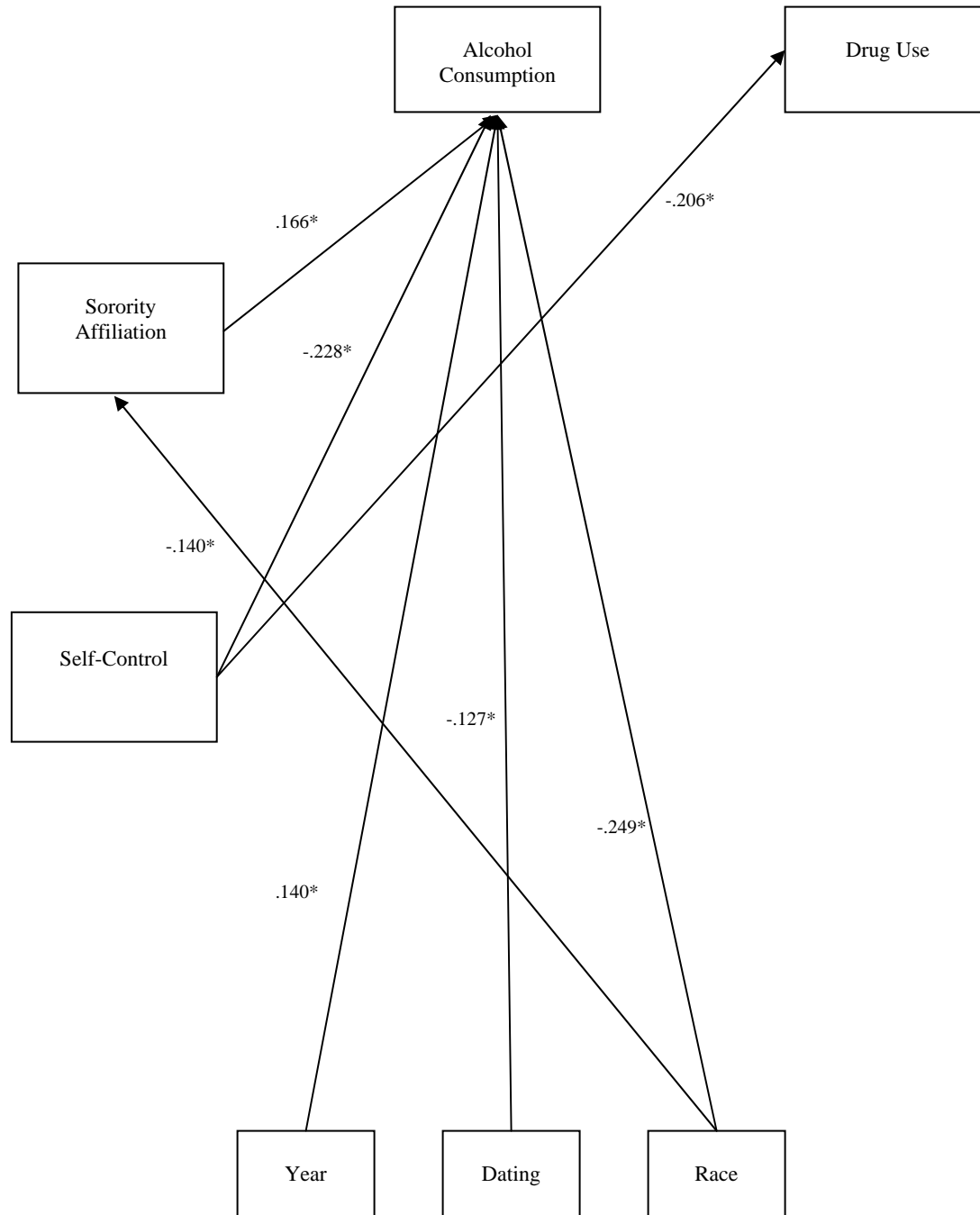
To assess the correlational relationships between sorority affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing behaviors, the second proposed path model was tested using path analysis with EQS. As can be seen in Figure 5.3, abusive patterns of alcohol consumption, drug use, number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, having sex while intoxicated, proximity to fraternity men, threat appraisal, and risk response are all regressed on sorority affiliation. Included in this path model are four control variables, which are regressed on each of the nine vulnerability-enhancing behaviors. As per earlier research, a path coefficient is drawn from race to sorority affiliation where it is hypothesized that minority students are less likely to be members of the university Greek system. Additionally, a path coefficient is specified from low self-control to sorority affiliation in order to control for subject self selection and account for the unique effects of sorority affiliation on the dependent variables in this path model. Many of the vulnerability-enhancing behaviors are conceptually related and as a result, error variances among specified variables were correlated. In particular, error variances for the alcohol-related measures were allowed to correlate (alcohol consumption, drug use, sex while intoxicated); error variances for the sex-related measures were allowed to correlate (number of consensual sex partners, sex while intoxicated, risk-taking behaviors); and error variances for the danger cue recognition measures were allowed to correlate (threat appraisal and risk response).

For ease of presentation, results of the path analysis for the entire proposed behavior model are displayed in Figures 5.4a, 5.4b, and 5.4c, respectively. Each Figure displays only the significant partial regression coefficients. It is important to note that the goodness-of-fit statistics for the proposed behavior model do not fall within the acceptable range, signifying a poor fitting overall model (CFI = .912; SRMR = .064, RMSEA = .097). Table 5.3 also displays the partial regression coefficients for each of the observed variables contained in the second path model.

Figure 5.4a presents the results of the proposed behavior model but displays only alcohol consumption and drug use as the dependent variables regressed on sorority affiliation and on the four control variables. As can be seen by Figure 5.4a, alcohol consumption is significantly predicted by all of the exogenous variables included in the model and by sorority affiliation. Sorority members are more likely than their non-sorority counterparts to engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption ($b = .166$, $t = 2.832$). Further, individuals with lower levels of self-control are more likely than those who scored higher on the self-control index to consume alcohol ($b = -.228$, $t = -3.940$). Year in college, race, and exclusive dating relationship also significantly predicted alcohol consumption. Indeed, students further along in their college careers drink more than those who have just entered the university ($b = .140$, $t = 2.431$). Race is significantly correlated with alcohol consumption where white students more frequently consumed alcohol and consumed more alcohol than their minority counterparts ($b = -.249$, $t = -4.287$). Finally, women who were not involved in an exclusive dating relationship were more likely than their committed counterparts to consume alcohol ($b = -.127$, $t = -2.208$).

Drug use was only significantly predicted by low levels of self-control so that women who scored lower on the self-control index were more likely to use illegal drugs ($b = -.206$, $t = -3.284$). None of the other predictor variables were significantly correlated with drug use. Finally,

Figure 5.4a. Proposed Behaviors Path Model—Substance Consumption Dependent Variables.



CFI = .912, Standardized RMR = .064, RMSEA = .097, $X^2 = 91.622^*$

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were correlated for alcohol consumption, drug use, and sex while intoxicated.

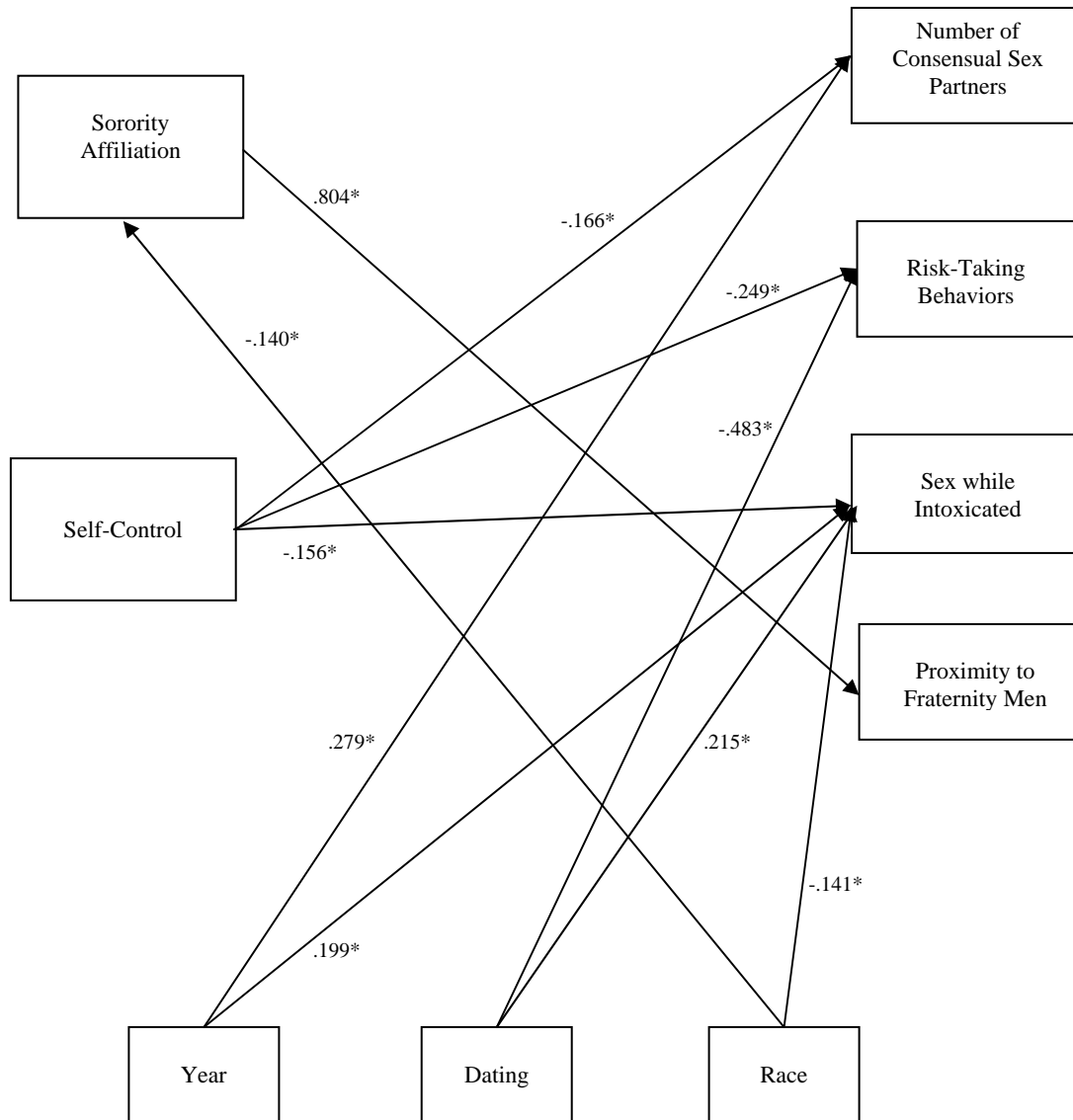
* $p \leq .05$

similar to the first path model, sorority affiliation was regressed on low self-control and race in light of existing theory and research specifying the empirical relationships between these measures. Only race significantly predicted sorority affiliation in the behaviors path model. Additionally, the path coefficients were in the hypothesized direction so that according to the results of the proposed behaviors path model, white women were more likely to be affiliated with the university Greek system ($b = -.140, t = -2.218$).

Figure 5.4b presents the results of the proposed behavior path model and displays only the significant path coefficients between the risk-related lifestyle behaviors—including number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, sex while intoxicated, and proximity to fraternity men—sorority affiliation, and the control variables. As evidenced by the partial regression coefficients displayed in Figure 5.4b, number of consensual sex partners is significantly correlated with low self-control ($b = -.166, t = -2.728$) and year in college ($b = .279, t = 4.640$). Indeed, women with lower levels of self-control and women further along in their college careers were more likely than their respective counterparts to have had an increased number of consensual sex partners. Risk-taking behaviors were significantly predicted by low self-control and exclusive dating relationship indicating that women who scored lower on the self-control index ($b = -.249, t = -4.672$), and women not involved in an exclusive dating relationship ($b = -.483, t = -9.116$), were more likely than women with increased levels of self-control and women in exclusive dating relationships to engage in the host of risky sex practices and risk-taking behaviors included in the six-item, risk-taking behavior index. Having sex while intoxicated was similarly predicted by low levels of self-control ($b = -.156, t = -2.588$), and all three of the exogenous control variables. Indeed, women further along in their college careers ($b = .199, t = 3.322$), women involved in an exclusive dating relationship ($b = .215, t = 3.582$), and

white women ($b = -.141$, $t = -2.329$) were more likely than their respective counterparts to report a likelihood of having sex while under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. Finally, proximity to fraternity men was significantly predicted by Greek affiliation ($b = .804$, $t = 20.816$). None of

Figure 5.4b. Proposed Behaviors Path Model—Risk-Related Lifestyle Behaviors Dependent Variables.



CFI = .912, Standardized RMR = .064, RMSEA = .097, $\chi^2 = 91.622^*$

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were correlated for number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, and sex while intoxicated.

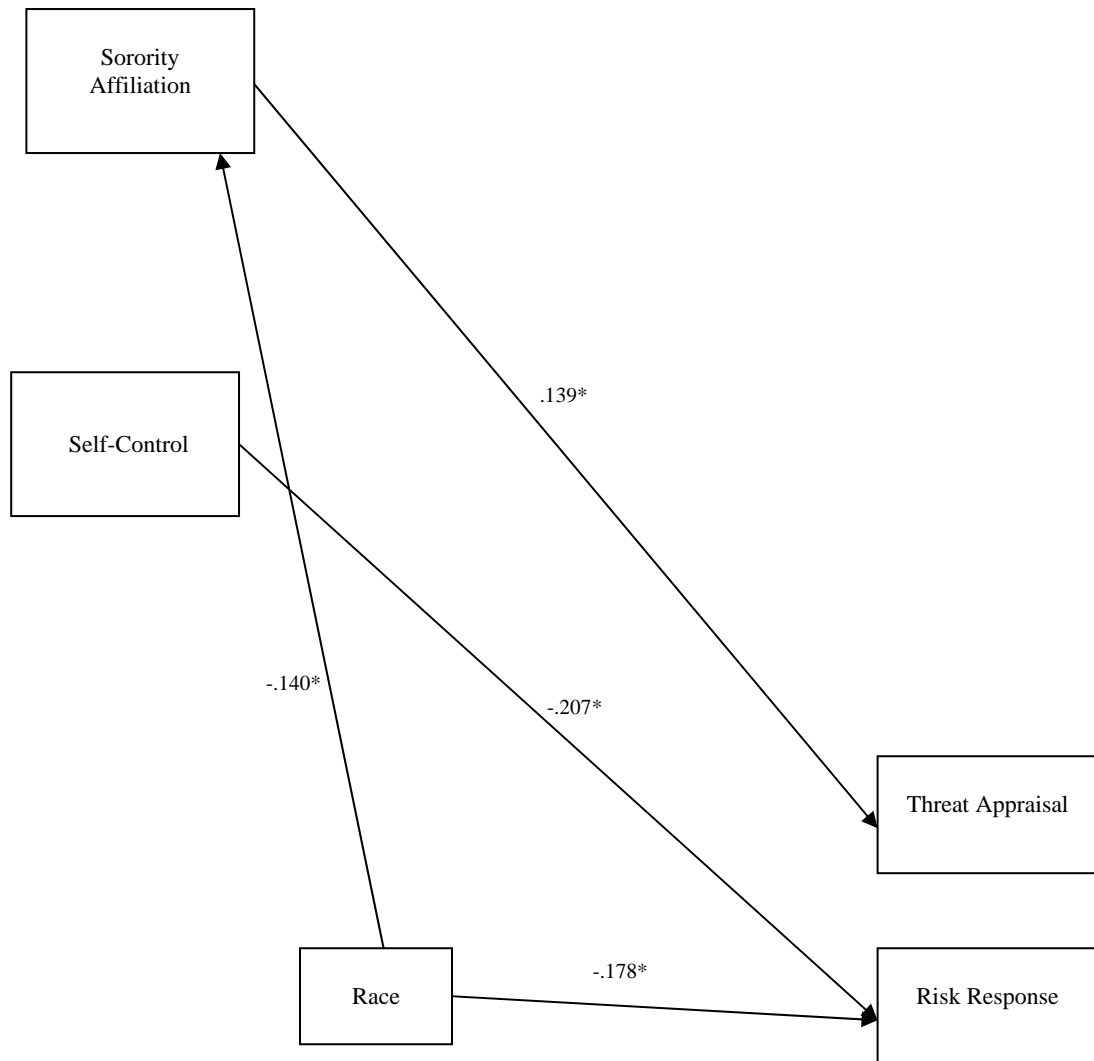
* $p \leq .05$

the other path coefficients predicting proximity to fraternity men emerged as significant. With the exception of this last behavioral variable, none of the other three risky-lifestyle measures displayed in Figure 5.4b were significantly predicted by Greek affiliation—a finding that is inconsistent with the hypothesis of this vulnerability-enhancing behaviors research question.

The significant path coefficients predicting the last two dependent variables included in the proposed behavior path model are displayed in Figure 5.4c. These danger cue recognition measures are presented along with sorority affiliation and the four control variables. Threat appraisal or the feeling of discomfort is significantly predicted by sorority affiliation ($b = .139$, $t = 2.178$). Indeed, sorority women were more likely than independents to report delayed appraisals of threat. In other words, when presented with a situation where a series of events occur that include ambiguous and clear risk/danger cues, non-affiliated women were likely to feel discomfort (triggered by particular danger cues) earlier in the event as compared to sorority women. Risk response, or the point in the scenario where a woman would initiate a behavioral (leave) reaction, was significantly predicted by low self-control ($b = -.207$, $t = -3.355$) and race ($b = -.178$, $t = -2.880$). Thus, women who scored lower on the self-control scale and white women were more likely than their respective counterparts to wait longer in a potentially dangerous and/or risky scenario to leave the situation. In other words, their reaction to perceived risk is likely to be delayed.

As previously noted, goodness-of-fit statistics for the proposed behavior model did not fall within the acceptable range for a good-fitting model. In an attempt to create a better fitting model, additional path coefficients were added to specify relationships between the dependent behavior variables as informed by existing theory and specified by post-hoc LaGrange Multiplier Tests. It is important to note that post-hoc modifications to the model were made only if

Figure 5.4c. Proposed Behaviors Path Model—Danger Cue Recognition Dependent Variables.



CFI = .912, Standardized RMR = .064, RMSEA = .097, $X^2 = 91.622^*$

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were correlated for threat appraisal and risk response.

* $p \leq .05$

Table 5.3. Proposed Vulnerability-Enhancing Behaviors Path Model—Partial Regression Coefficients.

Endogenous Variables	Sorority	Self-Control	Race	Year in College	Exclusive Dating Relationship
Sorority		-.123* (.006)	-.140* (.079)		
Alcohol Consumption	.169* (.391)	-.228* (.039)	-.249* (.485)	.140* (.178)	-.127* (.356)
Drug Use	-.025 (.158)	-.206* (.016)	-.092 (.196)	.111 (.072)	-.003 (.144)
Number of Consensual Sex Partners	.034 (.557)	-.166* (.056)	-.087 (.690)	.279* (.254)	.046 (.506)
Risk Taking Behaviors	.095 (.648)	-.249* (.065)	-.079 (.802)	.021 (.296)	-.483* (.589)
Sex while Intoxicated	.017 (.224)	-.156* (.022)	-.141* (.278)	.199* (.102)	.214* (.204)
Proximity to Fraternity Men	.804* (.092)	-.027 (.009)	.017 (.113)	-.023 (.042)	-.023 (.083)
Threat Appraisal	.139* (.742)	-.101 (.074)	-.108 (.919)	.015 (.338)	-.000 (.674)
Risk Response	.085 (.678)	-.207* (.068)	-.178* (.839)	.055 (.309)	-.006 (.616)

Note: CFI = .912, Standardized RMR = .064, RMSEA = .097, $X^2 = 91.622^*$. Standard errors are in parentheses.

* $p \leq .05$

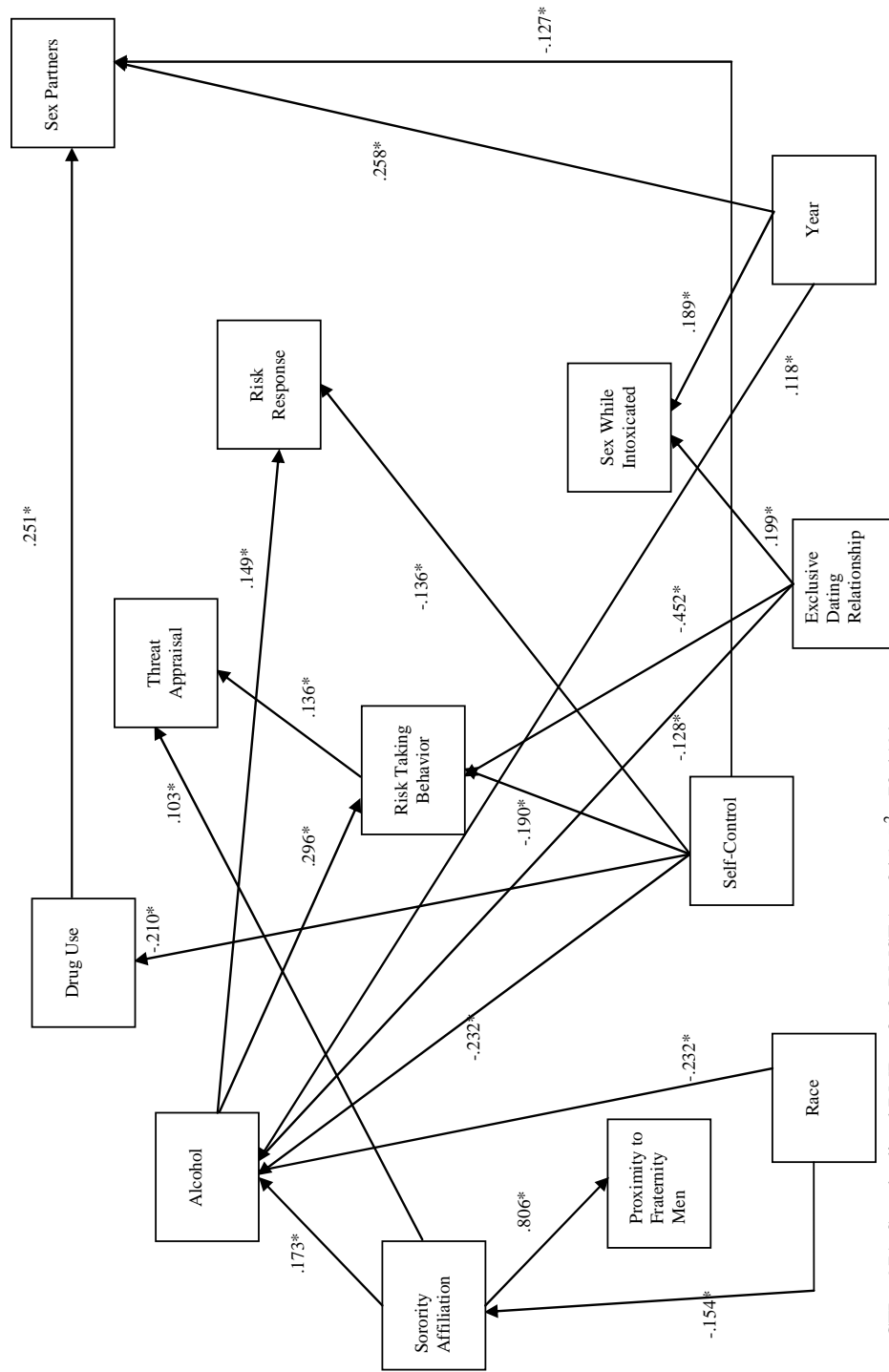
correlating particular variables made theoretical sense. The measures included in the vulnerability-enhancing behaviors path model include a range of behaviors that have been theoretically and empirically linked to increased risk, and thus, increased sexual victimization likelihood. An *a priori* expectation then, is that many of these behaviors are related to the degree that if an individual participates in one, it is likely that she will engage in another. Including additional pathways between dependent variables in addition to the estimated relationships contained in the original proposed behaviors model resulted in an overidentified model. Thus, in order to preserve degrees of freedom and estimate a more parsimonious path model, non-significant pathways were eliminated from the modified behaviors path model

That said, path coefficients were added between abusive patterns of alcohol consumption and risk-taking behavior, alcohol use and having sex while intoxicated, and alcohol use and threat response. As previously specified in chapters 2 and 3, alcohol consumption is consistently related to a range of increasingly risky behaviors. This is, in part, because of alcohol expectancies surrounding the consumption of intoxicating substances [e.g., expectations regarding the types of events (heterosexual and otherwise) that occur when alcohol is involved], and the reduction of behavioral inhibitors that takes place when one has consumed alcohol. As discussed earlier, alcohol consumption is also connected to ideas about heterosexual intimacy and sexual interaction. In particular, socialization messages about romance, lust, and sex often mix alcohol with seduction. Further, sex scripts about the appropriate and desired sequence of events that take place during a heterosexual encounter are plagued with misconceptions related to the types of cues that a woman desires but that also double as risk factors. Alcohol plays a significant role in these scripts—potentially influencing a woman’s delayed preservation response to what should be viewed as a dangerous situation.

As is the case with alcohol and sex, social drug use in college is often associated with a party culture where sexual intercourse, “hooking up,” and casual sex acts are related to substance consumption. Thus, a pathway was added between drug use and subject’s number of sex partners predicting a positive relationship between illegal drug consumption and number of consensual sex partners. Finally, threat appraisal was regressed onto risk-taking behavior. It is theoretically plausible to presume that women who engage in the host of risky sex practices and risk-taking behaviors contained in the six-item, risk-taking index may be less likely to perceive a threatening situation when faced with clear and/or ambiguous danger cues in a heterosexual interaction. In other words, women who are likely to participate in risky behaviors may be less likely to perceive risk and/or threat in a sexual scenerio and thus, feel discomfort as a result of that risk/threat.

After making the suggested modifications, the model fit was significantly improved, resulting in a good-fitting model (CFI = .971; SRMR = .063; RMSEA = .045). Figure 5.5 presents the results of the final vulnerability-enhancing behaviors path model. Non-significant path coefficients are not displayed. Table 5.4 also displays the partial regression coefficients for each of the observed variables contained in the second path model. As evidenced by the partial regression coefficients displayed in Figure 5.5, sorority affiliation significantly predicts alcohol consumption ($b = .173$, $t = 3.020$), threat appraisal ($b = .103$, $t = 2.182$), and proximity to fraternity men ($b = .806$, $t = 21.218$). As such, women who belong to the university Greek system are more likely to abuse alcohol, have delayed discomfort reactions when in a risky heterosexual situation, and report more frequent contact to fraternity men as compared to non-affiliated women. This outcome replicates the findings of the proposed behaviors path model where the same path coefficients emerged as significant. Further, alcohol consumption

Figure 5.5. Vulnerability-Enhancing Behaviors Path Model—Final Model.



CFI= .971, Standardized RMR= .063, RMSEA= .045, $X^2 = 70.419^*$

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were displayed for alcohol consumption, drug use, and sex while intoxicated; number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, and having sex while intoxicated; and threat appraisal and risk response.
 * $p \leq .05$

Table 5.4. Vulnerability-Enhancing Behaviors Path Model—Final Model: Partial Regression Coefficients.

Endogenous Variables	Sorority	Self-Control	Race	Year in College	Exclusive Dating Relationship	Alcohol	Drugs	Risk-Taking
Sorority			-.154* (.079)					
Alcohol Consumption	.173* (3.020)	-.232* (-3.986)	-.232* (-4.054)	.118* (2.084)	-.128* (-2.255)			
Drug Use		-.210* (-3.346)						
Consensual Sex Partners		-.127* (-2.118)		.258* (4.432)			.251* (4.213)	
Risk Taking Behaviors		-.190* (-3.683)			-.452 (-8.997)	.296* (5.723)		
Sex while Intoxicated		-.164 (-1.694)	-.111 (-1.100)	.189* (2.734)	.199* (2.811)	-.012 (-.037)		
Proximity to Fraternity Men	.806* (21.218)							
Threat Appraisal	.103* (2.182)							.136* (2.800)
Risk Response		-.136* (-2.877)	-.085 (-1.788)			.149* (2.961)		

Note: CFI = .971, Standardized RMR = .063, RMSEA = .045, $\chi^2 = 70.419^*$. Standard errors are in parentheses.

* $p \leq .05$

significantly predicted risk-taking behavior and risk response so that women who abuse alcohol were more likely to engage in the host of risky sex and risk-taking behaviors discussed in chapters 3 and 4 ($b = .296, t = 5.723$), and were also more likely to wait longer before leaving a dangerous situation ($b = .149, t = 2.961$) when compared to independents. Risk-taking behavior was significantly correlated with threat appraisal ($b = .136, t = 2.800$) indicating that women who practice risky dating and sexual behaviors are likely to feel discomfort in a dangerous situation later than women who do not engage in risk-taking behaviors. Finally, the estimated path coefficient from drug use to sex partners was significant indicating that individuals who frequently use illegal drugs were more likely to have more consensual sex partners as compared to their non-drug using counterparts ($b = .251, t = 4.213$).

Many significant relationships remained between the control variables and the behavioral measures. In particular, race significantly predicted both sorority affiliation ($b = -.154, t = -2.436$) and alcohol consumption ($b = -.154, t = -4.054$). Indeed, white women were both more likely to belong to a sorority and to engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption as compared to minority women. Individuals with lower levels of self-control were more likely to consume alcohol ($b = -.232, t = -3.986$), use drugs ($b = -.210, t = -3.346$), engage in risk-taking behaviors ($b = -.190, t = -3.683$), report delayed risk responses ($b = -.136, t = -2.877$), and have multiple consensual sex partners ($b = -.127, t = 2.118$) as compared to women with higher reported levels of self-control. Further, women involved in an exclusive dating relationship were less likely to engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption ($b = -.128, t = -2.255$) and also less likely to participate in risky sex and risk-taking behavior practices ($b = -.452, t = -8.997$), but were more likely to have sex while intoxicated ($b = .199, t = 2.811$) as compared with women who were not romantically committed. Finally, year in college was significantly and positively

related to alcohol consumption ($b = .118$, $t = 2.084$) and number of consensual sex partners ($b = -.258$, $t = 4.432$) indicating that women further along in their college careers were more likely to abusively consume alcohol and have many consensual sex partners as compared to students who had entered the university more recently.

The results of the final vulnerability-enhancing behaviors path model suggest that sorority affiliation significantly predicts some of the risk-related behaviors and that many of the behaviors are significantly related to one another indicating that a woman's engagement in one behavior may predict the likelihood that she engages or participates in others.

RESEARCH QUESTION 3:

Do these vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors predict illegal sexual assault victimization, net of control variables?

In order to determine the effects of the vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors on illegal sexual victimization, the proposed full model was tested. The proposed model predicts relationships between 1) sorority affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing attitudes/behaviors, and 2) vulnerability-enhancing attitudes/behaviors and illegal sexual victimization. In order to preserve degrees of freedom prior to running path analysis on the full model, non-significant pathways were eliminated. In particular, only those pathways that emerged as significant in the first two final models (see Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.5) were included in the full model. Further, a path coefficient was specified from threat appraisal to risk response in order to capture the degree to which delayed assessments of threat predicted delayed responses to risk. The inclusion of this pathway is relevant to the full model because ultimately, the goal is to predict the direction and magnitude of relationships between attitudinal and behavioral variables and illegal

sexual assault victimization. Thus, a woman's assessment of threat in a sexually risky scenario may impact the point at which she initiates a behavioral response, consequently predicting her victimization likelihood.

In addition, all control variables were regressed onto the dependent variable. In light of the results from the independent samples *t*-test, only those attitudes and behaviors that differed significantly between victimized and non-victimized women were regressed onto the dependent variable. Additionally, race was predicted to influence sorority affiliation where white women are more likely than their non-white counterparts to belong to the sororal organization. Finally, a path coefficient was drawn from low self-control to sorority affiliation in order to identify the role of subject self selection and disentangle the unique effects of sorority affiliation on the dependent variables. Finally, a path coefficient was specified from sorority affiliation to rape victimization to determine the direct relationship, if any, between Greek membership and victimization.

Prior to testing the full model using path analysis, an independent samples *t*-test was run in order to determine the difference of means between those women who reported experiencing illegal sexual victimization and those who did not. Table 5.5 displays the results of the bivariate analyses. First, it is important to note that contrary to theoretical predictions, the bivariate relationship between sorority affiliation and victimization was non-significant. In other words, sorority women were not more likely to report experiencing illegal sexual assault victimization when compared to independents. Further, neither of the attitudes measures (traditional gender roles, rape myth acceptance) emerged as significantly different between the two groups of women signifying that, at the bivariate level of analysis, there was no significant difference between the degree to which victimized versus non-victimized women accepted traditional

gender roles and myths that deny and legitimize rape.

Table 5.5. Independent Samples t-Test for Difference of Means among Victimized and Non-Victimized Women.

Variable	Victimization	No Victimization	Test Statistic
<i>Sorority Affiliation</i>			
Yes	33.3%	66.7%	$\chi^2 = .111$
No	31.3%	68.7%	
<i>Attitudes</i>			
Traditional Gender Roles	16.455 (4.846)	16.864 (5.269)	$t = .623$
Rape Myth Acceptance	31.166 (8.792)	31.444 (9.169)	$t = .240$
<i>Behaviors</i>			
Alcohol Consumption	6.14 (3.052)	5.28 (3.201)	$t = -2.142^*$
Drug Use	.86 (1.569)	.49 (1.008)	$t = -2.026^*$
Number of Consensual Sex Partners	5.53 (4.751)	3.09 (3.797)	$t = -4.242^*$
Risk-Taking Behavior	11.91 (5.644)	10.72 (5.465)	$t = -1.685$
Sex while Intoxicated	2.76 (1.776)	2.53 (1.829)	$t = -.976$
Proximity to Fraternity Men	.74 (1.218)	.60 (1.013)	$t = -.960$
Threat Appraisal	11.61 (5.704)	10.89 (5.285)	$t = -1.003$
Risk Response	16.06 (4.855)	14.18 (5.193)	$t = -2.863^*$
<i>Low Self-Control</i>	29.348 (4.908)	30.712 (4.376)	$t = 2.239^*$

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

* $p \leq .05$

Several of the behaviors, however, emerged as significant. In particular, alcohol consumption, drug use, number of consensual sex partners, and risk response were significantly different between the two groups of women. The mean difference for alcohol consumption was significant indicating that victimized women were more likely than non-victimized women to engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption [($M = 6.14$, $SD = 3.052$) and ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 3.201$, $t = -2.142$) respectively]. Likewise, drug use was reported more for victimized women ($M = .89$, $SD = 1.569$) as compared to their non-victimized counterparts ($M = .49$, $SD = 1.008$, $t = -2.026$). Women who reported experiencing illegal victimization also reported having a greater number of consensual sex partners ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 4.751$) as compared to those women who did not report victimization ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 3.797$, $t = -4.242$). Finally, risk response emerged as significant in the independent samples t -test signifying that victimized women were more likely to indicate delayed risk responses (or leave the dangerous situation later) ($M = 16.06$, $SD = 4.855$) than women who had not similarly experienced victimization ($M = 14.18$, $SD = 5.193$, $t = -2.863$).

In order to disentangle the unique effects of sorority affiliation and the intervening attitude and behavior variables on illegal sexual assault victimization, the independent samples t -test also included low self-control to assess the difference of means for reported levels of self-control across the two groups of women. Low self-control emerged as significant indicating that women who reported victimization had lower levels of reported self-control ($M = 29.348$, $SD = 4.908$) as compared to their non-victimized counterparts ($M = 30.712$, $SD = 4.376$, $t = 2.239$).

To assess the relationships between sorority affiliation, vulnerability enhancing-behaviors and sexual assault victimization, the proposed full model was tested using path analysis. In this full path model, sorority affiliation was hypothesized to predict alcohol

consumption, threat appraisal, and proximity to fraternity men. Path coefficients were drawn from alcohol consumption to risk response and risk-taking behavior. Threat appraisal was regressed on risk-taking behavior. Additionally, self-control was hypothesized to predict alcohol consumption, drug use, risk-taking behavior, and risk response. Number of sex partners was regressed on drug use. Each of the endogenous behavior variables were hypothesized to predict illegal sexual assault victimization. Additionally, path coefficients were drawn from sorority affiliation, low self-control and the remaining three control variables (year in college, race, exclusive dating relationship) to the dependent variable—illegal sexual assault victimization. Finally, the statistically significant path coefficients between the control variables and particular behavior variables (as specified in the modified behavior path model) were included in the proposed full model. More specifically, a path coefficient was drawn from race to alcohol consumption. A path coefficient was drawn from exclusive dating relationship to alcohol consumption, risk-taking behavior, and sex while intoxicated. Sex while intoxicated and number of consensual sex partners were regressed onto year in college.

A path coefficient was also added between threat appraisal and risk response. Doing so is theoretically relevant because the measures for threat appraisal and risk response were derived from one scenario illustrating the progression of a risky social event that ends in rape. Subjects reported the point at which they first felt uncomfortable in the situation (threat appraisal) and the point at which they would leave the situation (risk response). These two measures represent entirely different constructs—feelings versus behaviors—but are related to the degree that one would theoretically precede the other. In the current model, these two variables are included to predict illegal sexual assault victimization. As such, it may be that women who report delayed

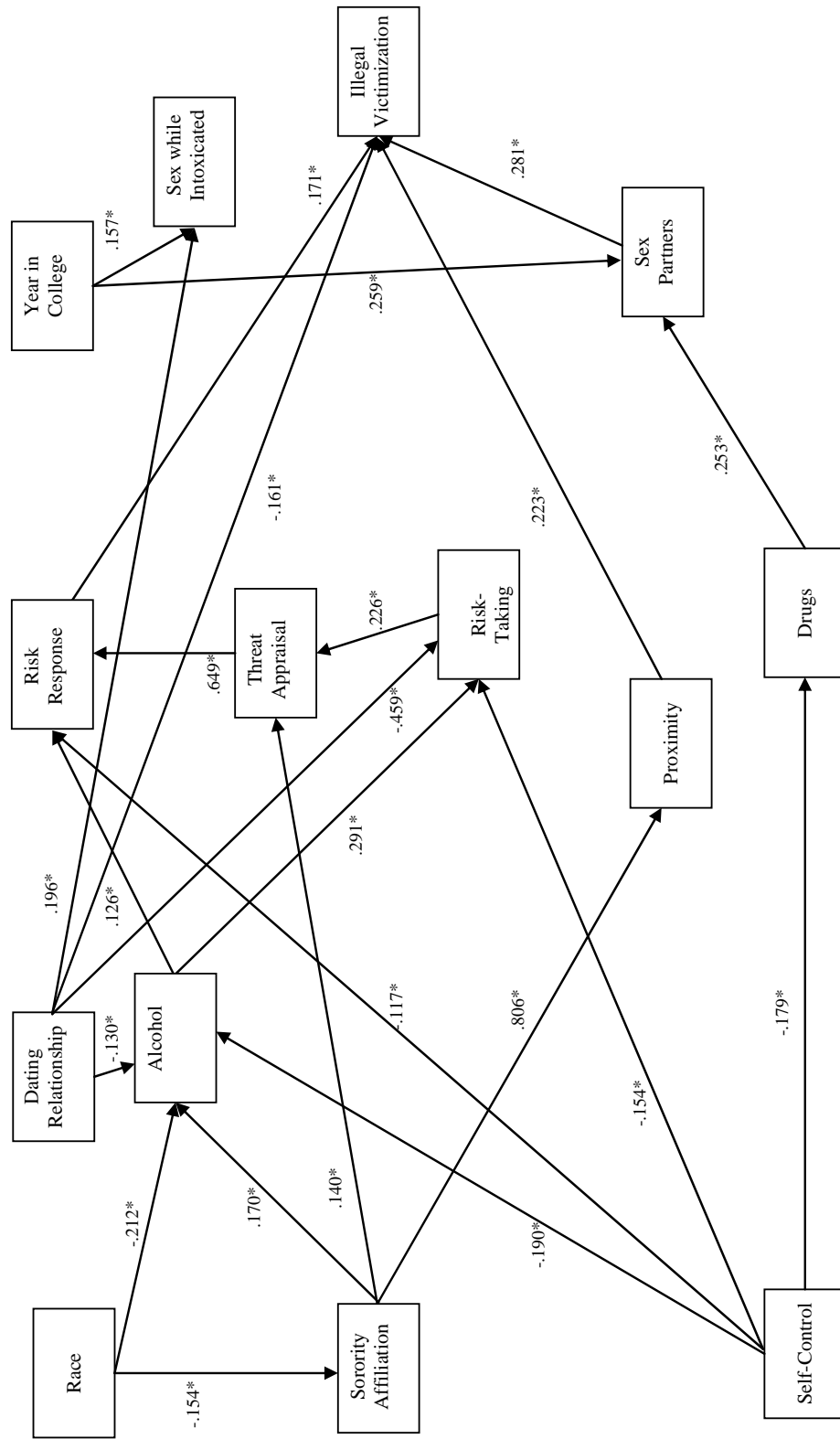
appraisals of threat or feelings of discomfort may tolerate a risky situation longer before leaving—which may then predict her likelihood of victimization.

Similar to the attitudes and behaviors path models, error variances for related variables were allowed to correlate. In particular, the error variances for alcohol consumption, drug use, and sex while intoxicated were allowed to correlate. Additionally, the error variances for number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, and having sex while intoxicated were allowed to correlate. Finally, the error variances for threat appraisal and risk responses were allowed to correlate.

Both of the vulnerability-enhancing attitudes were eliminated from the proposed full model. According to the results of the first path model, sorority affiliation did not significantly predict either of the attitude measures (see Figure 5.2). Further, independent samples *t*-tests indicated that there were no significant differences among either of the attitudes measures between women who reported experiencing illegal victimization and women who did not (see Table 5.5). As a result, the proposed full path model hypothesizes relationships between sorority affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing behaviors, and vulnerability-enhancing behaviors and victimization. Finally, the full model assesses the direct relationship between sorority affiliation and victimization, net of other pathways.

Figure 5.6 displays the results of the full path model and presents only the significant path coefficients. Table 5.6 also presents the partial regression coefficients, standard errors, and test statistics for each of the variables included in the proposed full path model. It must be noted that the proposed full path model yielded fit statistics that fell within the acceptable range, signifying a good-fitting overall model (CFI = .957, SRMR = .069, RMSEA = .052). In addition, several of the path coefficients emerged as both significant and substantively relevant. In

Figure 5.6. Full Path Model—Final Model.



CFI= .957, SRMR= .069, RMSEA= .052, $\chi^2 = 90.017^*$

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were correlated for alcohol consumption, drug use, and sex while intoxicated; number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, and having sex while intoxicated; and threat appraisal and risk response.
* $p \leq .05$

Table 5.6. Full Path Model—Final Model: Partial Regression Coefficients.

Endogenous Variables	Sorority	Self-Control	Race	Year	Dating	Alcohol	Drugs	Sex Partners	Risk-Taking	Proximity Fraternity	Threat Appraisal	Risk Response
Sorority Affiliation			-.154* (.079)									
Alcohol Consumption	.170* (.370)	-.190* (.038)	-.212* (.462)		-.130* (.350)							
Drug Use		-.179* (.016)										
Consensual Sex Partners		-.082 (.053)		.259* (.244)			.253* (.215)					
Sex while Intoxicated				.157* (.098)				.196* (.201)				
Risk-Taking Behaviors		-.154* (.060)			-.459* (.556)				.291* (.093)			
Proximity to Fraternity Men	.806* (.090)											
Threat Appraisal	.140* (.717)								.226* (.061)			
Risk Response		-.117* (.050)								.126* (.082)	.649* (.170)	
Illegal Victimization	-.143 (.102)	-.021 (.006)	.024 (.077)	-.004 (.029)	-.161* (.056)	-.069 (.010)	.044 (.026)	.281* (.007)		.222* (.042)		.171* (.006)

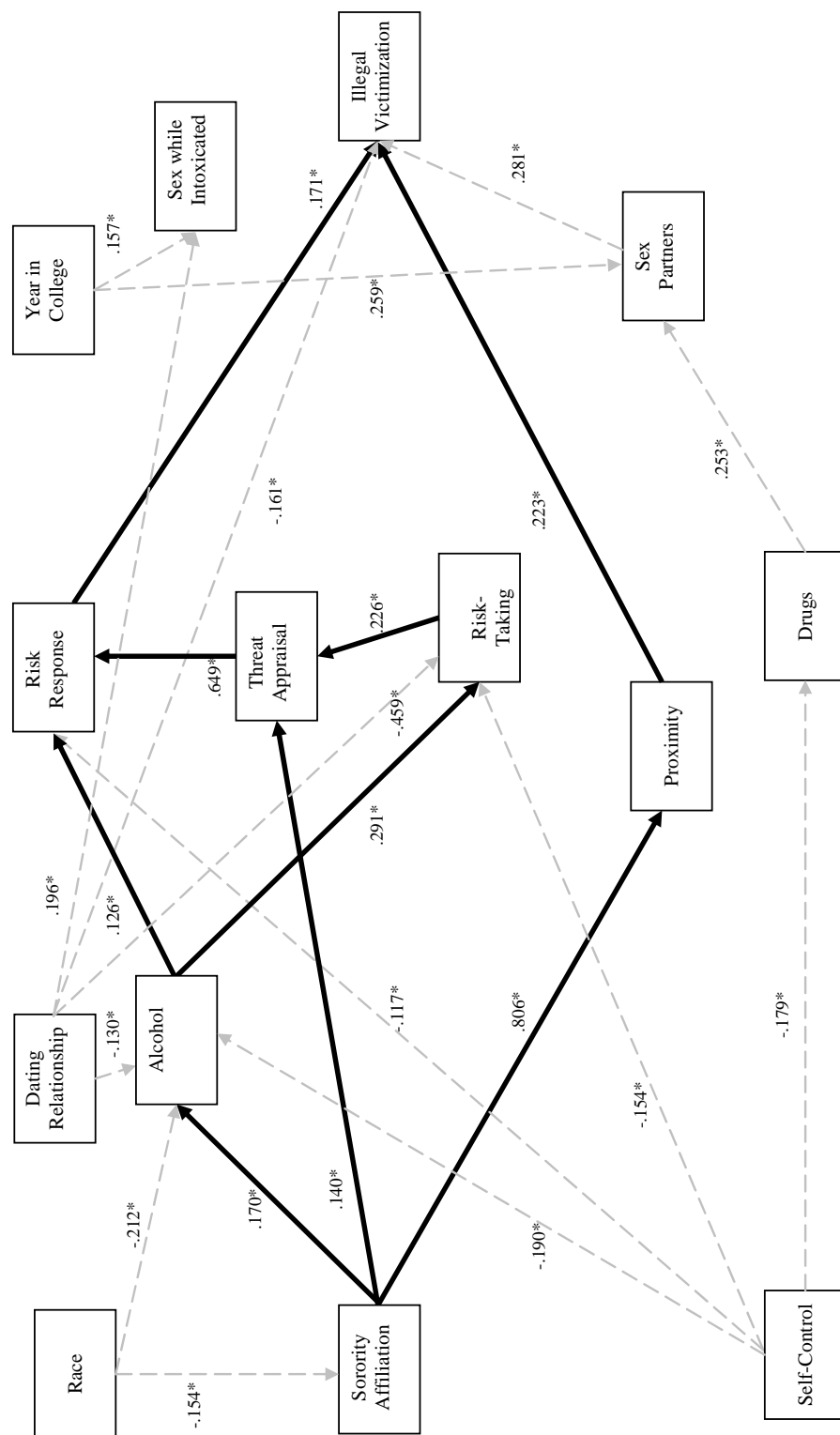
Note: CFI = .957, SRMR = .069, RMSEA = .052, $X^2 = 90.017^*$. Standard errors are in parentheses.

* $p \leq .05$

particular, sorority affiliation indirectly predicted illegal sexual assault victimization through alcohol consumption ($b = .170, t = 3.005$), threat appraisal ($b = .140, t = 2.261$), and proximity to fraternity men ($b = .806, t = 21.218$). Indeed, women who engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption are more likely to have delayed risk responses (or wait longer to leave a sexually risky situation) ($b = .126, t = 2.521$), and thus face an increased risk of sexual assault victimization ($b = .171, t = 2.805$). Women who appraise threat later in a risky situation are significantly likely to delay exiting a risky situation ($b = .649, t = 3.650$) and thus, face an increased risk of sexual assault victimization. Finally, women who report close weekly proximity to fraternity men are significantly more likely to experience sexual assault victimization ($b = .222, t = 2.246$) as compared to women who do not engage in fraternity social activities with the same degree of frequency. Figure 5.7 displays the indirect paths through which sorority women are more likely than their non-affiliated counterparts to engage in vulnerability-enhancing behaviors that increase their risk to victimization.

Self-control also emerged as a significant indirect predictor of illegal sexual assault victimization where women with lower reported levels of self-control were more likely to use illegal drugs ($b = -.179, t = -2.886$), and thus more likely to have increased numbers of consensual sex partners ($b = .253, t = 4.228$), resulting in an increased likelihood of experiencing illegal sexual assault victimization ($b = .281, t = 4.441$) as compared to women with higher levels of self-control. Similar to sorority affiliation, self-control also functioned indirectly through alcohol consumption ($b = -.190, t = -3.304$) and risk response ($b = -.117, t = -2.543$). Additionally, women who reported lower levels of self-control were likely to engage in risk-taking behaviors ($b = -.154, t = -3.097$), thus delaying threat appraisals ($b = .226, t = 3.650$), responses to risk, and increasing the chances of victimization.

Figure 5.7. Full Path Model—Final Model: Sorority Affiliation Indirectly Predicts Illegal Sexual Assault Victimization.



CFI= .957, SRMR= .069, RMSEA= .052, $\chi^2= 90.017^*$

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were correlated for alcohol consumption, drug use, and sex while intoxicated; number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, and having sex while intoxicated; and threat appraisal and risk response. Bolded pathways specify the indirect relationships between sorority affiliation and illegal sexual assault victimization.

* $p \leq .05$

This test of the proposed model illustrated the significant effects of several of the control variables. More specifically, race continued to predict sorority affiliation ($b = -.154, t = -2.436$) so that white women were more likely than their minority counterparts to belong to the sororal organization. Additionally, white women were more likely to engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption ($b = -.212, t = -3.748$) as compared to minorities. Women involved in exclusive dating relationships were less likely to engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption ($b = -.130, t = -2.242$), more likely to have sex while intoxicated ($b = .196, t = 3.343$), less likely to engage in the host of risky sex and risk-taking behaviors included in the six item index ($b = -.459, t = -9.024$), and less likely to report illegal sexual victimization ($b = -.161, t = -2.698$) as compared to women who were romantically unattached. Year in college significantly predicted number of consensual sex partners ($b = .259, t = 4.408$) and the likelihood of having sex while intoxicated ($b = .157, t = 2.768$) where women farther along in their college careers were more likely to have had more sex partners and engage in sex while under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol as compared to those women with less time at the university. Finally, the path coefficient from sorority affiliation to illegal sexual assault victimization emerged as non-significant signifying that the victimization experiences reported by sorority women were the result of indirect pathways related to a host of risky behavioral practices that may be related to organizational membership.

SUPPLEMENTAL ANALYSES

In an effort to better understand the complex relationships between Greek membership, vulnerability-enhancing behaviors, and rape victimization, a series of supplemental analyses were conducted. These analyses predicted alternate dependent variables. In particular, separate

path models were estimated to predict subject experience of verbal coercion that resulted in sexual intercourse, the use of force and/or threats of force that resulted in attempted and/or completed rape, and an ordinal-level rape victimization variable capturing only the most serious reported victimization experience. These three dependent variables were tested using the pathways specified in the full final model in order to determine model fit with different forms of sexual aggression.

First, bivariate analyses in the form of chi-square tests and an independent samples *t*-test were run to assess the difference of means between sorority and non-sorority women on each of the three alternate dependent variables. Table 5.7 displays the results of the bivariate analyses.

Table 5.7. Supplemental Analyses—Bivariate Relationships.

Variable	Sorority	Non-Sorority	Test Statistic
Verbal Coercion			$X^2 = 3.795^*$
Yes	37.1%	62.9%	
No	25.9%	74.1%	
Threats/Force Attempted/Completed Rape			$X^2 = 2.355$
Yes	40.5%	59.5%	
No	28.2%	71.8%	
Most Serious Victimization Experience	1.59 (1.975)	1.36 (1.798)	$t = -.929$

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

* $p = \leq .05$

As evidenced by the significant chi-square test, only the experience of verbal coercion was reported significantly differently between the two groups of women with more non-sorority

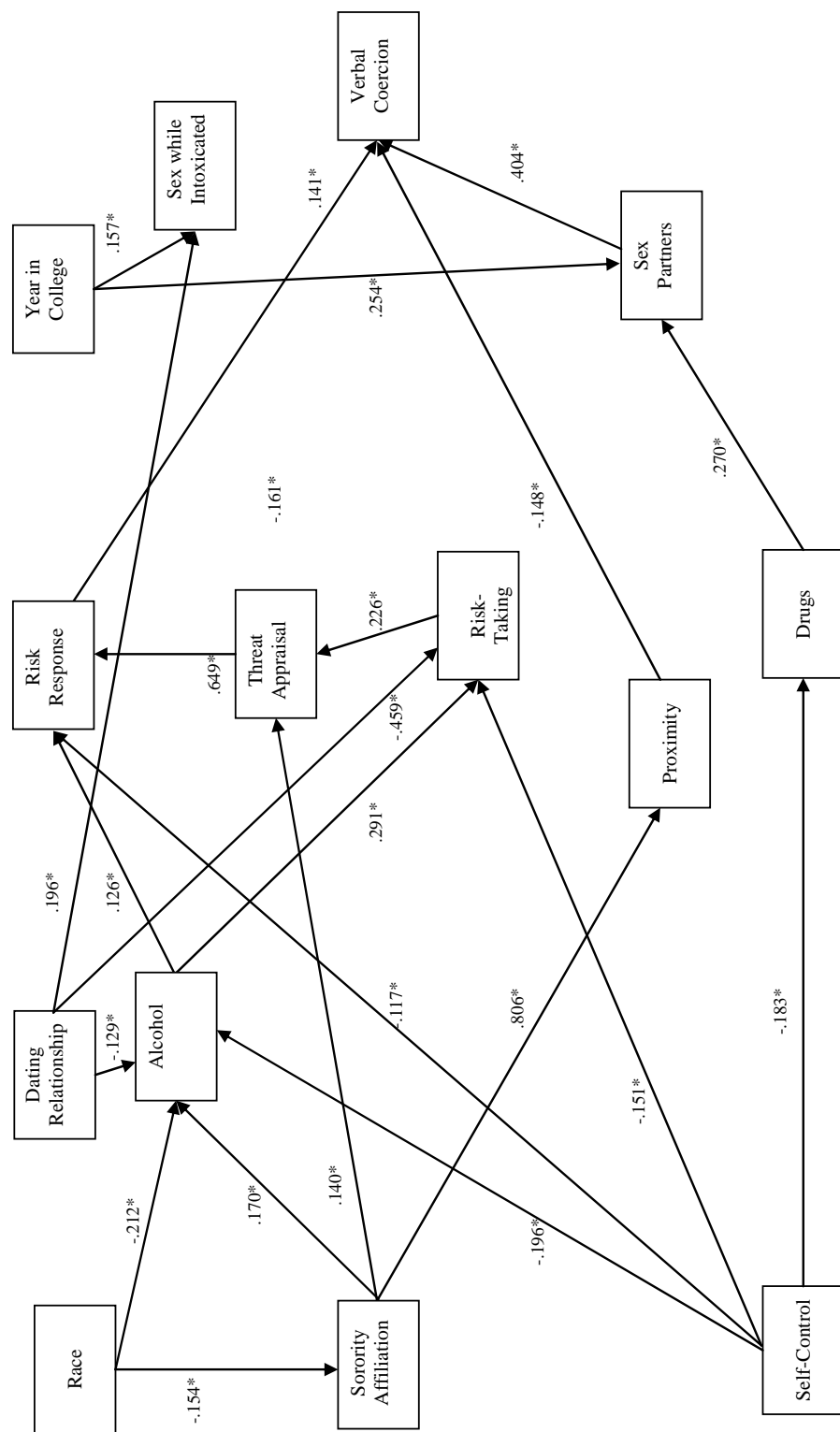
affiliated women indicating the experience of verbal coercion that resulted in sexual intercourse as compared to women who belonged to the university Greek system. The other two dependent variables were not significantly distinguished between the two groups of women.

Verbal Coercion Resulting in Sexual Intercourse

The full path model was tested substituting the dependent variable with verbal coercion that resulted in sexual intercourse. Figure 5.8 displays the results of the first supplemental path model. Additionally, Table 5.8 displays the partial regression coefficients and standard errors for the full path model predicting verbal coercion. First it must be noted that the goodness-of-fit statistics for this path model fell within the acceptable range resulting in a good-fitting overall model (CFI = .965, SRMR = .070, RMSEA = .045).

Very few substantive differences emerged in this path model and in particular, all path coefficients remained in the same direction. First, the path coefficient from dating relationship to verbal coercion emerged as non-significant—a finding that differed from the model predicting illegal sexual assault victimization. The magnitude of the relationship between proximity to fraternity men and verbal coercion decreased from .223 ($t = 2.246$) in the final full path model predicting illegal sexual assault victimization, to .148 ($t = 2.592$) indicating a significant but substantively less meaningful empirical relationship. Additionally, the path coefficient from number of consensual sex partners to verbal coercion increased from .281 ($t = 4.441$) in the path model predicting illegal sexual assault victimization, to .404 ($t = 7.104$) in the current model, indicating a stronger and thus, more meaningful relationship between the number of consensual sex partners reported by subjects and their experiences of verbal coercion resulting in sexual intercourse. Overall, however, coefficients remained relatively unchanged, indicating similar

Figure 5.8. Supplemental Analysis 1—Full Path Model Predicting Verbal Coercion Resulting in Sexual Intercourse.



CFI= .965, SRMR= .070, RMSEA= .045, $\chi^2= 89.272^*$

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were correlated for alcohol consumption, drug use, and sex while intoxicated; number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, and having sex while intoxicated; and threat appraisal and risk response.
* $p \geq .05$

Table 5.8. Full Path Model Predicting Verbal Coercion Resulting in Sexual Intercourse: Partial Regression Coefficients.

Endogenous Variables	Sorority	Self-Control	Race	Year	Dating	Alcohol	Drugs	Sex Partners	Risk-Taking	Proximity Fraternity	Threat Appraisal	Risk Response
Sorority Affiliation			-.154* (.079)									
Alcohol Consumption	.170* (.370)	-.196* (.038)	-.212* (.462)		-.129* (.350)							
Drug Use		-.183* (.016)										
Consensual Sex Partners				.254* (.246)			.270* (.212)					
Sex while Intoxicated				.157* (.098)								
Risk-Taking Behaviors		-.151* (.060)			-.459* (.556)	.291* (.093)						
Proximity to Fraternity Men	.806* (.090)											
Threat Appraisal	.140* (.717)								.226* (.061)			
Risk Response		-.117* (.050)				.126* (.082)					.649* (.170)	
Verbal Coercion resulting in Sexual Intercourse					-.043 (.056)			.404* (.007)		.148* (.025)		.141* (.005)

Note: CFI = .965, SRMR = .070, RMSEA = .045, $X^2 = 89.272^*$. Standard errors are in parentheses. Bolded partial regression coefficients and standard errors indicate a value change from the final full path model predicting illegal sexual assault victimization.

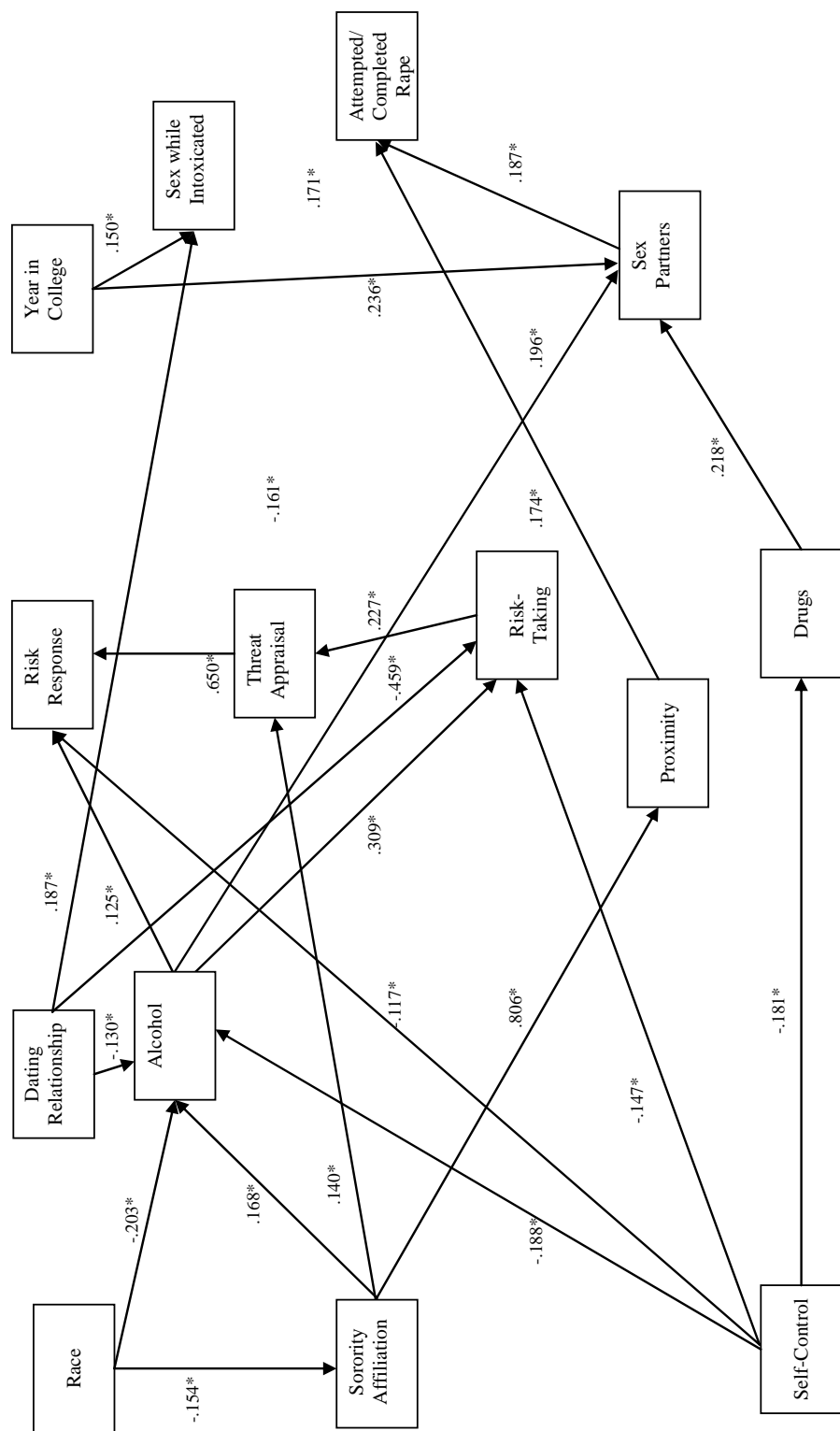
* $p \geq .05$

indirect pathways to the experience of verbal coercion in the form of verbal pressure, promises, and/or threats to end a relationship that resulted in sexual intercourse. Indeed, it appears as if the significant pathways that predict verbal coercion for sorority members have not changed from the pathways predicting illegal sexual assault victimization.

Force or Threats of Force Resulting in Attempted or Completed Rape

Next, the full path model was tested substituting the dependent variable with force or threats of force that resulted in attempted or completed rape. Again, all relationships that emerged as significant in the full path model were included in the supplemental path model predicting attempted/completed rape. Figure 5.9 displays the results of the second supplemental analysis predicting attempted/completed rape. Table 5.9 presents the path coefficients and standard errors for the path model predicting force or threats of force that resulted in attempted or completed rape. It is important to note that the goodness of fit statistics for this path model fell within the acceptable range indicating a good overall fitting model (CFI = .961, SRMR = .065, RMSEA = .047). Further, a few important findings emerged. First, the path coefficient from dating relationship to attempted/completed rape was non-significant. This finding differed from the results of the final path model predicting illegal sexual assault victimization but was consistent with the first supplemental analysis investigating verbal coercion. Second, the relationship between risk response and attempted/completed rape was non-significant—again contrary to the results of the final full path model. Finally, a pathway was added from alcohol consumption to number of consensual sex partners indicating a significant positive relationship between the consumption of intoxicating substances and the number of lifetime consensual sex

Figure 5.9. Supplemental Analysis 2—Full Path Model Predicting Force/Threats Resulting in Attempted/Completed Rape.



CFI= .961, SRMR= .065, RMSEA= .047, $\chi^2= 90.239$ *

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were correlated for alcohol consumption, drug use, and sex while intoxicated; number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, and having sex while intoxicated; and threat appraisal and risk response.
* $p \leq .05$

Table 5.9. Supplemental Analysis 2—Full Path Model Predicting Force/Threats Resulting in Attempted/Completed Rape: Partial Regression Coefficients.

Endogenous Variables	Sorority	Self-Control	Race	Year	Dating	Alcohol	Drugs	Sex Partners	Risk-Taking	Proximity Fraternity	Threat Appraisal	Risk Response
Sorority Affiliation			-.154* (.079)									
Alcohol Consumption	.168* (.364)	-.188* (.037)	-.203* (.455)		-.130* (.350)							
Drug Use		-.181* (.016)										
Consensual Sex Partners				.236* (.240)		.196* (.082)	.218* (.214)					
Sex while Intoxicated				.150* (.097)								
Risk-Taking Behaviors		-.147* (.060)			-.457* (.556)	.309* (.094)						
Proximity to Fraternity Men	.806* (.090)											
Threat Appraisal	.140* (.717)								.227* (.061)			
Risk Response		-.117* (.050)				.125* (.083)					.650* (.170)	
Illegal Victimization					-.089 (.041)			.187* (.005)		.174* (.019)		.035 (.004)

Note: CFI= .961, SRMR= .065, RMSEA= .047, $X^2= 90.239^*$. Standard errors are in parentheses. Bolded partial regression coefficients and standard errors indicate a value change from the final full model predicting illegal sexual assault victimization.
* $p \leq .05$

partners reported by subjects ($b = .196, t = 3.253$). Aside from these three pathways, the rest of the path coefficients remained in the same direction as predicted by the full path model on illegal sexual assault victimization.

Additional substantively meaningful changes emerged in the second supplemental model predicting attempted/completed rape. In particular, the relationship between alcohol consumption and risk-taking behaviors increased in magnitude from $.291 (t = 5.631)$ in the final full path model to $.309 (t = 5.968)$ in the current path model. The relationship between proximity to fraternity men and attempted/completed rape decreased in magnitude from $.223 (t = 2.246)$ in the final full path model to $.174 (t = 2.813)$ in the current analysis indicating a decrease in the magnitude of the relationship. Further, the path coefficient from illegal drug use to number of consensual sex partners decreased from $.253 (t = 4.228)$ in the final full path model to $.218 (t = 3.625)$ in the current path model reducing the strength of the relationship between illegal drug use and consensual sex partners. Finally, the magnitude of the relationship between consensual sex partners and attempted/completed rape decreased from $.281 (t = 4.441)$ to a moderately weak $.187 (t = 3.031)$ in the current path model. The remaining path coefficients were relatively unchanged in terms of significance, direction, and magnitude.

In this path model predicting attempted/completed rape it is instructive to note that the indirect relationships between sorority affiliation and the dependent variable have changed. More specifically, the pathways now function so that sorority affiliation is positively related to abusive patterns of alcohol consumption ($b = .168, t = 3.004$), resulting in more consensual sex partners ($b = .196, t = 3.253$), subsequently resulting in attempted/completed rape ($b = .187, t = 3.031$). Additionally, sorority affiliation continues to predict proximity to fraternity men ($b = .806, t = 21.218$), which then results in the experience of attempted/completed rape ($b = .174, t = 2.813$).

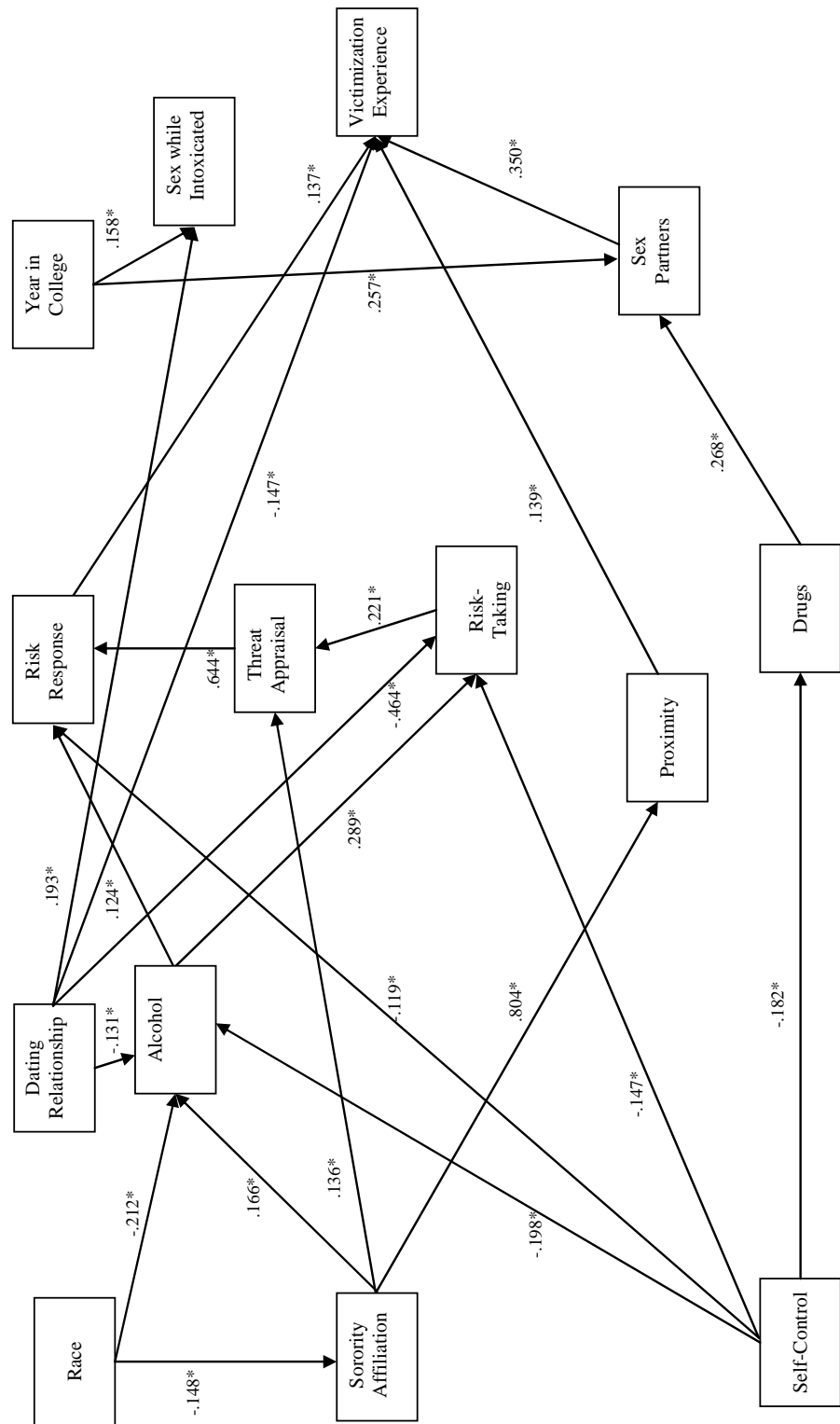
The relationship between sorority affiliation and the danger cue recognition measure does not predict the experience of force or threats of force resulting in attempted or completed rape—a finding that differs from the final full path model predicting illegal sexual assault victimization.

Most Serious Victimization Experience

The third supplemental analysis was conducted substituting an ordinal-level victimization measure as the dependent variable. Relationships were specified according to the results of the final full path model in order to predict victimization experience. Figure 5.10 displays the results of the third supplemental path model predicting the most serious victimization experience. The goodness-of-fit statistics for this model fall within the acceptable range indicating a good model fit (CFI = .958, SRMR = .069, RMSEA = .049). Table 5.10 presents the path coefficients and standard errors for all pathways contained in the path model predicting the most serious victimization experience.

Results of the third supplemental path model indicate that all path coefficients remain significant and in the predicted direction. As with the former two supplemental analyses, very few differences emerged. There were, however, some noteworthy changes. In particular, the relationship between risk response and victimization experience decreased from .171 ($t = 2.805$) in the final full path model to .137 ($t = 2.350$) in the current model indicating a reduction in the magnitude of the relationship between the two variables. The path coefficient between exclusive dating relationship and victimization experienced also decreased from -.161 ($t = -2.805$) in the final full path model, to -.147 ($t = -2.527$) in the current model predicting the most serious victimization experience, indicating that individuals involved in exclusive relationships are still less likely to experience victimization. The relationship in this model is however, reduced in

Figure 5.10. Supplemental Analysis 3—Full Path Model Predicting Most Serious Victimization Experience.



CFI= .958, SRMR= .069, RMSEA= .049, $\chi^2= 91.059$ *

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were correlated for alcohol consumption, drug use, and sex while intoxicated; number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, and having sex while intoxicated; and threat appraisal and risk response.
* $p \leq .05$

Table 5.10. Supplemental Analysis 3—Full Path Model Predicting Most Serious Victimization Experience: Partial Regression Coefficients.

Endogenous Variables	Sorority	Self-Control	Race	Year	Dating	Alcohol	Drugs	Sex Partners	Risk-Taking	Proximity Fraternity	Threat Appraisal	Risk Response
Sorority Affiliation			-.148* (.080)									
Alcohol Consumption	.166* (.373)	-.198* (.038)	-.212* (.462)		-.131* (.352)							
Drug Use		-.182* (.016)										
Consensual Sex Partners				.257* (.247)			.268* (.213)					
Sex while Intoxicated				.158* (.098)								
Risk-Taking Behaviors		-.147* (.060)			-.464* (.559)	.289* (.094)						
Proximity to Fraternity Men	.804* (.091)											
Threat Appraisal	.136* (.720)								.221* (.061)			
Risk Response		-.119* (.051)				.124* (.083)					.644* (.175)	
Illegal Victimization					-.147* (.214)			.350* (.026)		.139* (.097)		.137* (.021)

Note: CFI = .958, SRMR = .069, RMSEA = .049, $X^2 = 91.059^*$. Standard errors are in parentheses. Bolded partial regression coefficients and standard errors indicate a value change from the final full path model predicting illegal sexual assault victimization.

* $p \geq .05$

terms of magnitude as compared to previous path models. Finally, the relationship between proximity to fraternity men and victimization experienced decreased substantially in the current model from .223 ($t = 2.246$) to .139 ($t = 2.387$) signifying a reduction in the power of the path coefficient. In addition, the pathway from illegal drug use to consensual sex partners increased in magnitude from .253 ($t = 4.228$) to .268 ($t = 4.520$) indicating a relatively moderate empirical relationship. Finally, the magnitude of the relationship between number of consensual sex partners and victimization experience as evidenced by the path coefficient increased from .281 ($t = 4.441$) in the final full path model, to .350 ($t = 6.046$) in the current model.

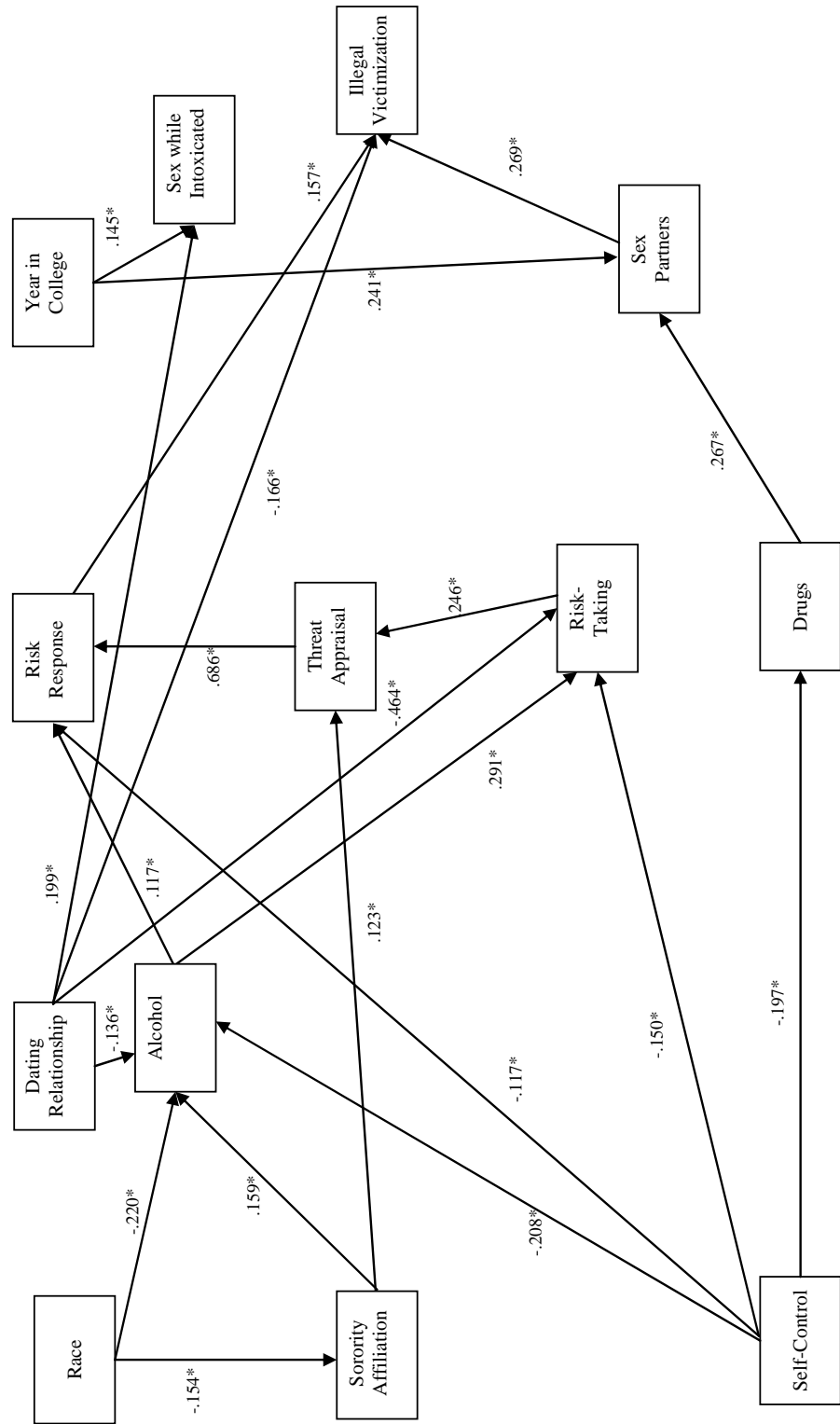
The pathways by which sorority women are likely to increase their risk of victimization remain unchanged from the final full path model. In particular, results from the current model predicting the most serious victimization experience suggest that sorority women are more likely than their non-sorority counterparts to engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption ($b = .166$, $t = 2.919$), who are also more likely to engage in risk-taking behaviors, ($b = .289$, $t = 5.575$), report delayed threat appraisals ($b = .221$, $t = 3.558$), and thus delayed risk responses ($b = .644$, $t = 3.428$) and finally, are more likely to report being victimized ($b = .137$, $t = 2.350$). Additionally, a direct relationship remains between sorority affiliation and delayed threat appraisals so that sorority women were more likely to report delayed assessments of threat as compared to non-affiliated women. Delayed threat appraisals predicted delayed risk responses, which resulted in an increased likelihood of victimization. Finally, sorority women reported an increased proximity to fraternity men ($b = .804$, $t = 21.008$) which predicted victimization ($b = .139$, $t = 2.387$).

Proximity to Fraternity Men

The last supplemental analysis resulted from concerns surrounding the proximity to fraternity men measure. In particular, the item on the survey instrument was included in a location that could have been misinterpreted by respondents as an item to be filled out only by Greek affiliated members. Non-sorority affiliated women did respond to the specific question, but in order to alleviate concerns and potential problems related to multicollinearity issues, an additional path model was estimated predicting illegal sexual assault victimization, without the inclusion of the proximity to fraternity men behavioral measure. That said, all significant pathways as determined from the final full model were included in the path model. Figure 5.11 displays the results of the path model excluding proximity to fraternity men. Table 5.11 presents the partial regression coefficients and standard errors for the current path model excluding proximity to fraternity men. The goodness-of-fit statistics indicate a good overall fitting model (CFI = .968, SRMR = .073, RMSEA = .039). Further, all predicted relationships emerged as significant and in the hypothesized direction.

A number of path coefficients changed in terms of the magnitude of the relationships between particular variables. More specifically, the relationship between self-control and alcohol consumption increased from $-.190$ ($t = -3.304$) in the final full path model, to $-.208$ ($t = -3.685$) in the current model that excludes proximity to fraternity men. The power of the coefficient increased indicating a stronger relationship between low self-control and increased alcohol abuse. The relationship between sorority affiliation and threat appraisal decreased from $.140$ ($t = 2.261$) in the final full model, to $.123$ ($t = 2.012$) in the current analysis signifying that sorority women are still more likely to report delayed threat appraisals but the magnitude of the relationship has weakened. Further, the path coefficient connecting threat appraisal and risk

Figure 5.11. Supplemental Analysis 4—Full Path Model Excluding Proximity to Fraternity Men.



CFI= .968, SRMR= .073, RMSEA= .039, χ^2 = 68.371 *

Note: Only significant path coefficients are displayed. Error variances were correlated for alcohol consumption, drug use, and sex while intoxicated; number of consensual sex partners, risk-taking behaviors, and having sex while intoxicated; and threat appraisal and risk response.
* $p \leq .05$

Table 5.11. Supplemental Analysis 4—Full Path Model Excluding Proximity to Fraternity Men: Partial Regression Coefficients.

Endogenous Variables	Sorority	Self-Control	Race	Year	Dating	Alcohol	Drugs	Sex Partners	Risk-Taking	Threat Appraisal	Risk Response
Sorority Affiliation			-.154* (.079)								
Alcohol Consumption	.159* (.364)	-.208* (.037)	-.220* (.453)		-.136* (.346)						
Drug Use		-.197* (.015)									
Consensual Sex Partners				.241* (.250)			.267* (.214)				
Sex while Intoxicated				.145* (.097)	.199* (.199)						
Risk-Taking Behaviors		-.150* (.059)			-.464* (.550)	.287* (.092)					
Threat Appraisal	.123* (.712)								.246* (.060)		
Risk Response		-.112* (.050)				.117* (.081)				.686* (.162)	
Illegal Victimization					-.166* (.055)			.269* (.007)			.157* (.006)

Note: CFI = .968, SRMR = .073, RMSEA = .039, $X^2 = 68.371$ *, Standard errors are in parentheses. Bolded partial regression coefficients and standard errors indicate a value change from the final full model predicting illegal sexual assault victimization.

* $p \leq .05$

response increased from .649 ($t = 3.550$) to .686 ($t = 3.912$) in the current model that predicts illegal sexual assault victimization but excludes proximity to fraternity men. The value of the coefficient indicates that delayed threat appraisals likely result in delayed responses to risk and the power of the coefficient has increased in magnitude. The relationship between risk-taking behavior and threat appraisal has also increased from .226 ($t = 3.650$) in the final full path model, to .246 ($t = 4.030$) in the current analysis. Again, the direction of this relationship has remained the same but the strength of the relationship has increased indicating that women who engage in risk-taking behaviors are more likely to report delayed assessments of threat in a sexually risky scenario. The relationship between risk response and illegal sexual assault victimization decreased in magnitude as evidenced by a change in the path coefficient from .171 ($t = 2.805$) in the final full model, to .157 ($t = 2.638$) in the current model.

Additional changes in path coefficients were found between the relationships specified for self-control and drug use where the power of the coefficient increased from -.179 ($t = -2.886$) to -.197 ($t = -3.233$) in the current model. The coefficient correlating illegal drug use with consensual sex partners also increased from .253 ($t = 4.228$) to .267 ($t = 4.555$) in the current model that excludes proximity to fraternity men. Further, the magnitude of the relationship between consensual sex partners and illegal sexual assault victimization decreased as evidenced by a reduction in the path coefficient from .281 ($t = 4.441$) in the final full model, to .269 ($t = 4.545$) in the current model. Finally, the coefficients between year in college and sex while intoxicated; and year in college and number of consensual sex partners decreased representing a decrease in the magnitude of these relationships. In particular, the path coefficient specifying the correlation between year in college and sex while intoxicated decreased from .157 ($t = 2.768$) to .145 ($t = 2.581$), and the path coefficient specifying the correlation between year in college and

consensual sex partners decreased from .259 ($t = 4.408$), to .241 ($t = 4.117$) in the current path model.

SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the results of a series of bivariate analyses (chi-square tests and independent samples t -tests) and path models estimated using EQS. Findings indicate that sorority women were no more likely than their non-sorority counterparts to report experiencing illegal sexual assault victimization, verbal coercion resulting in sexual intercourse, and force or threats of force resulting in attempted or completed rape. In fact, sorority women were significantly less likely to report experiencing verbal coercion in the form of menacing verbal pressure, threats to end a relationship, and/or promises in order to gain sexual access. That being said, results from the path models specify particular relationships indicating that sorority women engage in particular vulnerability-enhancing behaviors significantly more than their non-affiliated counterparts and those particular behaviors are empirically correlated with various forms of sexual assault.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

In an effort to disentangle the complex relationships between sorority affiliation and sexual assault victimization, the previous chapters have detailed the prevalence and context of violence against women, empirical predictors of sexual assault perpetration and rape victimization, criminology theory on general victimization and sexual aggression, and tested an alternate theoretical approach to understanding the potentially problematic contribution of the university Greek system on violence against women. The current chapter presents a summary of the study and results, and a discussion of the theoretical implications and future research directions. Policy solutions and sexual assault prevention strategies are addressed.

SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH

Decades of research has established the degree to which women are victims of predatory sexual aggression on college campuses at the hands of college men (Abbey et al. 1996; Fisher et al., 2000; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Koss et al., 1987; Koss & Oros, 1982). Feminist explanations of this phenomenon draw from the general victimization literature but find limitations, in that general criminology typically overlooks many of the unique characteristics of female victimization and neglects to consider the social context in which this victimization takes place (see e.g., Miller & Burack, 1993; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999; Rodgers & Roberts, 1995, Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). Feminist scholarship has relied heavily on the macro-level contributions of a rape-supportive and patriarchal culture (Brownmiller, 1975; Johnson 1997; Schwartz &

DeKeseredy, 1997) and has identified many of the situational- and individual-level factors that predict violence against women (Fisher et al., 2000; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Much less research has been devoted to uncovering the particular victim-related characteristics that may enhance vulnerability to assault for fear of blaming victims for their own victimization (Abbey et al., 1996). In an effort to better understand all of the factors that contribute to sexual assault victimization on the college campus, empirical and theoretical scholarship has identified variables that increase assault risk. This effort has produced a dearth of research that tests the role of sorority affiliation on sexual assault experiences and related attitude outcomes (e.g., Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Kalof, 1993; Kalof & Cargill, 1999; Sawyer & Schulken, 1997). These studies are limited however, in their methodological strategies and theoretical implications. In addition, this research entirely neglects to question the role of the sororal organization in terms of its contributions to the socialization and conditioning of women who belong to the university Greek system. In particular, sororities have the unique opportunity to teach and train women in ways that may influence their victimization likelihood and risk to assault, but instead of questioning the organization as a socializing agent, existing studies point to relationships between select variables, like alcohol consumption or the misperception of danger cues, without any attention to the larger context in which these relationships exist.

The current study has addressed this theoretical limitation by testing the relationships between sorority affiliation, vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors, and sexual assault victimization. In doing so, this research has drawn upon multiple theoretical perspectives including the feminist explanation for rape (Brownmiller, 1975), routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979), learning theories and differential association (Akers, 1973, 1977; Akers et al., 1979; Akers et al., 1968; Sutherland, 1947; Sutherland & Cressey, 1974), and the role of low

self-control (Scheck, 1999). Using a sample of female survey respondents from a large Northwestern public university, this research has assessed important direct and indirect relationships between membership in an organization founded on stringent traditional relationship principles, the attitudes and behaviors of the women participating in these organizations, and the degree to which their participation in risky behaviors enhances their vulnerability to attempted and completed rape.

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

In an attempt to gain a better understanding of the relationships between Greek membership, vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors, and sorority affiliation, the current study has tested three research questions: 1) do sorority women hold attitudes that are conducive to rape victimization? 2) do sorority women engage in behaviors that increase their risk of rape victimization? and 3) do these vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors predict illegal sexual assault victimization? Contrary to hypothesized predictions, sorority women were no more likely than their non-affiliated counterparts to report experiences of illegal sexual assault victimization. This finding is inconsistent with existing research on sorority membership and rape (Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Kalof, 1993; Rivera & Regoli, 1987; Sawyer et al., 1997). In particular, earlier studies have repeatedly found that sorority women report significantly higher rates of victimization when compared to independents. It is surprising therefore, that the sorority women on this particular campus would report experiences that differ substantially from women included in other studies.

A few theoretical explanations emerge when discussing the lack of significant differences in terms of the victimization experiences between these two groups of women. First, Greek

organizations have long been recognized as secretive with regard to the amount of information that members are willing to share with outsiders (see e.g., DeSantis, 2007; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007; Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 1997). This secrecy is motivated, in part, from a particularly cynical view of non-members and their desire to shape and color public perceptions of Greek life in advantageous ways. In other words, sorority women may have been taught not to trust outsiders and, as a result, members may be unlikely to cooperate with any outside attempts to gain access to information pertaining to sorority membership. Thus, it may be that sorority-affiliated women experienced more victimization but did not report those incidents as a direct result of the solidarity and socialized secrecy conditioned by the institution. Such group secrecy functions to insulate individual members from outside scrutiny, as is the case with fraternity men and the bonds of secrecy that protect “brothers’” indecencies (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). What is perhaps more common among sororities is the use of secrecy to protect the reputation of the organization (see e.g., Robbins, 2004). For example, if a sorority woman is victimized, she may be encouraged *not* to report the incident in order to protect her sorority’s reputation. Research finds that these types of cover-ups are more likely to happen if recent media attention has put the sororal organization under increased scrutiny (Robbins, 2004). Regardless of motive, however, such cynicism and group secrecy may have motivated the under-reporting of sorority women on the survey instrument which could account for the non-significant differences in victimization experiences reported by the two groups of women.

These non-significant differences may also be explained in terms of definitional concerns surrounding victim self-identification. In other words, a woman experienced a particular sequence of events that resulted in rape victimization, but because those events did not follow her particular rape script or meet her definition of rape, she does not identify herself as a rape

victim. Research on official reporting finds definitional concerns and victim self-identification to largely motivate the underreporting of rape incidents (Bachman, 1998; Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003). More specifically, both men and women are socialized to believe that certain behaviors qualify as rape and certain behaviors do not (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2004). The prototypical stranger rape script or “blitz rape” paints a misleading picture in terms of how most people think about rape (Kahn, Mathie, & Torgler, 1994, p. 54). For example, it is night time and an innocent woman is walking home when she is attacked by a large black man who jumps out from behind the bushes. His face is hidden and she has no idea who he is but she can see that he is holding a weapon. They struggle and she is hurt. He physically harms her, she fights back, but despite several attempts, is unsuccessful. He rapes her and leaves her bruised and bleeding. When the rape script involves a stranger, physical attack, and a weapon, any deviation from this script causes the victim (and oftentimes criminal justice system actors) to question the degree to which she has been the victim of a rape (Koss, Dinero, Seibel, & Cox, 1988; Parrot, 1991). If the events surrounding her attack did not follow the closely defined stranger rape script, she may not report the incident (Bondurant, 2001; Du Mont et al., 2003).

One of the fundamental problems with this script is that most rapes are not characterized by the events described in the above scenario and sexual assaults perpetrated on college campuses most often deviate from this stranger rape myth. Indeed, 75 percent of rapes are perpetrated by known offenders—acquaintances, friends, dating partners, and/or intimates (Abbey et al., 1996; Gross et al., 2006; Mills & Granoff, 1992; Tjaden & Thoenes, 2000; Ullman et al., 2006). A large portion of rape incidents involve alcohol consumption by the victim, the offender, or both (Abbey et al., 1996; Felson & Burchfield, 2004; Koss, 1995; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Further, sexual assaults take place on dates, in cars, at parties, and other social

gatherings more often than dimly lit pathways and dark alleys (e.g., Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). These circumstances may confuse victims and criminal justice system actors in terms of who was at fault, and who should be held accountable. If a college woman is victimized in the university setting, and the incident is characterized by the above factors, it is likely that she will not believe she was raped, will not report the incident, and will not identify herself as a rape victim (Hammond & Calhoun, 2007; Kahn et al., 2003; Kahn, Mathie, & Torgler, 1994)

While the current research found that sorority and non-sorority women did not differ significantly on gender role attitudes and rape myths, residue left over from the traditional principles that sororities were founded on (Scott, 1965) may influence sorority women's definitional ideas about what constitutes rape and thus, influence the degree to which sorority women are likely to self-report this victimization.

Finally, results of the path analysis indicate that sorority women were more likely to engage in certain behaviors that are statistically linked with increased victimization risk as compared to non-affiliated women. Surprisingly sorority women were comparably likely to report victimization experiences. In other words, at the bivariate level, differences in victimization reports between the two groups of women were nonsignificant. It may be that while sorority women are more likely to participate in behaviors that increase risk, they may be insulated from other factors that lead to increased victimization in non-sorority populations. For instance, membership in the sororal organization may protect women from the alternate pathways that resulted in sexual assault victimization. Results of the full path model indicate that levels of self-control do not significantly predict sorority affiliation but do significantly predict vulnerability-enhancing behaviors that are not similarly predicted by membership in the university Greek system like illegal drug use and sex partners. It may be that sorority women are insulated from

exposure to frequent drug use, and thus, increased victimization as a result of their membership in the sorority. Members of the sorority share a common positive association with social alcohol consumption and binge drinking, but drug use may be deemed inappropriate and so adverse definitional messages provided by the group about drug use negatively influence members' engagement in illegal drug consumption—thus potentially decreasing their victimization likelihood as a result of this particular behavioral pathway.

Despite the non-significant differences between sorority and non-sorority women's reported experiences of victimization, the three research questions were addressed and empirically evaluated in order to assess the particular pathways by which sorority women face victimization risk. According to the results of the first path model and contrary to hypothesis one, the relationship between sorority affiliation and both of the vulnerability-enhancing attitude measures was non-significant. In particular, women who belong to the university Greek system were no more likely than their non-affiliated counterparts to accept traditional gender roles that dichotomize appropriate behaviors for men and women, or to hold rape myths that deny and justify rape perpetration. While the sororal organization was founded on a fundamentally traditional social ideology, it is apparent that the sorority women involved in the current study were no different from their non-affiliated counterparts in terms of the degree to which they associated themselves with this dogmatic traditionality. Based on the mean scores reported for both groups of women on each of the attitude measures, it appears as if neither sorority women, nor independents agree, on average, with statements reflecting traditional gender roles or rape myths. This may be explained by recent feminist social and educational advances in issues surrounding women's occupational, educational, and economic equality. In other words, progressive shifts in social ideology may have motivated individual-level cognition so that the

women in this study report more liberal/progressive opinions regarding gender issues and rape victimization. While this explanation is positive in terms of its outlook on the current status of social progress, it may also be that sorority women did not differ from non-sorority women on their traditional gender role attitudes and rape myth acceptance because many of these traditional statements that reflect overtly stringent gender role appropriation and rape myth acceptance have become taboo and less socially acceptable to agree with—especially within the academic environment. Indeed, subjects’ concerns about the social desirability of responses may motivate the degree to which they disagree with particular gender roles and rape myths—influencing study outcomes. Nonetheless, these findings are not entirely surprising given more recent empirical research that questions the extent to which general college populations continue to agree with such statements (Hink & Thomas, 1999).

The second research question asked whether or not sorority women engaged in behaviors that are hypothesized to increase their risk of rape victimization. These behaviors were operationalized as alcohol consumption, illegal drug use, number of consensual sex partners, risky sex practices and risk-taking behaviors, proximity to fraternity men, threat appraisal, and risk response. Based on the results of the final behaviors path model, sorority women were more likely to engage in more abusive patterns of alcohol consumption and more likely to have frequent contact with fraternity men providing partial support for hypothesis two. Greek-affiliated women were also more likely to report delayed threat appraisals as compared to non-affiliated women, indicating that when involved in a sexually risky and/or dangerous situation, sorority women did not report feeling threatened or uncomfortable until later in the situation. It is important to note that these relationships are significant despite the inclusion of self-control.

None of the other vulnerability-enhancing behaviors emerged as significantly predicted by sorority affiliation.

Extant research focuses heavily on the relationships between university Greek affiliation and dangerous substance consumption in terms of the socialization and influence of the Greek party culture and the ways in which Greek members are more likely to binge drink (Capone, Wood, Borsair, & Laird, 2007; Eberhardt et al., 2003). It comes as no surprise then, that sorority women consume more alcohol, consume alcohol more frequently, and consume alcohol to the point of intoxication or passing out more regularly than non-affiliated women. Indeed, social drinking is characteristic of social events, group gatherings, and parties on college campuses in general, but among sororities (and fraternities) in particular. Further, there are many social scripts surrounding the consumption of intoxicating substances that go hand-in-hand with co-ed socializing and heterosexual sex. For example, alcohol serves to reduce behavioral inhibitions (Abbey, 1991b) and motivate attributions about the degree to which a person perceives sexual interest from the opposite sex (Abbey, 1982; Abbey et al., 1987; Abbey & Harnish, 1995; Harnish et al., 1990; Shotland & Craig, 1988). There is also the pervasive idea that alcohol may help someone to “loosen up” before a heterosexual encounter. These alcohol expectancies and behavioral attributions become ingrained in a culture whose primary social outlet are Greek-sponsored events where heterosexual coupling and/or “hooking up” may be a desirable or expected outcome.

It was also hypothesized that sorority women would have more self-reported contact with fraternity men as compared to women who are not a part of the Greek organization. Where sororities were, in part, founded upon principles related to status enhancement through mate selection, interactions with fraternity men were institutionalized to encourage co-ed contact and

contact with Greek-affiliated men in situations that would increase heterosexual visibility. These Greek-sponsored co-ed gatherings remain an integral part of what it means to be involved in a sorority. In particular, women who belong to sororities are encouraged and sometimes expected to participate in social events with fraternity men and thus, sorority women's self-reported increased proximity to fraternity men was an expected outcome.

Finally, sorority women's delayed threat appraisals were not entirely surprising given the organizational culture surrounding Greek gatherings. More specifically, when presented with a sexually risky scenario involving a fraternity party and repeated advances initiated by one of the fraternity's members, sorority women indicated feeling uncomfortable later in the situation as compared to non-affiliated women who reported discomfort earlier in the scenario cued by purposeful ambiguous and clear risk factors. If sororities function, in part, to provide ready access to datable fraternity men (Scott, 1965), and existing research documents the degree to which sorority women feel strong "kinship" ties (and consequently, trust) with men who belong to the Greek organization (Norris et al., 1996; Nurius et al., 1996), it comes as no surprise that particular danger cues as perpetrated by Greek men would not elicit immediate feelings of discomfort and/or fear. This context is compounded by existing sex scripts that confuse desirable heterosexual encounters with dangerous and potentially assaultive behaviors (e.g., Hannon et al., 1995; Littleton & Axson, 2003). In other words, all women receive conflicting messages about what to expect and desire in interactions with the opposite sex. Greek affiliation may compound this confusion because of the nature of organizational ties to fraternities, false feelings of safety with fraternity men, and the magnification of a potentially hyper-sexed culture or a culture that attributes status and related rewards with sexual coupling.

In addition to the direct relationships between sorority affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing behaviors, significant pathways emerged between dependent behavioral variables. In particular, individuals engaging in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption also reported an increased likelihood of participating in risky sex practices and other risk-taking behaviors. Additionally, engaging in risk-taking behavior predicted delayed assessments of threat and/or feelings of discomfort in a sexually risky situation. Finally, abusive patterns of alcohol consumption were significantly related to delayed risk responses indicating that individuals who regularly consume alcohol and who consume large quantities of alcohol reported responding to threat by exiting a dangerous situation later than those who did not similarly engage in abusive patterns of alcohol consumption. These findings are consistent with existing research on alcohol consumption and danger cue recognition (e.g., Loiselle & Fugua, 2007).

As previously stated, many of these behaviors are related to the degree that they can all be categorized as risky and vulnerability-enhancing. Indeed, prior theory and research have implicated each of these behaviors in increasing victimization because of their inherent individual risk, but also because of their relation to other behaviors that are similarly risky. In other words, individuals who engage in one risky behavior may be increasingly likely to engage in a host of other risky behaviors. Further, participation in risky behaviors may influence an individual's perception in terms of how "risky" is defined. Where one person may view a certain behavior as risky, dangerous, and imprudent, another person may perceive the same behavior as appropriate and inconsequential.

Additionally, social context is important with regard to understanding alcohol consumption and risky behavior. Binge drinking and regular alcohol consumption is perceived as relatively socially acceptable on most college campuses (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997), and

many people who consume intoxicating substances may also participate in a range of similarly risky sexual behaviors without attributing risk to such behaviors. As such, the relationships between alcohol consumption and risk-taking behaviors, alcohol consumption and delayed threat appraisal, and alcohol consumption and delayed risk responses speak to the larger social messages and messages within the college campus environment and the Greek organization that mix alcohol and sex with social desirability.

In all, it appears as if the empirical relationships between Greek affiliation and vulnerability-enhancing behaviors can be readily explained by looking to the college campus culture in which Greek organizations exist, and the traditional principles on which sororities were founded. These principles impact current practices surrounding the social functions that sorority women engage in, the men with whom they engage, the strategies they may employ to ensure heterosexual coupling (e.g., drinking, frequent contact with fraternity men), and existing ideology regarding the safety and security of men who belong to the Greek organization.

The final research question in the current study asked if these vulnerability-enhancing attitudes and behaviors predict illegal assault victimization. According to the final full path model, the two attitude measures are not significantly predicted by sorority affiliation and do not predict sexual assault victimization. This finding is contrary to hypothesis 3a indicating that hypothesis 3a is not supported in the current study. As previously stated, this may be the result of social progress and feminist advances in education regarding the appropriate way to think about gender and violence against women. Additionally, the non-significant relationships between these attitudes and illegal sexual assault victimization reiterate findings in early victimization research on the social control theory of rape (Weis & Borges, 1973) where extant empirical investigations of gender role traditionality and rape myth acceptance have failed to significantly

predict victimization among female samples. It is surprising, however, that the acceptance of these attitudes did not predict the engagement of particular behaviors. It was entirely possible that women who agreed with the statements reflecting traditional gender roles and/or rape myths would be more likely to engage in vulnerability-enhancing behaviors like risky sex practices and report delayed appraisals of threat and risk responses. Findings from this research indicate instead that women who accepted traditional gender roles and/or rape myths were no more likely than their more progressive counterparts to engage in the host of vulnerability-enhancing behaviors included in this analysis.

Results of this final full path model also indicate that sorority affiliation indirectly predicted sexual assault victimization through multiple behavioral pathways providing support for hypothesis 3b. It is important to note that sorority affiliation did not directly predict sexual assault victimization, providing support for hypothesis 4. Instead, sorority affiliation resulted in illegal sexual assault victimization through increased patterns of abusive alcohol consumption, delayed appraisals of threat, and increased proximity to fraternity men. More specifically, sorority women engaged in more abusive patterns of alcohol consumption and thus, reported delayed risk responses indicating that were more likely to tolerate a risky situation for a lengthier period of time before leaving, which then significantly predicted their illegal sexual assault experiences. Alcohol consumption also positively predicted risk-taking behavior, which then positively predicted delayed assessments of threat, resulting in delayed risk responses, and consequently, reports of illegal sexual assault victimization. Additionally, sorority affiliation directly predicted threat appraisal indicating delayed assessments of threat, thus influencing delayed risk responses and, as a result, reports of illegal sexual assault victimization. Finally,

sorority affiliation significantly predicted proximity to fraternity men which then directly predicted illegal victimization.

First, it is unsurprising that sorority women report more abusive patterns of alcohol consumption and that drinking alcohol is indirectly related to increased assault in light of existing research on the topic. Additionally, much research consistently reports robust empirical relationships between alcohol consumption and rape victimization (Abbey et al., 1996a, 1996b; Felson & Burchfield, 2004; Koss, 1995a, 1995b; Muehlenard & Linton, 1987; Rada, 1975; Scully, 1994). Scholars have differed however, in terms of how they understand this relationship. The current research indicates an *indirect* pathway between alcohol consumption and rape victimization. The pattern of behavior that emerges revolves around the inability to recognize and respond to danger cues. Heavy drinking appears to influence the degree to which a woman is willing to engage in risk-taking behaviors and affects individual perceptions of risk. If frequent and heavy alcohol consumption is a behavior that a woman regularly participates in, her social scripts surrounding co-ed get-togethers may be adversely affected in terms of the sequence of events that she anticipates. In particular, she may have positive attributions regarding binge drinking and thus, use the consumption of intoxicating substances as a way to reduce behavioral inhibitions in order to loosen up in heterosexual encounters. Danger cues that should produce threat reactions may not function in the same way because these particular cues (especially ambiguous cues) may be a common part of the heterosexual scenario to which she has grown accustomed. As a result, she is likely to stay longer in a sexually risky situation, increasing the sheer access and opportunity that a man has to sexually prey on her.

Sorority affiliation was also directly related to the misperception of danger cues, and in particular, delayed threat assessments and consequently, risk responses. Again, this finding is

relatively unsurprising as stated earlier, in light of the socialization that arguably takes place within the sororal organization. What is interesting, however, is that these delayed threat assessments directly impact the length of time a woman tolerates discomfort before actually leaving a risky and/or dangerous situation, thus predicting sexual assault. A determination can be made therefore, that the point in a sexually risky situation where a woman leaves directly predicts her victimization likelihood. If a woman has been socialized to believe that overt and ambiguous risk cues (such as male sexual assertiveness, male aggressive sexual initiation), are to be expected, and even desired, in sexual encounters, she waits longer to leave, misperceiving what should be assessed as threat, and consequently faces increased sexual danger.

Finally, sorority women were more likely to report frequent contact and close proximity to fraternity men when compared to independents. This contact directly predicted sexual assault victimization. This finding is not surprising given the volume of research that has consistently established the assault risk associated with fraternity membership and rape-supportive peers (Martin & Hummer, 1987; Sanday, 1990; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). In this case, Greek-affiliated women belong to an organization that has institutionalized contact with fraternity men, who are also men who have been identified generally as sexual predators on college campuses. Thus, sorority women's experiences of sexual assault are predicted by their regular and frequent contact with fraternity men. While not surprising, this finding is especially noteworthy in terms of the risks faced by sorority women. As stated earlier, fraternities are notorious for conditioning a culture that may encourage and/or legitimize woman abuse (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). This becomes increasingly dangerous however, upon consideration of the context within which sorority women are socialized. More specifically, these women are taught to trust and feel safe with fraternity men as a result of shared membership in the Greek organization and fictitious

familial bonds (e.g., “brothers” and “sisters”). In addition, sorority women are often encouraged and may be expected to date and regularly interact with fraternity men. These interactions are most often characterized by alcohol consumption and may include expectations surrounding sexual intimacy. The miscommunication of sexual interest and intent, coupled with confused messages about sex scripts, social pressure faced by sorority women to engage in intimacy in order to secure relational ties, the opportunity for a fraternity man to pressure and/or force sex, and the misperception of clear and ambiguous danger cues may all function to create dangerous outcomes where sorority women are victimized by their male fraternity counterparts.

Ultimately, the results of this study indicate that sorority membership increases involvement in particular behaviors that predict illegal sexual assault victimization. These results are robust regardless of the structure of the dependent variable as evidenced by the findings presented in the supplemental analyses. In other words, despite victimization type, sorority women are more likely to engage in particular vulnerability-enhancing behaviors that are then related to an increased risk of rape victimization. According to earlier research on the organization of university Greek systems, it can be argued that sorority women’s participation in these risky behaviors, and consequently, their victimization experiences are likely the result of membership in this organization. It remains unclear, however, whether the facilitation of these behaviors is a formal part of sororal membership or whether women learn and imitate the informal actions of more seasoned sorority sisters, thus sustaining the dangerous cycle of behavioral conditioning that increases women’s risk of attack. It is likely a combination of both, where institutionalized mechanisms remain in place that put sorority women in regular and frequent social contact with fraternity men and provide women with messages about the safety and security associated with the Greek system and its members. This organizational

institutionalization, coupled with the pervasive party culture, abusive alcohol consumption, and informal/social sexual interaction that is characteristic of the college campus, all increase victimization risk so that intoxicated women are unable to distinguish danger cues, are unlikely to initiate a behavioral response when presented with risk factors, and are regularly in situations where men have the opportunity to sexually aggress.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Important theoretical implications and future research directions emerge in light of the results discussed above. First, the dependent variable was not significantly different across the two populations of women studied and so it is instructive to assess how group secrecy might motivate the underreporting of rape and sexual assault incidents among sorority women.

Additionally, in light of existing research and theory on victim self identification, sorority affiliation, socialization, and other factors may influence the willingness of women to label themselves as victims. As such, scientific inquiry should establish what factors predict victim self identification and in particular, investigate the role that sororities play in influencing the willingness of women to label themselves as victims.

The theoretical model proposed in this study is, in part, supported to the extent that Greek-affiliated women do participate in a host of risky behaviors that are empirically correlated with an increased likelihood of victimization. Where past research has neglected to consider the organizational context of sororities, results from this study indicate that sorority affiliation may play an adverse socialization role with regard to certain vulnerability-enhancing behaviors that then lead to victimization. These findings provide support, not only for the proposed theoretical model in this analysis, but for social learning theories and the role of group affiliation on the

conditioning of behaviors generally (Akers, 1973, 1977; Akers et al., 1968, Akers et al., 1979; Bandura, 1977; Burgess & Akers, 1966). The full final path model presented in the current study should be re-tested in order to assess the degree to which such relationships persist among different college populations in order to advance theory and thus, knowledge on sexual assault victimization in the university setting. In addition, research should continue to investigate and better pinpoint the role of sororities on conditioning these behaviors. In particular, what are the formal and/or informal mechanisms in place that provide women with positive reinforcement for participating in risky behaviors? A more focused test of the sororal organization should center on assessing how women's behaviors are learned from purposeful messages provided by the sorority.

Additionally, results of the current analysis suggest that sorority women are more likely than independents to misperceive danger cues and thus, report delayed responses to threat in a sexually risky scenario. What is it specifically about sororities that conditions danger cue recognition? The current study offers explanations that are consistent with existing theory and research on the history and current characteristics of sororities generally, but an empirical test of particular traits may provide important insight. Further, two measures contained in this study capture danger cue recognition—threat appraisal and risk response. A casual glance at survey responses reveals that many women assess threat or feel discomfort early in the scenario but tolerate that discomfort, waiting until the situation has progressed until they initiate a behavioral response. Where much theory and research suggests that the misperception of danger cues and delayed risk responses predict victimization, it is important to identify what factors predict the time lag between threat appraisal and risk response. Indeed, does sorority affiliation condition delayed threat tolerances or can the increased time lag be explained by other factors?

Additionally, theory derived from the contribution of rape-supportive peers and male peer support on rape perpetration was used to inform the current analysis by suggesting that women who are in close proximity to these particular men may be more likely to report victimization experiences. The institutionalized mechanisms put in place by the sororal organization ensures this frequent contact with fraternity men and, according to the results of this study, women who report close proximity to fraternity men are more likely to experience victimization. Thus, research should investigate the indirect pathways through which this contact impacts increased victimization. In particular, does close contact with fraternity men put women at risk as a result of sheer opportunity or are women socialized and conditioned by frequent fraternity contact to behave in certain ways that increase their risk? In other words, could repeated and frequent contact with fraternity men moderate the relationships between vulnerability-enhancing behaviors and rape victimization so that women who more frequently spend time with fraternity men are taught to act in certain ways that increase their target suitability or victimization likelihood?

This potential relationship can be understood by looking at the similar process of behavioral conditioning that occurs within domestically violent relationships. Feminist theory on domestic violence has hypothesized that the dynamics of a domestically violent relationship are cyclical (Walker, 1978). More specifically, that abusive men condition women to stay in abusive relationships through behavioral conditioning that positively and negatively reinforces their attachment and co-dependency. For example, according to Walker (1978), the major outburst of violence is followed by a honeymoon phase where the victim is courted by her abusive spouse. This honeymoon phase provides positive reinforcement for the victim to the degree that she recognizes that he is not *all* bad and he has the potential to change. Thus, she may continue to

stay in the relationship. On a strictly behavioral conditioning level, her behavior (that she stays) plays a role in the strategies that he may use to control her. In other words, because his abuse and subsequent courting is effective at keeping her in the relationship, he will continue to use these strategies for control. He too is behaviorally conditioned to continue this cycle of violence.

Sorority women, or college women generally, who have frequent contact with fraternity men may be conditioned and reinforced in terms of what types of risky behaviors result in positive reinforcement from fraternity men including other rewards in the form of relational milestones, sexual intimacy, status, popularity, and progress toward a relationship. Ultimately then, her behavior is conditioned by the actions and behaviors of the fraternity men, but her persistence in that behavior may reinforce the strategies he uses to condition her.

It is also apparent, however, that attitude transmission was not affected to the degree that sorority-affiliated women were no more likely to agree with statements reflecting traditional gender roles and rape myths when compared to non-sorority affiliated women. At first glance, this finding may be somewhat surprising given the historical nature of sororities (Scott, 1965) and the empirically established role of peer groups in conditioning attitudes (Akers, 1973, 1977; Akers et al., 1968; Akers et al., 1979; Bandura, 1977; Burgess & Akers, 1966; Sutherland, 1947; Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). As previously discussed however, this finding is likely the result of progressive social gains and/or issues surrounding the social desirability of self-report survey methods. Regardless of the explanation, this finding has important implications for theory. In particular, do individuals no longer believe in stringent gender role traditionality and myths regarding the reality of rape? Or is this finding limited to college populations? It may be that such statements, if rephrased to reflect more current jargon and socially acceptable ideologies surrounding the dichotomy of masculinity and femininity and rape myths, would continue to

illicit agreement from survey respondents. Either way, this begs the question, to what extent do college populations continue to believe and buy into these attitudes and how does this affect the social context of rape?

The current study was informed, in part, by routine activity theory suggesting that particular individuals who engage in certain routine activities may face an increased risk of victimization (Cohen and Felson, 1979). Results from the current analysis provide support for this perspective in terms of the self-reported engagement in these behaviors. The theoretical perspective in this analysis drew from routine activity theory to suggest that sorority women would engage in behaviors that would increase their risk of victimization to a greater degree than independents. Where there were no differences between sorority and non-sorority women regarding reported victimization experiences, particular behaviors were distinguished both between sorority and non-sorority women, and between rape victims and those women who reported no victimization. In other words, risky lifestyle behaviors were likely to result in victimization among the sample utilized in the current analysis. Future research should focus on conducting a domain-specific test of routine activity theory in terms of the degree to which this impacts sexual assault victimization outcomes in the college context.

The general theory of crime as it has been reshaped to explain victimization was used also in this study to better understand the potential contribution of subjects' levels of self-control on their membership in the university Greek system, their engagement in risky behaviors, and their reports of victimization (Baron et al., 2007; Piquero et al., 2005; Schreck, 1999; Schreck et al., 2006; Stewart et al., 2004). Existing research on the role of low self-control in predicting victimization is relatively new and thus, underdeveloped. In fact, studies have entirely neglected to test the impact of low self-control on the crime of rape. Results from the current study provide

support for claims suggesting that individuals with lower levels of self control will engage in particular behaviors and lifestyles that are gratifying, but no significant relationships emerged between self-control and sorority membership, or between self-control and victimization directly. Both of these findings have important implications for theory related to the contributions of low self-control. In particular, theoretical propositions in this research suggest that sororities are organizations characterized by gratification and low levels of self-control. For example, their reputation for excessive alcohol consumption, access to datable men, and the pervasive party culture would appeal to women who were more interested in social avenues and advancement as compared to women with academic and scholarship goals at the top of their list of college-related priorities. In opposition to these theoretical propositions, however, low self-control did not significantly predict sorority affiliation.

Additionally, contrary to current claims that low self-control will predict victimization, results of the current research find that, while self-control was significantly related to many of the behaviors included in the study, self-control did not predict rape victimization. Future research should focus on developing the contributions of subject self-control on victimization focusing specifically on rape victimization. Additionally, the integration of self-control, routine activity theory, and the feminist explanation for rape among both the general college and the general adult populations may prove to be effective at explaining the high occurrence of violence against women.

Finally, the current study does not include a measure of prior victimization despite much theory and research that has consistently established relationships between early sexual victimization and later adult victimization (DeYoung, 1982; Herman, 1981; Russell, 1984). Thus, future research should question the role of prior victimization on the complex relationships

uncovered in the current study in terms of the ways in which prior victimization experiences may affect sorority affiliation, participation in vulnerability-enhancing behaviors, and later adult victimization.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

An abundance of thought and resources have been devoted to assessing and implementing tangible policies in an attempt to affect and reduce the sheer number of women who are victimized on university campuses across the country (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). As it currently stands, most college campuses overwhelmingly rely on target hardening strategies that focus on the physical landscape of the campus and access to services designed to protect women from stranger rapists. In particular, university administrators devote a great deal of money to safety strategies like blue light emergency telephones and women's transit and escort systems. Women are instructed to stay off dimly lit pathways and avoid taking classes late at night. Campus safety programming also instructs women to develop buddy systems for social events and house parties, to never accept drinks from strangers or leave a drink unattended, and to steer clear of strange men in unknown settings. Unfortunately, these safety strategies have the potential to cause more harm than good especially because such instructions focus efforts on reducing the incidence of rape perpetrated by strangers. As a result, such strategies may not only be unsuccessful in reducing victimization likelihood but will condition women to have an unreasonable fear of strangers and unknown settings, encourage women to be overly dependent on the men in their lives, and limit the college experience for women who heed such suggestions. According to decades of research on college campus sexual assault, sexual predations are most commonly perpetrated by the men these women know. Thus, it is inconsequential to suggest that

women take advantage of target hardening strategies that protect women from attack by strangers. Even worse, women who heed these safety strategies but are still victimized may question where they went wrong in following safety advice, why such strategies did not work to protect them, and what additional steps they could have taken to protect themselves—ultimately engaging in self blame. Finally, target hardening strategies that focus on physical landscape and encourage women to engage in prudent behavior scapegoat the real problem: college men are responsible for perpetrating these crimes and the social context of a rape-supportive culture tolerates targeting women as victims of rape. Instead of centering efforts on strategies designed to reduce the opportunity for stranger rape, universities should come to terms with the reality of rape on college campuses and take greater steps to educate and inform students in terms of the risks associated with particular behaviors (see e.g., Lonsway, 1996).

Unfortunately, the effectiveness of educational programming has not been promising either (but see Foubert, Newberry, & Tatum, 2008). More specifically, research boasting the advantages of educational programs designed to address myths surrounding rape on college campuses, encourage behavioral change and victim empathy, and thus, impact assault rates reveal that such programs have been relatively unsuccessful (Borden, 1988; Gidycz et al., 2001). Interventions are typically required for incoming freshman and transfer students during orientation programs and within the Greek organization as a part of the programming they are required to attend in order to remain in good standing with their national charter. These programs cover definitional issues, risks associated with excessive alcohol consumption, and safety strategies designed to reduce opportunity. Research finds that most programs do not have an evaluation component and those that have been evaluated find effective attitude change directly after the intervention, but as time passes, the effect declines (Anderson et al., 1998; Foubert,

2000). Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) have suggested that program content be re-evaluated and tailored to the particular audience in order to be more effective at initiating change (see e.g., Gray, 1990).

Results of the current research provide specific information on what to include in particular educational campaigns aimed at the general college population, but more specifically, at students involved in the university Greek system. First and foremost, educational programs should always focus efforts and attention on male behavior because college men are the individuals responsible for perpetrating these crimes. To neglect discussing men's role in violence against women does a grave disservice to women generally, and to women on college campuses in particular. Attention is too often directed at controlling the actions and behaviors of women in an effort to reduce opportunity and enhance safety with little attention paid to the population most responsible for the commission of these crimes.

In addition, rather than reiterating target hardening strategies and safety measures focused on female prudence, educational programs need to specifically discuss the role of clear and ambiguous danger cues, how to assess and appraise threat, and the point at which a woman should respond to such cues. The problem with this, as stated in chapter 2, revolves around the conflicting messages that women receive in terms of how danger is defined. If the pervasive sex script says that alcohol is seductive and sexy, men should be the aggressive initiators of sexual interaction, and a "token no" is an appropriate first response to attempts at sexual access (even if she does not mean it), then women are misinformed about the series of events that lead to sexual assault and may be unable to successfully guard against unwanted advances. Sexual assault intervention programs need not only to focus on situational factors and issues surrounding danger cue recognition, but must also provide a context within which male and female students

can better understand violence against women in terms of where, how, and most importantly, why this violence occurs (see e.g., Milhausen, McBride, & Jun, 2006).

Additionally, a great deal of focus should revolve around the role of rape-supportive peers in conditioning, legitimizing, and encouraging woman abuse. Students, especially Greek-affiliated students, should be made well aware of the contributions of fraternity membership on sexually predatory behavior. This intervention component serves two purposes: first, students may be able to recognize dangerous behavioral conditioning and group pressure to contribute to environments that are conducive to woman abuse, and second, sorority women may begin to understand the real risks associated with close proximity to fraternity men. As it currently stands, many women do not perceive themselves in any real danger of rape victimization (Cue, George, and Norris, 1996). Additionally, Greek-affiliated women most often report feeling more safe, secure, and protected with Greek-affiliated men as compared to male students who are part of the general university population. These feelings of safety and security stem from shared membership in an organization that socially insulates them from outsiders, and fictitious familial bonds that mislead women into believing that they are not at risk (Norris et al., 1996; Nurius et al., 1996). In reiterating the dangers associated with frequent fraternity contact, women may be better equipped to more readily make informed decisions regarding danger cues, assessments of threat, and timely responses to risk.

While these content suggestions directly address the particular behaviors deemed increasingly risky in the current analysis, problems remain in terms of 1) the degree to which such educational programs will actually influence attributions surrounding violence against women, and 2) the effective delivery of this content. First, research indicates that men and women come to college with existing perceptions regarding gender issues and sexual assault.

Indeed, ideas surrounding the nature of heterosexual interactions and gender are shaped by the time a young child reaches the age of elementary school (Hasbrook & Harris, 1999; Kessler et al., 1985; Lytton & Romney, 1991). As such, proponents of change have suggested that interventions begin much earlier in the educational process. The problem with this suggestion, however, is that school administrators must be supportive of the curriculum, teachers should be informed and able to effectively teach young kids the curriculum, and parents have to be willing to allow their kids to be instructed on these very complex and sometimes controversial topics surrounding sex, consent, gender, and risk. While college interventions may seem “a little too little, a little too late,” the audience is relatively captive in terms of the academic freedom of the professor to teach controversial topics and challenge existing ideologies.

Second, educational programs are most often delivered in the context of a one time intervention that lasts no longer than 90 minutes. Where research says this traditional approach is relatively unsuccessful among populations of college women, interventions may be restructured in terms of content delivery in order to better teach and train students to understand the importance and cultural context of violence against women, why it occurs, and how to reduce its occurrence. Currently, this university campus offers courses through multiple disciplines that in some way address feminism, sexuality, and/or sexual assault. In particular, the criminal justice program and women’s studies department offer a cross-listed course that specifically covers violence against women. This course is an option as an elective or can be taken to satisfy the capstone requirement for undergraduate students to graduate. This course is structured in such a way that 16 weeks are spent discussing, reading, writing, and critically evaluating the culture and context of multiple forms of violence against women. Students who take this course have the option of enrolling in a handful of other courses on various topics unrelated to sexual assault in

order to fulfill the same capstone requirement. If the university structured its graduation requirements so that students would be obligated to enroll in and pass this course, they may be in a better position to educate students about the realities of rape and sexual assault. The difference in time exposure to material and the obligation to participate and pass the course may motivate students regarding critical thinking on these topics potentially resulting in effective attitudinal and behavioral change.

With every policy suggestion comes multiple roadblocks. In this case, requiring all undergraduate students to take one course on violence against women may be a logistical nightmare. If university decision makers appropriated the necessary resources (teaching staff, classroom space), however, it could be done. Additionally, this course is currently offered as an upper-division class most suitable for developed students in their junior and/or senior year of college. This presents obvious problems if educational interventions are necessary for younger students who are just entering the university. Curriculum changes and creative approaches to teaching more freshman students would have to be employed, but again, such a task could be accomplished. In all, it appears as if relevant information designed to assist and inform students regarding the realities, risks, and dangers associated with sexual assault perpetration and victimization could be effectively disseminated in 16-week courses required for graduation. Indeed, the distribution of such material may prove more effective at accomplishing long-term goals related to attitudinal and behavioral change among university students.

CONCLUSION

The current research has proposed and tested a theoretically comprehensive model in order to determine the role of sorority affiliation on the belief and participation in vulnerability-

enhancing attitudes and behaviors, and rape victimization. Drawing from multiple theoretical perspectives, including the feminist explanation for rape (Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971), social learning theories and differential association (Akers, 1973, 1977; Akers et al., 1968; Akers et al., 1979; Bandura, 1977; Burgess & Akers, 1966; Sutherland, 1947; Sutherland & Cressey, 1974), routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979), the general theory of crime (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Schreck, 1999), and male peer support (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997), results of the study indicate that sorority women were no more likely to report victimization than non-sorority affiliated women. Despite the non-significance of group differences in reports of victimization, sorority women did engage in particular vulnerability-enhancing behaviors to a greater degree when compared with independents. These risky behaviors were statistically correlated with increased victimization so that particular relationships emerged that differentiated the pathways by which sorority women experienced multiple forms of sexual assault and rape victimization.

Findings of this study have important implications for theory, research, and policy. In particular, the transmission of behaviors through group processes continues to elicit conformity and produces adverse and abusive outcomes for women. Future research should focus on better understanding these processes and investigating the specific contributions of many of the characteristics of these female peer groups (e.g., group secrecy, conditioning of victim identification). Policies directed at combating college campus rape and sexual assault have, thus far been relatively unsuccessful. Findings derived from this analysis have the potential to contribute to prevention efforts in terms of the content and delivery of educational material with specific attention focused on danger cue recognition and the culture and context of violence against women. In general, scholarly research on violence against women is well developed and

well-tested. Despite the wealth of research on this topic, women continue to be targeted as victims of sexual aggression and violence and thus, efforts must continue in an attempt to better uncover the “why” so that solutions can be implemented to affect change.

REFERENCES

- Abbey, A. (1982). Sex differences in attributions for friendly behavior: Do males misperceive females' friendliness? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42*, 830-838.
- Abbey, A. (1991a). Misperception as an antecedent of acquaintance rape: A consequence of ambiguity in communication between women and men. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (Eds.), *Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime* (pp. 96-111). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Abbey, A. (1991b). Acquaintance rape and alcohol consumption on college campuses: How are they linked? *Journal of American College Health, 39*, 165-169.
- Abbey, A. (2002). Alcohol-related sexual assault: A common problem among college students. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Supplement No. 14*, 118-128.
- Abbey, A., Cozzarelli, C., McLaughlin, K., & Harnish, R.J. (1987). The effects of clothing and dyad sex composition on perceptions of sexual intent: Do women and men evaluate these cues differently? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 17*, 108-126.
- Abbey, A., & Harnish, R.J. (1995). Perception of sexual intent: The role of gender, alcohol consumption, and rape supportive attitudes. *Sex Roles, 32*, 297-313.
- Abbey, A., McAuslan, P., & Ross, L.T. (1998). Sexual assault perpetrated by college men: The role of alcohol, misperception of sexual intent, and sexual beliefs and experiences. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 17*, 167-195.
- Abbey, A., McAuslan, P., Zawacki, T., Clinton, A.M., & Buck, P.O. (2001). Attitudinal, experiential, and situational predictors of sexual assault perpetration. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 16*, 784-807.

- Abbey, A., Ross, L.T., McDuffie, D., & McAuslan, P. (1996a). Alcohol and dating risk factors for sexual assault among college women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 20, 147-169.
- Abbey, A., Ross, L.T., McDuffie, D., & McAuslan, P. (1996b). Alcohol, misperception, and sexual assault: How are they linked? In D.M. Buss & N.M. Malamuth (Eds.), *Sex, power, conflict: Evolutionary and feminist perspectives* (pp. 138-161). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Acock, A.C., & Ireland, N.K. (1983). Attribution of blame in rape cases: The impact of norm violation, gender, and sex-role attitude. *Sex Roles*, 9, 179-193.
- Adams-Curtis, L.E., & Forbes, G.B. (2004). College women's experiences of sexual coercion: A review of cultural, perpetrator, victim, and situational variables. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse*, 5, 91-122.
- Ageton, S.S. (1983). *Sexual assault among adolescents*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Akers, R.L. (1968). Problems in the sociology of deviance: Social definitions and behavior. *Social Forces*, 46, 455-465.
- Akers, R.L. (1973). *Deviant behavior: A social learning approach*. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Akers, R.L. (1991). Low self-control as a general theory of crime. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 7, 201-211.
- Akers, R.L., Burgess, R.L., & Johnson, W. (1968). Opiate use, addiction, and relapse. *Social Problems*, 15, 459-469.
- Akers, R.L., Drohn, M.D., Lanza-Kaduce, L., & Radosevich, M. (1979). Social learning and deviant behavior: A specific test of a general theory. *American Sociological Review*, 44, 635-655.

- Alder, C. (1985). An exploration of self-reported sexually aggressive behavior. *Crime and Delinquency, 31*, 306-331.
- Allegier, E.R., & McCormick, N.B. (1983). *Changing boundaries: Gender role and sex behavior*. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield.
- Allen, M., D'Alessio, D., & Brezgel, K. (1995). A meta-analysis summarizing the effects of pornography: II. Aggression after exposure. *Human Communication Research, 22*, 258-283.
- Allen, M., Emmers T., Gebhardt, L., & Giery, M.A. (1995). Exposure to pornography and acceptance of rape myths. *Journal of Communication, 45*, 5-26.
- Alvi, S., Schwartz, M.D., DeKeseredy, W.S., & Maume, M.O. (2001). Women's fear of crime in Canadian public housing. *Violence Against Women, 7*, 638-661.
- Amick, A.E., & Calhoun, K.S. (1987). Resistance to sexual aggression: Personality, attitudinal, and situational factors. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 16*, 153-163.
- Amir, M. (1967). Victim precipitated forcible rape. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 58*, 493-502.
- Amir, M. (1971). *Patterns in forcible rape*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Anderson, T.L., & Bennett, R.R. (1996). Development, gender, and crime: The scope of routine activities approach. *Justice Quarterly, 13*, 31-56.
- Anderson, K.M., & Danis, F.S. (2007). Collegiate sororities and dating violence: An exploratory study of informal and formal helping strategies. *Violence Against Women, 13*, 87-100.
- Anderson, I., & Lyons, A. (2005). The effect of victims' social support on attributions of blame in female and male rape. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 35*, 1400-1417.

- Anderson, V.N., Simpson-Taylor, D., & Herrmann, D.J. (2004). Gender, age, and rape-supportive rules. *Sex Roles, 50*, 77-90.
- Anderson, L.A., Stoelb, M.P., Duggan, P., Hieger, B., Kling, K.H., & Payne, J.P. (1998). The effectiveness of two types of rape prevention programs in changing the rape-supportive attitudes of college students. *Journal of College Student Development, 39*, 2, 131-142.
- Arata, C.M. (2000). From child victim to adult victim: A model for predicting sexual revictimization. *Child Maltreatment, 5*, 28-38.
- Arata, C.M. (2002). Child sexual abuse and sexual revictimization. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice, 9*, 135-164.
- Armstrong, E.A., Hamilton, L., & Sweeney, B. (2006). Sexual assault on campus: A multilevel, integrative approach to party rape. *Social Problems, 53*, 483-499.
- Arneklev, B.J., Grasmick, H.G., Tittle, C.R., Bursik, Jr. R.J., (1993). Low self-control and imprudent behavior. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 9*, 225-247.
- Austin, R.L., & Kim, Y.S. (2000). A cross-national examination of the relationship between gender equality and official rape rates. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 44*, 204-221.
- Avakame, E.F. (1999). Females' labor force participation and rape: An empirical test of the backlash hypothesis. *Violence Against Women, 5*, 926-949.
- Bachman, R. (1998). The factors related to rape reporting behavior and arrest. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 25*, 8-29.
- Baer, J.S., Kivlahan, D.R., & Marlatt, G.A. (1995). High-risk drinking across the transition from high school to college. *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research, 19*, 54-61.

- Bailey, W.C. (1999). The socioeconomic status of women and patterns of forcible rape for major U.S. cities. *Sociological Focus, 32*, 43-63.
- Baird, L.L. (1969). The effects of college residence groups on students' self-concepts, goals, and achievements. *Personnel and Guidance Journal, 47*, 1015-1021.
- Bandura, A. (1969). *Principles of behavior modification*. New York: Rinehart and Winston.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bandura, A., & Walters, R.H. (1963). *Social learning and personality development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Barlow, H.D. (1991). Explaining crime and analogous acts, or the unrestrained will grab at pleasure whenever they can. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 82*, 229-242.
- Baron, S.W., Forde, D.R., & Kay, F.M. (2001). Self-control, risky lifestyles, and situation: The role of opportunity and context in the general theory. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 35*, 119-136.
- Baron, L., & Straus, M. (1984). Sexual stratification, pornography, and rape in the United States. In N. Malamuth & E. Donnerstein (Eds.), *Pornography and sexual aggression* (pp. 185-209). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Baron, L., & Straus, M. (1987). Four theories of rape: A macrosociological analysis. *Social Problems, 34*, 467-488.
- Baron, L., & Straus, M. (1989). *Four theories of rape*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Belknap, J. (1987). Routine activity theory and the risk of rape: Analyzing ten years of national crime survey data. *Criminal Justice Policy Review, 2*, 337-356.

- Belknap, J. (2007). *The invisible woman: Gender, crime, and justice* (3rd Ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thompson.
- Bell, S.T., Kuriloff, P.J., & Lottes, I. (1994). Understanding attributions of blame in stranger rape and date rape situations: An examination of gender, race, identification, and students' social perceptions of rape victims. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 24*, 1719–1734.
- Bem, S.L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review, 88*, 354-364.
- Bem, S.L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42*, 2, 155-162.
- Ben-David, S., & Schneider, O. (2005). Rape perceptions, gender role attitudes, and victim-perpetrator acquaintance. *Sex Roles, 53*, 385-399.
- Bentler, P.M. (2004). *EQS 6 Structural equations program manual*. Encino, CA: Multivariate Software, Inc.
- Berentzen, S. (1984). *Children's constructing their social worlds*. Norway: University of Bergen.
- Berkowitz, A., & Padavic, I. (1999). Getting a man or getting ahead: A comparison of White and Black sororities. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 27*, 530-557.
- Bernard, M.L. & Bernard, J.L. (1983). Violent intimacy: The family as a model for love relationships. *Family Relations, 32*, 283-286.
- Bernat, J.A., Calhoun, K.S., & Stolp, S. (1998). Sexually aggressive men's response to a date rape analogue: Alcohol as a disinhibiting cue. *Journal of Sex Research, 35*, 341-348.
- Best, R. (1983). *We all have scars*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Bjarnason, T., Sigurdardottir, T.J., & Thorlindsson, T. (1999). Human agency, capable guardians, and structural constraints: A lifestyle approach to the study of violent victimization. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 28, 105-119.
- Blau, J.R., & Blau, P.M. (1982). The cost of inequality: Metropolitan structure and violent crime. *American Sociological Review*, 47, 114-129.
- Bleecker, E.T., & Murnen, S.K. (2005). Fraternity membership, the display of degrading sexual images of women, and rape myth acceptance. *Sex Roles*, 53, 487-493.
- Blumberg, M.L., & Lester, D. (1991). High school and college students' attitudes toward rape. *Adolescence*, 26, 727-729.
- Boeringer, S.B. (1994). Pornography and sexual aggression: Associations of violent and nonviolent depictions with rape and rape proclivity. *Deviant Behavior*, 15, 289-304.
- Boeringer, S.B. (1996). Influences of fraternity membership, athletics, and male living arrangements on sexual aggression. *Violence Against Women*, 2, 134-147.
- Boeringer, S.B. (1999). Associations of rape supportive attitudes with fraternal and athletic participation. *Violence Against Women*, 5, 81-90.
- Boeringer, S.B., Shehan, C.L., & Akers, R.L. (1991). Social contexts and social learning in sexual coercion and aggression: Assessing the contribution of fraternity membership. *Family Relations*, 40, 58-64.
- Bohmer, C., & Parrot, A. (1993). *Sexual assault on campus: The problem and the solution*. New York: Lexington.
- Borden, L.A., Karr, S.K., & Caldwell-Colbert, A.T. (1988). Effects of a university rape prevention program on attitudes and empathy toward rape. *Journal of College Student Development*, 29, 132-136.

- Bostwick, T.D., & DeLucia, J.L. (1992). Effects of gender and specific dating behaviors on perceptions of sex willingness and date rape. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 11*, 14-25.
- Boswell, A.A., & Spade, J.Z. (1996). Fraternities and collegiate rape culture: Why are some fraternities more dangerous places for women? *Gender and Society, 10*, 133-147.
- Boudreaux, M.C., Lord, W.D., & Jarvis, J.P. (2001). Behavioral perspectives on child homicide: The role of access, vulnerability, and routine activities theory. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 2*, 56-78.
- Boumil, M.M., Friedman, J., & Taylor, B.E. (1993). *Date rape: The secret epidemic*. Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications.
- Boundurant, B. (2001). University women's acknowledgement of rape. *Violence Against Women, 7*, 294-314.
- Bourden, L.A. (198). Effects of a university rape prevention program on attitudes and empathy toward rape. *Journal of College Student Development, 29*, 132-136.
- Bowker, L. (1983). *Beating wife-beating*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Breitenbecher, K.H. (1999). The association between the perception of threat in a dating situation and sexual victimization. *Violence and Victims, 14*, 135-146.
- Breitenbecher, K.H. (2001). Sexual revictimization among women: A review of the literature focusing on empirical investigations. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 6*, 415-432.
- Brener, N.D., McMahon, P.M., Warren, C.W., & Douglas, K.A. (1999). Forced sexual intercourse and associated health risk behaviors among female college students in the United States. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 67*, 252-259.

- Briere, J., & Malamuth, N.M. (1983). Self-reported likelihood of sexually aggressive behavior: Attitudinal versus sexual explanations. *Journal of Research in Personality, 17*, 315-323.
- Bridges, J.S. (1991). Perceptions of date and stranger rape: A difference in sex role expectations and rape-supportive beliefs. *Sex Roles, 24*, 291-307.
- Brown, S.A., Goldman, M.S., Inn, A., & Anderson, L.R. (1980). Expectations or reinforcement from alcohol: Their domain and relation to drinking patterns. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 48*, 419-426.
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women, and rape*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Buchwald, E., Fletcher, P., & Roth, M. (1993). *Transforming a rape culture*. Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions.
- Bunting, A.B., & Reeves, J.B. (1983). Perceived male sex orientation and beliefs about rape. *Deviant Behavior, 4*, 281-295.
- Burgess, R.L., & Akers, R.L. (1966). A differential association-reinforcement theory of criminal behavior. *Social Problems, 14*, 128-147.
- Burns, B.M. (2006). *Structural equation modeling with EQS: Basic concepts, applications, and Programming* (2nd Ed.). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bursik Jr., R.J. (1988). Social disorganization and theories of crime and delinquency: Problems and prospects. *Criminology, 26*, 519-551.
- Bursik, Jr., R.J., & Webb, J. (1982). Community change and patterns of delinquency. *American Journal of Sociology, 88*, 24-42.
- Burt, M. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38*, 217-230.

- Burt, M., & Albin, R.S. (1981). Rape myths, rape definitions, and the probability of conviction. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 11*, 212-230.
- Burton, Jr., V.S., Cullen, F.T., Evans, T.D., Alarid, L.F., & Dunaway, R.G. (1998). Gender, self-control, and crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 35*, 123-147.
- Buss, A.H., & Durkee, A. (1957). An inventory for assessing different kinds of hostility. *Journal of Consulting Psychology, 21*, 343-349.
- Byers, E.S. (1996). How well does the traditional sex script explain sexual coercion? Review of a program of research. In E.S. Byers & L.F. O'Sullivan (Eds.), *Sexual coercion in dating relationships* (pp. 7-25). New York: Haworth Press.
- Byers, E.S., & Lewis, K. (1988). Dating couples' disagreements over the desired level of sexual activity. *Journal of Sex Research, 24*, 15-29.
- Byers, E.S., & Wilson, P. (1985). Accuracy of women's expectations regarding men's responses to refusals of sexual advances in dating situations. *International Journal of Women's Studies, 4*, 346-387.
- Capone, C., Wood, M.D., Borsari, B., & Laird, R.D. (2007). Fraternity and sorority involvement, social influences, and alcohol use among college students: A prospective examination. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors, 21*, 316-327.
- Carmody, D.C., & Washington, L.M. (2001). Rape myth acceptance among college women: The impact of race and prior victimization. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 16*, 424-436.
- Carpenter, L.M. (1998). From girls into women: Scripts for sexuality and romance in Seventeen magazine, 1974-1994.
- Carr, J.L., & VanDeusen, K.M. (2004). Risk factors for male sexual aggression on college campuses. *Journal of Family Violence, 19*, 279-289.

- Cass, A.I. (2007). Routine activities and sexual assault: An analysis of individual- and school-level factors. *Violence and Victims, 22*, 350-366.
- Ceniti, J. & Malamuth, N. (1984). Effects of repeated exposure to sexually violent or non-violent stimuli on sexual arousal to rape and nonrape depictions. *Behavior Research and Therapy, 22*, 535-548.
- Center for Fraternity and Sorority Life (n.d.). *Facts and figures about the Greek community*. Retrieved on May 15, 2007 from http://www.gogreek.wsu.edu/Documents/Facts_Figures.htm
- Check, J.V.P., & Guloien, T.H. (1989). Reported proclivity for coercive sex following repeated exposure to sexually violent pornography, nonviolent dehumanizing pornography, and erotica. In D. Zillman & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Pornography: Research advances and policy considerations* (pp. 159-184). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Check, J.V.P., & Malamuth, N.M. (1983). Sex role stereotyping and reactions to depictions of stranger vs. acquaintance rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45*, 344-356.
- Check, J.V.P., & Malamuth, N.M. (1985). An empirical assessment of some feminist hypotheses about rape. *International Journal of Women's Studies, 8*, 414-423.
- Chesney-Lind, M., & Pasko, L. (2004). *The female offender: Girls, women, and crime* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chesney-Lind, M., & Shelden, R. (2004). *Girls, delinquency, and juvenile justice*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thompson Learning.
- Chu, J.A. (1992). The revictimization of adult women with histories of childhood abuse. *Journal of Psychotherapy Practice and Research, 1*, 259-269.

- Clark, L., & Lewis, D. (1977). *Rape: The price of coercive sexuality*. Toronto: The Women's Press.
- Clarke, R.P., Ekblom, P., Hough, M., & Mayhew, P. (1985). Elderly victimization of crime and exposure to risk. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 24, 81-89.
- Classen, C.C., Palesh, O.G., & Aggarwal, R. (2005). Sexual revictimization: A review of the empirical literature. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 6, 103-129.
- Cloward, R., & Ohlin, L. (1960). *Delinquency and opportunity: A theory of delinquent gangs*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Cohen, A. (1955). *Delinquent boys: The culture of the gang*. New York: The Free Press.
- Cohen, L.E., & Cantor, D. (1980). The determinants of larceny: An empirical and theoretical study. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 17, 140-159.
- Cohen, L.E., & Cantor, D. (1981). Residential burglary victimization in the United States: Lifestyle and demographic factors associated with the probability of victimization. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 18, 113-127.
- Cohen, L.E., & Felson, M. (1979). Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American Sociological Review*, 44, 588-608.
- Cohen, L.E., Felson, M., & Land, K.C. (1980). Property crime rates in the United States: A macrodynamic analysis, 1947-1977; With ex ante forecasts for the mid-1980s. *American Journal of Sociology*, 86, 90-118.
- Cohen, L.E., Kluegel, J.R., & Land, K.C. (1981). Social inequality and predatory criminal victimization: An exposition and test of a formal theory. *American Sociological Review*, 46, 505-524.

- Cohen, S., & Wills, T.A. (1985). Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 98, 310-357.
- Collins, J., Cox, B., & Langan, P. (1987). Job activities and personal crime victimization: Implications for theory. *Social Science Research*, 16, 345-360.
- Collins, W.P., & Whetstone, R.D. (1964). A comparison of sorority and independent women based on retention, academic achievement, and scholastic aptitude. *National Association of Women Deans and Counselors Journal*, 28, 177-178.
- Combs-Lane, A.M., & Smith, D.W. (2002). Risk of sexual victimization in college women: The role of behavioral intentions and risk-taking behaviors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 17, 165-183.
- Cook, S.L. (1995). Acceptance and expectation of sexual aggression in college students. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 19, 181-194.
- Copenhaver, S., & Grauerholz, E. (1991). Sexual victimization among sorority women: Exploring the link between sexual violence and institutional practices. *Sex Roles*, 24, 31-41.
- Cornett, M.B., & Shuntich, R. (1991). Sexual aggression: Perceptions of its likelihood of occurring and some correlates of self-admitted perpetration. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 73, 499-507.
- Coster, S.D., Estes, B.S., & Mueller, C.W. (1999). Routine activities and sexual harassment in the workplace. *Work and Occupations*, 26, 21-49.
- Costin, F. (1985). Beliefs about rape and women's social roles. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 14, 319-325.

- Crowe, L.G., & George, W.H. (1989). Alcohol and human sexuality: Review and integration. *Psychological Bulletin, 105*, 374-386.
- Cue, K.L., George, W.H., & Norris, J. (1996). Women's appraisals of sexual-assault risk in dating situations. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 20*, 487-504.
- Daly, K. & Chesney-Lind, M. (1988). Feminism and criminology. *Justice Quarterly, 5*, 101-143.
- Davis, J.L., Combs-Lane, A.M., & Jackson, T.L. (2002). Risky behaviors associated with interpersonal victimization: Comparisons based on type, number, and characteristics of assault incidents. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 17*, 611-629.
- Deighton, L. (1990). *Spy sinker*. New York: HarperCollins.
- DeKeseredy, W.S. (1988). Woman abuse in dating relationships: The relevance of social support theory. *Journal of Family Violence, 3*, 1-13.
- DeKeseredy, W.S. (1990). Male peer support and woman abuse: The current state of knowledge. *Sociological Focus, 23*, 129-139.
- DeKeseredy, W.S. & Kelly, K. (1995). Sexual abuse in Canadian university and college dating relationships: The contribution of male peer support. *Journal of Family Violence, 10*, 41-53.
- DeKeseredy, W.S., & Schwartz, M.D. (1993). Male peer support and woman abuse: An expansion of DeKeseredy's model. *Sociological Spectrum, 13*, 393-413.
- DeKeseredy, W.S., & Schwartz, M.D. (1998). Male peer support and woman abuse in post-secondary school courtship: Suggestions for new directions in sociological research. In R.K. Bergen (Ed.), *Issues in intimate violence* (pp. 83-96). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- DeKeseredy, W.S., & Schwartz, M.D. (2002). Theorizing public housing woman abuse as a function of economic exclusion and male peer support. *Women's Health and Urban Life, 1*, 26-45.
- DeKeseredy, W.S., Schwartz, M.D., & Tait, K. (1993). Sexual assault and stranger aggression on a Canadian university campus. *Sex Roles, 28*, 263-277.
- Demare, D., Briere, J., & Lips, H.M. (1988). Violent pornography and self-reported likelihood of sexual aggression. *Journal of Research in Personality, 22*, 140-153.
- Demare, D., Lips, H.M., & Briere, J. (1993). Sexual violent pornography, anti-woman attitudes, and sexual aggression: A structural equation model. *Journal of Research in Personality, 27*, 285-300.
- Demorest, A.P. (1995). The personal script as a unit of analysis for the study of personality. *Journal of Personality, 63*, 569-591.
- DeSantis, A.D. (2007). *Inside Greek U: Fraternities, sororities, and the pursuit of pleasure, power, and prestige*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky.
- DeYoung, M. (1982). *The sexual victimization of children*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.
- Donnerstein, E. (1984). Pornography: Its effect on violence against women. In N. Malamuth & E. Donnerstein (Eds.), *Pornography and sexual aggression*. New York: Academic Press.
- Donnerstein, E., Donnerstein, M., & Evans, R. (1975). Erotic stimuli and aggression: Facilitation or inhibition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 32*, 237-244.
- Du Mont, J., Miller, K., & Myhr, T.L. (2003). The role of "real rape" and "real victim" stereotypes in the police reporting practices of sexually assaulted women. *Violence Against Women, 9*, 466-486.

- Duncan, O.D. (1966). Path analysis: Sociological examples. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 72, 1-16.
- Durkheim, E. (1951). *Suicide: A study in sociology*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Eberhardt, D., Rice, N.D., & Smith, L.D. (2003). Effects of Greek membership on academic integrity, alcohol abuse, and risky sexual behavior at a small college. *NASPA Journal*, 41, 137-149.
- Eder, D. (1985). The cycle of popularity: Interpersonal relations among female adolescents. *Sociology of Education*, 58, 154-156.
- Eder, D., & Hallinan, M.T. (1978). Sex differences in children's friendships. *American Sociological Review*, 43, 237-250.
- Eder, D., & Parker, S. (1987). The central production and reproduction of gender: The effect of extracurricular activities on peer-group culture. *Sociology of Education*, 60, 200-213.
- Elliott, D.S., Juizinga, D., & Ageton, S.S. (1985). *Explaining delinquency and drug use*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Ellis, L., & Beattie, C. (1983). The feminist explanation for rape: An empirical test. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 19, 74-93.
- Erickson, M.L., & Empey, L. T. (1965). Class position, peers, and delinquency. *Sociology and Social Research*, 49, 268-282.
- Eschholz, S., & Vieraitis, L.M. (2004). Race-specific gender equality and rape: A further test of feminist hypothesis. *Critical Criminology*, 12, 195-219.
- Evans, T.D., Cullen, F.T., Burton, Jr., V.S., Dunaway, R.G., & Benson, M.L. (1997). The social consequences of self-control: Testing the general theory of crime. *Criminology*, 35, 475-504.

- Fehrenbach, P.A., Smith, W., Monastersky, C., & Deisher, R.W. (1986). Adolescent sexual offenders: Offender and offense characteristics. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *56*, 225-233.
- Feild, H.S. (1978). Attitudes toward rape: A comparative analysis of police, rapists, crisis counselors, and citizens. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *36*, 156-179.
- Felson, M. (1987). Routine activities and crime prevention in the developing metropolis. *Criminology*, *25*, 911-932.
- Felson, R.B., & Burchfield, K.B. (2004). Alcohol and the risk of physical and sexual assault victimization. *Criminology*, *42*, 837-859.
- Fischer, G.J. (1986a). College student attitudes toward forcible date rape: Changes after taking a human sexuality course. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy*, *12*, 42-46.
- Fischer, G.J. (1986b). College student attitudes toward forcible date rape: I. Cognitive predictors. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *15*, 457-166.
- Fischer, G.J. (1987). Hispanic and majority student attitudes toward forcible date rape as a function of differences in attitudes toward women. *Sex Roles*, *17*, 93-101.
- Fischer, G.J., & Rivlin, E. (1971). Psychological needs of rapists. *British Journal of Criminology*, *11*, 182-185.
- Fisher, B.S., & Cullen, F.T. (2000). Measuring the sexual victimization of women: Evolution, current controversies, and future research. In D. Duffee (Ed.), *Criminal justice 2000: Vol. 4. Measurement and analysis of crime and justice* (pp. 317-390). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- Fisher, B.S., Cullen, F.T., & Turner, M.T. (2000). *The sexual victimization of college women*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

- Fisher, B.S., Daigle, L.E., Cullen, F.T., & Turner, M.G. (2003). Reporting sexual victimization to the police and others: Results from a national-level study of college women. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 30*, 6-38.
- Fisher, B.S., Sloan, J.J., Cullen, F.T., & Lu, C. (1998). Crime in the ivory tower: The level and sources of student victimization. *Criminology, 36*, 671-710.
- Fiske, S.T., & Taylor, S.E. (1991). *Social cognition*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Flack, Jr., W.F., Daubman, K.A., Caron, M.L., Asadorian, J.A., D'Aureli, N.R., Gigliotti, S.N., Hall, A.T., Kiser, S., & Sinte, E.R. (2001). Risk factors and consequences of unintended sex among university students: Hooking up, alcohol, and stress response. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 22*, 139-157.
- Forbes, G.B., & Adams-Curtis, L.E. (2001). Experience with sexual coercion in college males and females: Role of family conflict, sexist attitudes, acceptance of rape myths, self esteem, and the big-five personality factors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 16*, 865-889.
- Forde, D.R., & Kennedy, L.W. (1997). Risky lifestyles, routine activities, and the general theory of crime. *Justice Quarterly, 14*, 265-294.
- Foubert, J. D. (2000). The longitudinal effects of a rape-prevention program on fraternity men's attitudes, behavioral intent, and behavior. *Journal of American College Health, 48*, 4, 158-163.
- Foubert, J.D., Newberry, J.T., & Tatum, J. (2008). Behavior differences seven months later: Effects of a rape prevention program. *NASPA Journal, 44*, 728-749.
- Franklin, C.A. (2005). Male peer support and police culture: Understanding the resistance and opposition of women in policing. *Women and Criminal Justice, 16*, 1-25.

- Franklin, C.A. (forthcoming). Women offenders, disparate treatment, and criminal justice: A theoretical, historical, and contemporary overview. *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law, and Society*, 21.
- Fromme, K., Katz, E.C., & Rivet, K. (1997). Outcome expectancies and risk-taking behavior. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 21, 421-442.
- Gagnon, J.H. (1990). The explicit and implicit use of the scripting perspective in sex research. *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 1, 1-44.
- Gagnon, J.H. & Simon, W. (1973). *Sexual conduct: The social sources of human sexuality*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Garofalo, J., Siegel, L., & Laub, J. (1987) School-related victimization among adolescents: An analysis of National Crime Survey (NCS) narratives. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 3, 321-338.
- Garrett-Gooding, J., & Senter, R. (1987). Attitudes and acts of sexual aggression on a university campus. *Sociological Inquiry*, 59, 348-371.
- George, W.H., Cue, K.L., Lopez, P.A., Crowe, L.C., & Norris, J. (1995). Self-reported alcohol expectancies and postdrinking sexual inferences about women. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 25, 164-186.
- George, W.H., Gournic, S.J., & McAfee, M.P. (1988). Perceptions of postdrinking female sexuality: Effects of gender, beverage choice, and drink payment. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 18, 1295-1317.
- George, W.H., & Norris, J. (1991). Alcohol, disinhibition, sexual arousal and deviant sexual behavior. *Alcohol Health and Research World*, 15, 133-138.

- Giacopassi, D.J., & Dull, R.T. (1986). Gender and racial differences in the acceptance of rape myths within a college population. *Sex Roles, 15*, 63-75
- Gidycz, C.A., Coble, C.N., Latham, L., & Layman, M.J. (1993). Sexual assault experience in adulthood and prior victimization experiences. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 17*, 151-168.
- Gidycz, C.A., Hanson, K., & Layman, M.J. (1995). A prospective analysis of the relationships among sexual assault experiences: An extension of previous findings. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 19*, 5-29.
- Gidycz, C.A., Layman, M.J., Rich, C.L., Crothers, M., Gyls, J., Matorin, A., Jacobs, C.D. (2001). An evaluation of an acquaintance rape prevention program: Impact on attitudes, sexual aggression, and sexual victimization. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 16*, 1120-1138.
- Gidycz, C.A., McNamara, J.R., & Edwards, K.M. (2006). Women's risk perception and sexual victimization: A review of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 11*, 441-456.
- Ginsberg, G. (1988). Rules, scripts and prototypes in personal relationships. In S.W. Duck (Ed.), *Handbook of personal relationships* (pp. 23-39). New York: John Wiley.
- Godenzi, A., Schwartz, M.D., & DeKeseredy, W.S. (2001). Toward a gendered social bond/male peer support theory of university woman abuse. *Critical Criminology, 10*, 1-16.
- Goodchilds, J.D., & Zellman, G.L. (1984). Sexual signaling and sexual aggression in adolescent relationships. In N.M. Malamuth & E. Donnerstein. (Eds.), *Pornography and sexual aggression* (pp. 233-243). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Gordon, M.T., & Riger, S. (1989). *The female fear*. New York: Free Press.

- Gottfredson, M.R. (1981). On the etiology of criminal victimization. *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, 72, 714-726.
- Grasmick, H.G., Tittle, C.R., Bursik, Jr., R.J., & Arneklev, B.J. (1993). Testing the core empirical implications of Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 30, 5-29.
- Gray, M.D. (1990). The effectiveness of personalizing acquaintance rape prevention: Programs on perception of vulnerability and on reducing risk-taking behavior. *Journal of College Student Development*, 31, 217-220.
- Greendlinger, V., & Byrne, D. (1987). Coercive sexual fantasies of college men as predictors of self-reported likelihood to rape and overt sexual aggression. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 23, 1-11.
- Griffin, S. (1971). Rape: The all-American crime. *Ramparts*, September, 26-35.
- Griffin, S. (1986). *Rape: The politics of consciousness* (3rd Ed.). San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row.
- Gross, A.M., Winslett, A., Miguel, R., & Gohm, C.L. (2006). An examination of sexual violence against women. *Violence Against Women*, 12, 288-300.
- Groth, A.N. (1979). *Men who rape*. New York: Plenum.
- Groth, A.N., & Burgess, A.W. (1977). Rape: A sexual deviation. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 47, 400-406.
- Gunnarsson, L. (1978). *Children in day care and family care in Sweden*. Stockholm, Sweden: Department of Educational Research.

- Gwartney-Gibbs, P.A., & Stockard, J. (1989). Courtship aggression and mix-sex peer groups. In M.A. Pirog-Good & J.E. Stets (Eds.), *Violence in dating relationships: Emerging social issues* (pp. 185-204). New York: Praeger.
- Gwartney-Gibbs, P.A., Stockard, J., & Bohmer, S. (1987). Learning courtship aggression: The influence of parents, peers, and personal experiences. *Family Relations*, *36*, 276-282.
- Hammock, G.S., & Richardson, D.R. (1997). Perceptions of rape: The influence of closeness of relationship, intoxication, and sex of participant. *Violence and Victims*, *12*, 237-246.
- Hammond, C.B., & Calhoun, K.S. (2007). Labeling of abusive experiences and rates of victimization. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *31*, 371-380.
- Handler, L. (1995). In the fraternal sisterhood: Sororities as a gender strategy. *Gender & Society*, *9*, 236-255.
- Hannon, R., Hall, D.S., Kuntz, T., Van Laar, S., & Williams, J. (1995). Dating characteristics leading to unwanted vs. wanted sexual behavior. *Sex Roles*, *33*, 767-783.
- Harney, P.A., & Muehlenhard, C.L. (1991). Factors that increase the likelihood of victimization. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (Eds.), *Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime* (pp. 159-175). New York: Wiley.
- Harnish, R.J., Abbey, A., & DeBono, K.G. (1990). Toward an understanding of "the sex game." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *20*, 1333-1344.
- Hasbrook, C., & Harris, O. (1999). Wrestling with gender: Physicality and masculinities among inner-city first and second graders. *Men and Masculinities*, *1*, 302-318.
- Hawley, A. (1950). *Human ecology: A theory of community structure*. New York: Ronald.
- Herman, D.F. (1984). The rape culture. In J. Freeman (Ed.), *Women: A feminist perspective* (3rd Ed.). Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Press.

- Herman, J. (1981). *Father-daughter incest*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Hepburn, J.R. (1977). Testing alternative models of delinquency causation. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 67, 450-460.
- Hickman, S.E., & Muelenhard, C.L. (1997). College women's fears and precautionary behaviors relating to acquaintance rape and stranger rape. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21, 527-547.
- Higgins, G.E., & Tewksbury, R. (2006). Sex and self-control theory: The measures and causal model may be different. *Youth & Society*, 37, 479-503.
- Himelein, M.J. (1995). Risk factors for sexual victimization in dating: A longitudinal study of college women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 19, 31-48.
- Hindelang, M.S., Gottfredson, M.R., & Garofalo, J. (1978). *Victims of personal crime*. Cambridge: Ballinger.
- Hines, D.A. (2007). Predictors of sexual coercion against men and women: A multilevel, multinational study of university students. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 36, 403-422.
- Hink, S.S., & Thomas, R.W. (1999). Rape myth acceptance in college students: How far have we come? *Sex Roles*, 40, 815-832.
- Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of delinquency*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Horowitz, H.L. (1987). *Campus life: Undergraduate cultures from the end of the eighteenth century to the present*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Hough, M. (1987). Offenders' choice of targets: Findings from victim surveys. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 3, 355-369.

- Hoyt, D.R., Ryan, K.D., & Cauce, A.M. (1999). Personal victimization in a high-risk environment: Homeless and runaway adolescents. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 36*, 371-392.
- Hu, L., & Bentler, P. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling, 6*, 1-55.
- Humphrey, S.E., & Kahn, A.S. (2000). Fraternities, athletic teams, and rape: Importance of identification with a risky group. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 15*, 1313-1322.
- Institutional Research. (n.d.). *Enrollment and persistence*. Retrieved May 15, 2007 from http://www.ir.wsu.edu/CommonDataSet/CDS2006_2007.xls.
- Institutional Research. (n.d.). *Certified Majors by Campus and College, Fall 2003 to Fall 2007*. Retrieved May 15, 2007 from http://www.ir.wsu.edu/db11.asp?tq=Certified_Majors_by_Campus_College&st=Semester,College&flt=Semester,College
- Ito, T.A., Miller, N., & Pollock, V.E. (1996). Alcohol and aggression: A meta-analysis on the moderating effects of inhibitory cues, triggering events, and self-focused attention. *Psychological Bulletin, 120*, 60-82.
- Jackson, A., Gilliland, K., & Veneziano, L. (2006). Routine activity theory and sexual deviance among male college students. *Journal of Family Violence, 21*, 449-460.
- Jackson, R., & Winkler, R.C. (1964). A comparison of pledges and independents. *Personnel and Guidance Journal, 43*, 379-382.
- Jenkins, M.J., & Dambrot, F.H. (1987). The attribution of date rape: Observer's attitudes and sexual experiences and the dating situation. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 17*, 875-895.

- Jensen, G.F. (1972). Parents, peers, and delinquent action: A test of the differential association perspective. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 562-575.
- Johnson, A.J. (1997). *The gender knot: Unraveling our patriarchal legacy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Johnson, A.J. (2001). *Privilege, power, and difference*. California: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- Johnson, R.E. (1979). *Juvenile delinquency and its origins*. New York: Cambridge University.
- Johnson, B.E., Kuck, D.L., & Schander, P.R. (1997). Rape myth acceptance and sociodemographic characteristics: A multidimensional analysis. *Sex Roles*, 36, 693-707.
- Johnson, K.K.P., & Lee, M. (2000). Effects of clothing and behavior on perceptions concerning an alleged date rape. *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal*, 28, 332-356.
- Johnson, J.D., Noel, N.E., & Sutter-Hernandez, J. (2000). Alcohol and male acceptance of sexual aggression: The role of perceptual ambiguity. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 30, 1186-1200.
- Kahn, A.S., Jackson, J., Kully, C., Badger, K., & Halvorsen, J. (2003). Calling it rape: Differences in experiences of women who do or do not label their sexual assault as rape. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 27, 233-242.
- Kahn, A.S., Mathie, V.A., & Torgler, C. (1994). Rape scripts and rape acknowledgement. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 18, 53-66.
- Kalof, L., & Cargill, T. (1991). Fraternity and sorority membership and gender dominance attitudes. *Sex Roles*, 25, 417-423.
- Kalof, L. (1993). Rape supportive attitudes and sexual victimization experiences of sorority and non-sorority women. *Sex Roles*, 29, 767-780.

- Kanin, E.J. (1957). Male aggression in dating-courtship relations. *American Journal of Sociology*, 63, 197-204.
- Kanin, E.J. (1967a). Reference groups and sex conduct norms. *Sociological Quarterly*, 8, 495-504.
- Kanin, E.J. (1967b). An examination of sexual aggression as a response to sexual frustration. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 29, 428-433.
- Kanin, E.J. (1969). Selected dyadic aspects of male sex aggression. *Journal of Sex Research*, 5, 12-28.
- Kanin, E.J. (1983). Rape as a function of relative sexual frustration. *Psychological Reports*, 52, 133-134.
- Kanin, E.J. (1984). Date rape: Unofficial criminals and victims. *Victimology*, 9, 95-108.
- Kanin, E.J. (1985). Date rapists: Differential sexual socialization and relative deprivation. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 14, 219-231.
- Kanin, E.J., & Parcell, S.R. (1977). Sexual aggression: A second look at the offended female. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 6, 67-76.
- Karacin, I., Williams, R.L., Guerrero, M.W., Salis, P.J., Thornby, J.I., & Hursch, C.J. (1974). Nocturnal penile tumescence and sleep of convicted rapists and other prisoners. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 3, 19-26.
- Keane, C.P., Mazim, P.S., & Teevan, J.J. (1993). Drinking and driving, self-control, and gender: Testing a general theory of crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 30, 30-46.
- Kessler, S., Ashenden, D.J., Connell, R.W., & Dowsett, G.W. (1985). Gender relations in secondary schooling. *Sociology of Education*, 58, 34-48.

- Kilmartin, Christopher T. (2000). *The masculine self* (2nd Ed.). Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Kirkpatrick, C., & Kanin, E. (1957). Male sex aggression on a university campus. *American Sociological Review*, 22, 52-58.
- Knight, J.R., Wechsler, H., Kuo, M., Seibring, M., Weitzman, E.R., & Schuckit, M.A. (2002). Alcohol abuse and dependence among U.S. college students. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 63, 263-270.
- Kopper, B.A. (1996). Gender, gender identity, rape myth acceptance, and time of initial resistance on the perception of acquaintance rape blame and avoidability. *Sex Roles*, 34, 81-93.
- Kornhauser, R. (1978). *Social sources of delinquency*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Koss, M.P. (1995a). Hidden rape: Sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of students in higher education. In P. Searles & R. Berger (Eds.), *Rape and society: Readings on the problem of sexual assault* (pp. 35-50). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Koss, M.P. (1995b). The hidden rape victim: Personality, attitudinal, and situational characteristics. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 12, 1-24.
- Koss, M.P., & Dinero, T.E. (1989). Discriminant analysis of risk factors for sexual victimization among a sample of college women. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 57, 242-250.
- Koss, M.P., Dinero, T.E., Seibel, C.A., & Cox, S.L. (1988). Stranger and acquaintance rape: Are there differences in the victim's experience? *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 12, 1-24.
- Koss, M.P., & Gaines, J. (1993). The prediction of sexual aggression by alcohol use, athletic participation, and fraternity affiliation. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 8, 94-107.

- Koss, M.P., Gidycz, C.A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of students in higher education. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 55*, 162-170.
- Koss, M.P., Goodman, L., Browne, A., Fitzgerald, L., Keita, G., & Russo, F. (1994). *No safe haven: Male violence against women at home, at work, and in the community*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Koss, M.P., Leonard, K.E., Beezley, D.A., & Oros, C.J. (1985). Nonstranger sexual aggression: A discriminant analysis of the psychological characteristics of undetected offenders. *Sex Roles, 12*, 981-992.
- Koss, M.P., & Oros, C.J. (1982). Sexual experiences survey: A research instrument investigating sexual aggression and victimization. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 50*, 455-457.
- Krahe, B., Bieneck, S., & Scheinberger-Olwig, R. (2007). The role of sexual scripts in sexual aggression and victimization. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 36*, 687-701
- Lackie, L., & de Man, A.F. (1997). Correlates of sexual aggression among male university students. *Sex Roles, 37*, 451-457.
- LaGrange, T.C., & Silverman, R.A. (1999). Low self-control and opportunity: Testing the general theory of crime as an explanation for gender differences in delinquency. *Criminology, 37*, 41-72.
- Land, K. (1969). Principles of path analysis. *Sociological Methodology, 1*, 3-37.
- Laner, M.R., & Ventrone, N.A. (2000). Dating scripts revisited. *Journal of Family Issues, 21*, 488-500.

- Lanier, C.A. (2001). Rape-accepting attitudes. *Violence Against Women, 7*, 876-885.
- LaPlante, M.N., McCormick, N., & Branningan, G.G. (1980). Living the sexual script: College students' views of influence in sexual encounters. *Journal of Sex Research, 16*, 338-355.
- Larimer, M.E., Anderson, B.K., Baer, J.S., & Marlatt, G.A. (2000). An individual in context: Predictors of alcohol use and drinking problems among Greek and residence hall students. *Journal of Substance Abuse, 11*, 53-68.
- Larsen, K.S., & Long, E. (1988). Attitudes toward sex roles: Traditional or egalitarian? *Sex Roles, 19*, 1-12.
- Larson, R.F., & Leslie, G.R. (1968). Prestige influences in serious dating relationships of university students. *Social Forces, 47*, 195-202.
- Lee, A.M. (1955). *Fraternities without brotherhood: A study of prejudice on the American campus*. Boston: Beacon.
- Lee, R.M. (2000). Community cohesion and violent predatory victimization: A theoretical extension and cross-national test of opportunity theory. *Social Forces, 79*, 683-688.
- Leigh, B.C. (1987). Beliefs about the effects of alcohol on self and others. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 48*, 467-475.
- Leigh, B.C. (1990). The relationship of sex-related alcohol expectancies to alcohol consumption and sexual behavior. *British Journal of Addiction, 85*, 919-928.
- Lever, J. (1976). Sex differences in the games children play. *Social Problems, 23*, 478-487.
- Lever, J. (1978). Sex differences in the complexity of children's play and games. *American Sociological Review, 43*, 471-483.
- Lewin, M. (1985). Unwanted intercourse: The difficulty of saying no. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9*, 184-192.

- Linz, D., Donnerstein, E., & Adams, S.M. (1989). Psychological desensitization and judgments about female victims of violence. *Human Communication Research, 15*, 509-522.
- Linz, D., Donnerstein, E., & Penrod, S. (1988). Effects of long-term exposure to violent and sexually degrading depictions of women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 5*, 758-768.
- Lippa, R.A. (2001). On deconstructing and reconstructing masculinity and femininity. *Journal of Research in Personality, 35*, 168-207.
- Lisak, D. (1991). Sexual aggression, masculinity, and fathers. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 16*, 238-262.
- Lisak, D. (1994). Subjective assessment of relationships with parents by sexually aggressive and nonaggressive men. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 9*, 399-411.
- Littleton, H.L., & Axsom, D. (2003). Rape and seduction scripts of university students: Implications for rape attributions and unacknowledged rape. *Sex Roles, 49*, 465-475.
- Littleton, H.L., Axsom, D., & Yoder, M. (2006). Priming of consensual and nonconsensual sexual scripts: An experimental test of the role of scripts in rape attribution. *Sex Roles, 54*, 557-563.
- Logan, T.K., Walker, R., Cole, J., & Leukefeld, C. (2002). Victimization and substance abuse among women: Contributing factors, interventions, and implications. *Review of General Psychology, 6*, 325-397.
- Loh, C., Gidycz, C.A., Lobo, T.R., & Luthra, R. (2005). A prospective analysis of sexual assault perpetration: Risk factors related to perpetrator characteristics. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 20*, 1325-1348.

- Loiselle, M., & Fugua, W.R. (2007). Alcohol's effects on women's risk detection in a date-rape vignette. *Journal of American College Health, 55*, 261-266.
- Lonsway, K.A. (1996). Preventing acquaintance rape through education: What do we know? *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 20*, 229-265.
- Lonsway, K.A., & Fitzgerald, L.F. (1994). Rape myths: In review. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 18*, 133-164.
- Lonsway, K.A., & Fitzgerald, L.F. (1995). Attitudinal antecedents of rape myth acceptance: A theoretical and empirical reexamination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*, 704-711.
- Lord, M.J. (1987). The Greek rites of exclusion. *The Nation*, (4 July), 10-13.
- Lott, B., Reilly, M., & Howard, D. (1982). Sexual assault and harassment: A campus community case study. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 8*, 296-320.
- Lottes, I.L. (1988). Sexual socialization and attitudes toward rape. In A.W. Burgess (Ed.), *Rape and sexual assault II* (pp. 193-220). New York: Garland.
- Lottes, I.L., & Kuriloff, P.J. (1994a). Sexual socialization differences by gender, Greek membership, ethnicity, and religious background. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 18*, 203-219.
- Lottes, I.L., & Kuriloff, P.J. (1994b). The impact of college experience on political and social attitudes. *Sex Roles, 31*, 31-54.
- Lutze, F.E. (2003). The acceptance of ultramasculine stereotypes and violence in the control of women inmates. In B. Zaitzow and J. Thomas (Eds.), *Women in prison: Gender and control* (pp. 183-203). Denver, CO: Lynne Reinner.

- Lutze, F.E., & Bell, C.A. (2005). Boot camp prisons as masculine organizations: Rethinking recidivism and program design. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 40*, 133-152.
- Lynch, J.P. (1987). Routine activity and victimization at work. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 3*, 283-300.
- Lytton, H., & Romney, D.M. (1991). Parents' self-related differential socialization of boys and girls: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 109*, 267-296.
- Macy, R.J. (2006). A coping theory framework toward preventing sexual revictimization. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 12*, 177-192.
- Madriz, E. (1996). The perception of risk in the workplace: A test of routine activity theory. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 24*, 407-418.
- Malamuth, N.M. (1983). Factors associated with rape as predictors of laboratory aggression against women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45*, 432-442.
- Malamuth, N.M. (1986). Predictors of naturalistic sexual aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50*, 953-962.
- Malamuth, N.M. (1998). The confluence model as an organizing framework for research on sexually aggressive men: Risk moderators, imagined aggression, and pornography consumption. In R.G. Geen and E. Donnerstein (Eds.), *Human aggression: Theories, research, and implications for social policy* (pp. 229-245). New York: Academic Press.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Ceniti, J. (1986). Repeated exposure to violent and nonviolent pornography: Likelihood of raping ratings and laboratory aggression against women. *Aggressive Behavior, 12*, 129-137.

- Malamuth, N.M., & Check, J.V.P. (1981). The effects of mass media exposure on acceptance of violence against women: A field experiment. *Journal of Research in Personality, 15*, 436-446.
- Malamuth, N.M., & Check, J.V.P. (1983). Sexual arousal to rape depictions: Individual differences. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 92*, 55-67.
- Malamuth, N.M., & Check, J.V.P. (1985). The effects of aggressive pornography on beliefs in rape myths: Individual differences. *Journal of Research in Personality, 19*, 299-320.
- Malamuth, N.M., Harber, S., & Feshbach, S. (1980). Testing hypotheses regarding rape: Exposure to sexual violence, sex differences, and the “normality” of rapists. *Journal of Research in Personality, 14*, 121-137.
- Malamuth, N.M., Linz, D., Heavey, C.L., Barnes, G., & Aker, M. (1995). Using the confluence model of sexual aggression to predict men’s conflict with women: A 10-year follow-up study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*, 353-369.
- Malamuth, N.M., Sockloskie, J.S., Koss, M.P., & Tanaka, J.S. (1991). Characteristics of aggressors against women: Testing a model using a sample of college students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 59*, 670-681.
- Mandoki, C.A., & Burkhart, B.R. (1989). Sexual victimization: Is there a vicious cycle? *Violence and Victims, 4*, 179-190.
- Margolin, L., Miller, M., & Moran, P.B. (1989). When a kiss is not just a kiss: Relating violations of consent in kissing to rape myth acceptance. *Sex Roles, 20*, 231-243.

- Marlatt, G.A., Baer, J.S., & Larimer, M. (1995). Preventing alcohol abuse in college students: A harm-reduction approach. In G.M. Boyd, J. Howard, & R.A. Zucker (Eds.), *Alcohol problems among adolescents: Current directions in prevention research* (pp. 147-172). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Marlow, A.F., & Auvenshine, C.D. (1982). Greek membership: Its impact on moral development of college freshman. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 23*, 53-57.
- Marshall, W.L. (1988). The use of sexually explicit stimuli by rapists, child molesters, and non-offenders. *Journal of Sex Research, 25*, 267-288.
- Martin, P.Y. & Hummer, R.A. (1989). Fraternities and rape on campus. *Gender and Society, 3*, 457-473.
- Martin, K., Vieraitis, L.M., & Britto, S. (2006). Gender equality and women's absolute status: A test of the feminist models of rape. *Violence Against Women, 12*, 321-339.
- Marx, B.P., Van Wie, V., & Gross, A.M. (1996). Date rape risk factors: A review and methodological critique of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 1*, 27-45.
- Masser, B., Viki, G.T., & Power, C. (2006). Hostile sexism and rape proclivity amongst men. *Sex Roles, 54*, 565-574.
- Matsueda, R.L., & Anderson, A. (1998). The dynamics of delinquent peers and delinquent behavior. *Criminology, 36*, 269-308.
- Matsueda, R.L., & Heimer, K. (1987). Race, family structure, and delinquency: A test of differential association and social control theories. *American Sociological Review, 52*, 826-840.
- McConahay, S., & McConahay, J. (1977). Sexual permissiveness, sex-role rigidity, and violence across cultures. *Journal of Social Issues, 33*, 134-143.

- Mead, G.H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Medea, A., & Thompson, K. (1974). *Against rape*. New York, NY: Farrar, Strauss, & Giroux.
- Mendelsohn, B. (1956). The victimology. *Etudes Internationales de Psycho-Sociologie Criminelle*, 3, 25-26.
- Merrill, M. (1992). Male athletes and sexual assault. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation, & Dance*, 63, 32-35.
- Merton, R. (1938). Social Structure and Anomie. *American Sociological Review*, 3, 672-682.
- Messman-Moore, T.L., & Brown, A.L. (2006). Risk perception, rape, and sexual revictimization: A prospective study of college women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, 159-172.
- Messman-Moore, T.L., & Long, P.J. (2002). Alcohol and substance use disorders as predictors of child to adult sexual revictimization in a sample of community women. *Violence and Victims*, 17, 319-340.
- Metts, S., & Spitzberg, B.H. (1996). Sexual communication in interpersonal contexts. In B.R. Burleson (Ed.), *Communication yearbook 19* (pp. 49-91). New Brunswick, NJ: International Communication Association.
- Miethe, T.D., Hughes, M., & McDowall, D. (1991). Social change and crime rates: An evaluation of alternative theoretical approaches. *Social Forces*, 70, 165-185.
- Miethe, T.D., & McDowall, D. (1993). Contextual effects in models of criminal victimization. *Social Forces*, 91, 741-759.
- Miethe, T.D., & Meier, R.F. (1990). Criminal opportunity and victimization rates: A structural choice theory of criminal victimization. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 27, 243-266.

- Miethe, T.D., & Meier, R.F. (1994). *Crime and its social context: Toward an integrated theory of offenders, victims, and situations*. Albany, NY: State University of New York.
- Miethe, T.D., Stafford, M.D., & Long, J.S. (1987). Social differentiation in criminal victimization: A test of routine activities and lifestyle theories. *American Sociological Review*, 52, 184-194.
- Miethe, T.D., Stafford, M.D., & Stone, D. (1990). Lifestyle changes and risks of criminal victimization. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 6, 357-375.
- Milhausen, R.R., McBride, K.R., & Jun, M.K. (2006). Evaluating a peer-led, theatrical sexual assault prevention program: How do we measure success? *College Student Journal*, 40, 316-328.
- Miller, W. (1958). Lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency. *Journal of Social Issues*, 14, 5-19.
- Miller, S.L., & Burack, C. (1993). A critique of Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime: Selective (in)attention to gender and power positions. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 4, 115-134.
- Miller, B., & Marshall, J.C. (1987). Coercive sex on the university campus. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 28, 38-47.
- Mills, C.S., & Granoff, B.J. (1992). Date and acquaintance rape among a sample of college students. *Social Work*, 37, 504-509.
- Mirrlees-Black, C., & Allen, J. (1998). *Concern about crime: Findings from the 1998 British Crime Survey*. Home Office Research Study No. 83. London: Home Office.

- Mongeau, P.A., & Carey, C.M. (1996). Who's wooing whom II? An experimental investigation of date-initiation and expectancy violation. *Western Journal of Communication, 60*, 195-213.
- Mongeau, P.A., Hale, J.L., Johnson, K.L., & Hillis, J.D. (1993). Who's wooing whom? An investigation of female initiated dating. In P.J. Kalbfleisch (Ed.), *Interpersonal communication: Evolving interpersonal relationships* (pp. 51-68). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Mooney, D.K., Fromme, K., Kivlahan, D.R., & Marlatt, G.A. (1987). Correlates of alcohol consumption: Sex, age, and expectancies relate differentially to quantity and frequency. *Addictive Behaviors, 12*, 235-240.
- Moriarty, L.J., & Williams, J.E. (1996). Examining the relationship between routine activities theory and social disorganization: An analysis of property victimization. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 21*, 43-59.
- Morr, M.C., & Mongeau, P.A. (2004). First-date expectations: The impact of sex of initiator, alcohol consumption, and relationship type. *Communication Research, 31*, 3-35.
- Mosher, D.L., & Anderson, R.D. (1986). Macho personality, sexual aggression, and reactions to guided imagery of realistic rape. *Journal of Research in Personality, 20*, 77-94.
- Mosher, D.L., & Sirkin, M. (1984). Measuring a macho personality constellation. *Journal of Research in Personality, 18*, 150-163.
- Muehlenhard, C.L. (1988). Misinterpreted dating behaviors and the risk of date rape. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 6*, 20-37.

- Muehlenhard, C.L., Andrews, S.L., & Beal, G.K. (1996). Beyond “just saying no”: Dealing with men’s unwanted sexual advances in heterosexual dating contexts. In E.S. Byers & L.F. O’Sullivan (Eds.), *Sexual coercion in dating relationships* (pp. 141-168). New York: Haworth.
- Muehlenhard, C.L., & Falcon, P.L. (1990). Men’s heterosexual skills and attitudes toward women as predictors of verbal sexual coercion and forceful rape. *Sex Roles, 23*, 241-259.
- Muehlenhard, C.L., Friedman, D.E., Thomas, C.M. (1985). Is date rape justifiable? The effects of dating activity, who initiated, who paid, and men’s attitudes toward women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9*, 297-309.
- Muehlenhard, C.L., & Hollabaugh, L.C. (1988). Do women sometimes say no when they really mean yes? The prevalence and correlates of women’s token resistance to sex. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54*, 872-879.
- Muehlenhard, C.L., & Linton, M.A. (1987). Date rape and sexual aggression in dating situations: Incidence and risk factors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 34*, 186-196.
- Muehlenhard, C.L., & MacNaughton, J.S. (1988). Women’s beliefs about women who “lead men on.” *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 7*, 65-79.
- Muehlenhard, C.L., & McCoy, M.L. (1991). Double standard/double bind: The sexual double standard and women’s communication about sex. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15*, 447-461.
- Muehlenhard, C.L., Powch, I.G., Phelps, J.L., & Giusti, L.M. (1992). Definitions of rape: Scientific and political implications. *Journal of Social Issues, 48*, 23-44.
- Muehlenhard, C.L., & Rodgers, C.S. (1998). Token resistance to sex: New perspectives on an old stereotype. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 22*, 443-463.

- Murnen, S.K., & Kohlman, M.H. (2007). Athletic participation, fraternity membership, and sexual aggression among college men: A meta-analytic review. *Sex Roles, 57*, 145-157.
- Murnen, S.K., Wright, C., & Kaluzny, G. (2002). If “boys will be boys,” then girls will be victims? A meta-analytic review of the research that relates masculine ideology to sexual aggression. *Sex Roles, 46*, 359-375.
- Mustaine, E.E., & Tewksbury, R. (1998). Predicting risks of larceny theft victimization: A routine activity analysis using refined lifestyle measures. *Criminology, 36*, 829-857.
- Mustaine, E.E., & Tewksbury, R. (1999). A routine activity theory explanation for women’s stalking victimizations. *Violence Against Women, 5*, 43-62.
- Mustaine, E.E., & Tewksbury, R. (2002). Sexual assault of college women: A feminist interpretation of a routine activities analysis. *Criminal Justice Review, 27*, 89-123.
- Myers, M.B., Templer, D.I., & Brown, R. (1984). Coping ability of women who become victims of rape. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 52*, 73-78.
- Nagin, D.S., & Paternoster, R. (1993). Enduring individual differences and rational choice theories of crime. *Law & Society Review, 3*, 467-496.
- Nelson, J. (1980). Multiple victimization in American cities: A statistical analysis of rare events. *American Journal of Sociology, 85*, 870-891.
- Norris, J., & Cubbins, L.A. (1992). Dating, drinking, and rape: Effects of victim’s and assailant’s alcohol consumption on judgments of their behavior and traits. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 16*, 179-191.
- Norris, J., & Kerr, K.L. (1993). Alcohol and violent pornography: Responses to permissive and nonpermissive cues. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Supplement 11*, 118-127.

- Norris, J., Nurius, P.S., & Dimeff, L.A. (1996). Through her eyes: Factors affecting women's perception and resistance to acquaintance sexual aggression threat. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 20, 123-145.
- Norris, J., Nurius, P.S., & Graham, T.L. (1999). When a date changes from fun to dangerous: Factors affecting women's ability to distinguish. *Violence Against Women*, 5, 230-250.
- Nurius, P.S., Norris, J., Dimeff, L.A., & Graham, T.L. (1996). Expectations regarding acquaintance sexual aggression among sorority and fraternity members. *Sex Roles*, 35, 427-444.
- Ogletree, R. (1993). Sexual coercion experience and help seeking behavior of college women. *Journal of American College Health*, 41, 149-153.
- O'Malley, P.M., & Johnston, L.D. (2002). Epidemiology of alcohol and other drug use among American college students. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Supplement 14*, 23-39.
- Osland, J.A., Fitch, M., & Willis, E.E. (1996). Likelihood to rape in college males. *Sex Roles*, 35, 171-183.
- Parrot, A. (1990). *Acquaintance rape and sexual assault*. Holmes Beach, FL: Learning Publications.
- Parrot, A. (1991). Institutionalized reponse: How can acquaintance rape be prevented? In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (Eds.), *Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime* (pp. 355-367). New York: Wiley.
- Peplau, L.A., Rubin, Z., & Hill, C. (1977). Sexual intimacy in dating relationships. *Journal of Social Issues*, 33, 2, 86-109.

- Peterson, R.D., & Bailey, W.C. (1992). Rape and dimensions of gender socioeconomic inequality in U.S. metropolitan areas. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 29, 162-177.
- Peterson, Z.D., & Muehlenhard, C.L. (2004). Was it rape? The function of women's rape myth acceptance and definitions of sex in labeling their own experiences. *Sex Roles*, 51, 129-144.
- Petraitis, P.S., Dunham, A.E., & Niewiarowski, P.H. (1996). Inferring multiple causality: The limitations of path analysis. *Functional Ecology*, 10, 421-431.
- Pezza, P.E. (1995). College campus violence: The nature of the problem and its frequency. *Educational Psychology Review*, 7, 93-109.
- Piquero, A.R., MacDonald, J., Dobrin, A., Daigle, L.E., & Cullen, F.T. (2005). Self-control, violent offending, and homicide victimization: Assessing the general theory of crime. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 21, 55-71.
- Piquero, A.R., & Tibbetts, S. (1996). Specifying the direct and indirect effects of low self-control and situational factors in decision-making: Toward a more complete model of rational offending. *Justice Quarterly*, 13, 491-510.
- Plant, W.T. (1958). Sex, intelligence, and sorority or fraternity membership and changes in ethnocentrism over a two-year period. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 93, 53-57.
- Pollard, P. (1992). Judgments about victims and attackers in depicted rapes: A review. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 31, 307-326.
- Poppen, P.J., & Segal, N.J. (1988). The influence of sex and sex role orientation on sexual coercion. *Sex Roles*, 19, 689-701.

- Pratt, T.C., & Cullen, F.T. (2000). The empirical status of Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime: A meta-analysis. *Criminology*, 38, 931-964.
- Prendergast, M.L. (1994). Substance use and abuse among college students: A review of recent literature. *Journal of American College Health*, 43, 99-113.
- Quakenbush, R.L. (1989). A comparison of androgynous, masculine sex-typed, and undifferentiated males on dimensions of attitudes toward rape. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 23, 318-342.
- Quinn, K., Sanchez-Hucles, J., Coates, G., & Gillen, B. (1991). Men's compliance with a woman's resistance to unwanted sexual advances. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 17, 13-31.
- Rada, R.T. (1975). Alcoholism and forcible rape. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 132, 444-446.
- Rada, R.T. (1978). *Clinical aspects of the rapist*. New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Rada, R.T., Laws, D.R., & Kellner, R. (1976). Plasma testosterone levels in the rapist. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 38, 257-268.
- Rapaport, K., & Burkhart, B.R. (1984). Personality and attitudinal characteristics of sexual coercive college males. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 93, 216-222.
- Ratliff, K.C., & Burkhart, B.R. (1984). Sex differences in motivations for and effects of drinking among college students. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 45, 26-32.
- Reaves, B.A. (2006). *Violent felons in large urban counties: State court processing statistics, 1990-2002*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, NCJ 205289.
- Reiss, A.J., & Rhodes, A.L. (1964). An empirical test of differential association theory. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 1, 5-18.

- Rich, C.L., Combs-Lane, A.M., Resnick, H., & Kilpatrick, D.G. (2004). Child sexual abuse and adult sexual revictimization. In L.J. Koenig, L.S. Doll, A. O'Leary, & W. Pequegnat (Eds.), *From child sexual abuse to adult sexual risk trauma, revictimization, and intervention*. (pp. 269-295). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Richardson, D., & Campbell, J.L. (1982). Alcohol and rape: The effect of alcohol on attributions of blame for rape. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 8, 468-476.
- Riedel, R.G. (1993). Effects of pretrial publicity on male and female jurors and judges in a mock rape trial. *Psychological Reports*, 73, 819-832.
- Riger, S., & Gordon, M.T. (1981). The fear of rape: A study in social control. *Journal of Social Issues*, 37, 71-92.
- Riley, D. (1987). Time and crime: The link between teenager lifestyle and delinquency. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 3, 339-354.
- Riordan, B.G., & Dana, R.Q. (1998). Greek letter organizations and alcohol: Problems, policies, and programs. *New Directions for Student Services*, 81, 49-59.
- Risman, B.J. (1982). College women and sororities: The social construction and reaffirmation of gender roles. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 11, 231-252.
- Rivera, Jr., G.F., & Robert, M.R. (1987). Sexual victimization experiences of sorority women. *Sociology and Social Research*, 72, 39-42.
- Rodgers, K. & Roberts, G. (1995). Women's non-spousal multiple victimization: A test of the routine activities theory. *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 37, 361-391.
- Rogers, E.M., & Havens, A.E. (1960). Prestige rating and mate selection on a college campus. *Marriage and Family Living*, 22, 55-59.

- Roncek, D.W., & Bell, R. (1981). Bars, blocks, and crimes. *Journal of Environmental Systems*, 11, 35-47.
- Roncek, D.W., & Maier, P.A. (1991). Bars, blocks, and crimes revisited: Linking the theory of routine activities to the empiricism of "hot spots." *Criminology*, 29, 725-753.
- Roodman, A.A., & Clum, G.A. (2001). Revictimization rates and method variance: A meta-analysis. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 21, 183-204.
- Rose, V.M. (1977). Rape as a social problem: A by-product of the feminist movement. *Social Problems*, 25, 75-89.
- Rose, S., & Frieze, I.H. (1989). Young singles' scripts for a first date. *Gender and Society*, 3, 258-268.
- Rose, S., & Frieze, I.H. (1993). Young singles contemporary dating scripts. *Sex Roles*, 28, 499-509.
- Rotton, J., & Cohn, E.G. (2003). Global warming and U.S. crime rates: An application of routine activity theory. *Environment and Behavior*, 35, 802-825.
- Rountree, P.W., Land, K.C., & Miethe, T.D. (1994). Macro-micro integration in the study of victimization: A hierarchical logistic model analysis across Seattle neighborhoods. *Criminology*, 32, 387-414.
- Russell, D.E.H. (1975). *The politics of rape: The victim's perspective*. New York: Stein and Day.
- Sampson, R.J. (1987). Personal violence by strangers: An extension and test of the opportunity model of predatory victimization. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 78, 327-356.
- Sampson, R.J., & Groves, B. (1989). Community structure and crime: Testing social-disorganization theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 774-802.

- Sampson, R.J., & Lauritsen J.L. (1990). Deviant lifestyles, proximity to crime, and the offender-victim link in personal violence. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 27, 110-139.
- Sampson, R.J., & Wooldredge, J.D. (1987). Linking the micro- and macro-level dimensions of lifestyle-routine activity and opportunity models of predatory victimization. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 3, 371-393.
- Sanday, P.R. (1981). The socio-cultural context of rape: A cross-cultural study. *Journal of Social Issues*, 37, 5-27.
- Sanday, P.R. (1990). *Fraternity gang rape: Sex, brotherhood, and privilege on campus*. New York: New York University Press.
- Sanday, P.R. (1996). Rape-prone versus rape-free campus cultures. *Violence Against Women*, 2, 191-208.
- Sawyer, R.G., & Schulken, E.D. (1997). A survey of sexual victimization in sorority women. *College Student Journal*, 31, 387-395.
- Schmidt, M.R. (1971). Relationship between sorority membership and changes in selected personality variables and attitudes. *The Journal of College Student Personnel*, 12, 208-212.
- Schreck, C.J. (1999). Criminal victimization and low self-control: An extension and test of a general theory of crime. *Justice Quarterly*, 16, 633-654.
- Schreck, C.J., Miller, J.M., & Gibson, C.L. (2003). Trouble in the school yard: A study of risk factors of victimization at school. *Crime & Delinquency*, 49, 460-484.

- Schreck, C.J., Stewart, E.A., & Fisher, B.S. (2006). Self-control, victimization, and their influence on risky lifestyles: A longitudinal analysis using panel data. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 22, 319-340.
- Schwartz, M.D., & DeKeseredy, W.S. (1997). *Sexual assault on the college campus: The role of male peer support*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Schwartz, M.D., & DeKeseredy, W.S. (2000). Aggregation bias and woman abuse: Variations by male peer support, religion, language, and school type. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 15, 555-565.
- Schwartz, M.D., DeKeseredy, W.S., Tait, D., & Alvi, S. (2001). Male peer support and a feminist routine activities theory: Understanding sexual assault on the college campus. *Justice Quarterly*, 18, 623-649.
- Schwartz, M.D., & Nogrady, C.A. (1996). Fraternity membership, rape myths, and sexual aggression on a college campus. *Violence Against Women*, 2, 148-162.
- Schwartz, M.D., & Pitts, V.L. (1995). Exploring a feminist routine activities approach to explaining sexual assault. *Justice Quarterly*, 12, 9-31.
- Schwendinger, J., & Schwendinger, H. (1983). *Rape and inequality*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Scott, J.F. (1965). The American college sorority: Its role in class and ethnic endogamy. *American Sociological Review*, 30, 514-527.
- Scully, D. (1990). *Understanding sexual violence: A study of convicted rapists*. New York: Routledge.
- Scully, D., & Marolla, J. (1985). "Riding the bull at Gilley's": Convicted rapists describe the rewards of rape. *Social Problems*, 32, 251-263.

- Selkin, J. (1978). Protecting personal space: Victim and resister reactions to assaultive rape. *Journal of Community Psychology, 6*, 263-268.
- Sellers, C.S. (1999). Self-control and intimate violence: An examination of the scope and specification of the general theory of crime. *Criminology, 37*, 375-404.
- Shaw, C.R., & McKay, H.D. (1942). *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Shaw, C.R., McKay, H.D., Zorbaugh, F., & Cottrell, L.S. (1929). *Delinquency areas*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Sheffield, C.J. (1987). Sexual terrorism: The social control of women. In B.B. Hess & M.M. Ferree (Eds.), *Analyzing gender: A handbook of social science research* (pp. 191-189). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Sheffield, F.D., Darkes, J., Del Boca, F.K., & Goldman, M.S. (2005). Binge drinking and alcohol-related problems among community college students: Implications for prevention policy. *Journal of American College health, 54*, 137-142.
- Sherman, L.W. (1986). Policing communities: What works? In A.J. Reiss, Jr., & M. Tonry (Eds.), *Communities and crime* (pp. 343-386). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Sherman, L.W. (1995). Hot spots of crime and criminal careers of places. In J.E. Eck & D. Weisburd (Eds.), *Crime and place: Crime prevention studies* (4th Ed.) (pp. 35-52) Monsey, NY: Willow Tree Press.
- Sherman, L.W., Gartin, P.R., & Buerger, M.E. (1989). Hot spots of predatory crime: Routine activities and the criminology of place. *Criminology, 27*, 27-55.

- Shichor, D., Decker, D.L., & O'Brien, R.M. (1980). The relationship of criminal victimization, police per capital and population density in twenty-six cities. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 8, 309-316.
- Short, J.F. (1957). Differential association and delinquency. *Social Problems*, 4, 233-239.
- Short, J.F., & Nye, F.I. (1958). Extent of unrecorded juvenile delinquency: Tentative conclusions. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 49, 296-302.
- Shotland, R.L., & Craig, J.M. (1988). Can men and women differentiate between friendly and sexually interested behavior? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 51, 66-73.
- Shotland, R.L., & Goodstein, L.I. (1983). Just because she doesn't want to doesn't mean it's rape: An experimentally based causal model of the perpetuation of rape in a dating situation. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 46, 220-232.
- Shotland, R.L., & Hunter, B.A. (1995). Women's "token resistance" and compliant sexual behaviors are related to uncertain sexual intentions and rape. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 21, 226-236.
- Siegel, J.A., & Williams, L.M. (2003). Risk factors for sexual victimization of women: Results from a prospective study. *Violence Against Women*, 9, 902-930.
- Sigelman, C.K., Berry, C.J., & Wiles, K.A. (1984). Violence in college students' dating relationships. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 14, 530-548.
- Simcha-Fagon, O., & Schwartz, J.E. (1986). Neighborhood and delinquency: An assessment of contextual effects. *Criminology*, 24, 667-699.
- Simon, W., & Gagnon, J.H. (1986). Sexual scripts: Permanence and change. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 15, 97-120.

- Simon, W., & Gagnon, J.H. (1987). A sexual scripts approach. In J.H. Geer & W.T. O'Donohue (Eds.), *Theories of human sexuality* (pp. 363-383). New York: Plenum.
- Simonson, K., & Subich, L.M. (1999). Rape perceptions as a function of gender-role traditionality and victim-perpetrator association. *Sex Roles, 40*, 617-634.
- Skinner, B.F. (1953). *Science and human behavior*. New York: Macmillan.
- Skogan, W.G. (1987). The impact of victimization on fear. *Crime and Delinquency, 33*, 135-154.
- Skogan, W.G. (1990). The pools—a review of the national crime survey redesign. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 54*, 256-272.
- Smith, M.D. (1991). Male peer support and wife abuse: An exploratory study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 6*, 512-519.
- Smith, W.R., Frazee, S.G., & Davison, E.L. (2000). Furthering the integration of routine activity and social disorganization theories: Small units of analysis and the study of robbery as a diffusion process. *Criminology, 28*, 489-524.
- Smith, D.A., & Jarjoura, R. (1989). Household characteristics, neighborhood composition, and victimization risk. *Social Forces, 68*, 621-640.
- Spain, D. (1992). The spatial foundations of men's friendships and men's power. In P. Nardi (Ed.), *Men's friendships* (pp. 59-73). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Sparks, R.F. (1981). Multiple victimization: Evidence, theory, and future research. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 72*, 762-778.
- Spence-Diehl, E. (1998). Sexual victimization: Analyzing the analysis. *Journal of American College Health, 46*, 151-158.

- Stets, J.E., & Pirog-Good, M.A. (1989). Patterns of physical and sexual abuse for men and women in dating relationships: A descriptive analysis. *Journal of Family Violence, 4*, 63-76.
- Stewart, E.A., Elifson, K.W., & Sterk, C.E. (2004). Integrating the general theory of crime into an explanation of violent victimization among female offenders. *Justice Quarterly, 21*, 159-181.
- Stomblor, M. (1994). "Buddies or slutties": The collective sexual reputation of fraternity little sisters. *Gender & Society, 8*, 297-323.
- Stomblor, M., & Martin, P.Y. (1994). Bring women in, keeping women down: Fraternity and "little sister" organizations. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 23*, 150-184.
- Stormo, K.J., Lang, A.R., & Stritzke, W.K. (1997). Attributions about acquaintance rape: The role of alcohol and individual differences. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 27*, 279-305.
- Struckman-Johnson, C., & Struckman-Johnson, D. (1992). Acceptance of male rape myths among college men and women. *Sex Roles, 27*, 85-100.
- Sutherland, E.H. (1947). *Principles of criminology*. (4th Ed.) Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- Sutherland, E.H., & Cressey, D.R. (1974). *Criminology*. (9th Ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- Svalastoga, K. (1992). Rape and social structure. *Pacific Sociological Review, 5*, 48-53.
- Synovitz, L.B., & Byrne, T.J. (1998). Antecedents of sexual victimization: Factors discriminating victims from nonvictims. *Journal of American College Health, 46*, 151-154.
- Szymanski, L.A., Devlin, A.S., Chrisler, J.C., & Vyse, S.A. (1993). Gender role and attitudes toward rape in male and female college students. *Sex Roles, 29*, 37-57.

- Testa, M., & Livingston, J.A. (1999). Qualitative analysis of women's experiences of sexual aggression: Focus on the role of alcohol. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23, 573-589.
- Tetreault, P.A., & Barnett, M.A. (1987). Reactions to stranger and acquaintance rape. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 11, 353-358.
- Tewksbury, R., & Mustaine, E.E. (2003). College students' lifestyles and self-protective behaviors: Further considerations of the guardianship concept in routine activity theory. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 30, 302-327.
- Thompson, C.Y., & Fisher, B.S. (1996). Predicting household victimization using a multi-level routine activity approach. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 19, 49-66.
- Tieger, T. (1981). Self-rated likelihood of raping and the social perception of rape. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 15, 147-158.
- Tittle, C.R., (1991). Review of a general theory of crime, by Michael R. Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi. *American Journal of Sociology*, 96, 1609-1611.
- Tittle, C.R. (1995). *Control balance: Toward a general theory of deviance*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Tittle, C.R., Burke, M.J., & Jackson, E.F. (1986). Modeling Sutherland's theory of differential association: Toward an empirical clarification. *Social Forces*, 65, 405-432.
- Tjaden, P., & Thoenes, N. (2000). *Extent, nature and consequences of intimate partner violence: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- Truman, D.M., Tokar, D.M., & Fisher, A.R. (1996). Dimensions of masculinity: Relations to date rape supportive attitudes and sexual aggression in dating situations. *Journal of Consulting and Development*, 74, 555-562.

- Tyler, K.A., Hoyt, D.R., & Whitbeck, L.B. (1998). Coercive sexual strategies. *Violence and Victims, 13*, 47-61.
- Ullman, S.E., Filipas, H.H., Townsend, S.M., & Starzynski, L.L. (2006). The role of victim-offender relationship in women's sexual assault experiences. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 21*, 798-819.
- Ullman, S.E., Karabatsos, G., & Koss, M.P. (1999). Alcohol and sexual assault in a national sample of college women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 14*, 603-625.
- U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2003, December). *National Crime Victimization Survey, 1995-2000: Violent victimization of college students*. Washington, DC.
- Vega, V., & Malamuth, N.M. (2007). Predicting sexual aggression: The role of pornography in the context of general and specific risk factors. *Aggressive Behavior, 33*, 104-117.
- Von Hentig, H. (1948). *The criminal and his victim*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Voss, H. (1964). Differential association and reported delinquent behavior: A replication. *Social Problems, 12*, 78-85.
- Wade, J.C., & Brittan-Powell, C. (2001). Men's attitudes toward race and gender equity: The importance of masculinity ideology, gender-related traits, and reference group identity dependence. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 2*, 42-50.
- Ward, C. (1988). The Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale: Construction, validation, and cross-cultural applicability. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 12*, 127-146.
- Warr, M. (2005). Making delinquent friends: Adult supervision and children's affiliations. *Criminology, 43*, 77-106.

- Warr, M., & Stafford, M. (1991). The influence of delinquent peers: What they think or what they do? *Criminology*, 29, 851-866.
- Wechsler, H., Davenport, A., Dowdall, G., Moeykens, B., & Castillo, S. (1994). Health and behavioral consequences of binge drinking in college: A national survey of students at 140 campuses. *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, 272, 1672-1677.
- Wechsler, H., Dowdall, G.A., Davenport, A., & Castillo, S. (1995). Correlates of college student binge drinking. *American Journal of Public Health*, 85, 982-985.
- Wechsler, H., Kuh, G.D., & Davenport, A.E. (1996). Fraternities, sororities, and binge drinking: Results from a national study of American colleges. *NASPA Journal*, 33, 260-279.
- Weidner, G. (1983). Rape: A sexual stigma. *Journal of Personality*, 51, 152-166.
- Weis, K., & Borges, S.S. (1973). Victimology and rape: The case of the legitimate victim. *Issues in Criminology*, 8, 71-115.
- Wenzel, S.L., Koegel, P., & Gelberg, L. (2000). Antecedents of physical and sexual victimization among homeless women: A comparison to homeless men. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 28, 367-390.
- Wexler, P. (1988). Symbolic economy of identity and denial of labor: Studies in high school number 1. In L. Weis (Ed.), *Class, race, and gender in American education* (pp. 302-315). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Whipple, E.G., & Sullivan, E.G. (1998). Greek letter organizations: Communities of learners? *New Directions for Student Services*, 81, 7-17.
- Whitbeck, L.B., & Hoyt, D.R. (1991). Campus prestige and dating behaviors. *College Student Journal*, 25, 457-469.

- Whitbeck, L.B., & Hoyt, D.R. (1994). Social prestige and assertive mating: A comparison of students from 1956 and 1988. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 2*, 137-145.
- Wiederman, M.W. (2005). The gendered nature of sexual scripts. *The Family Journal, 13*, 496-502.
- Wilder, D.H., Hoyt, A.E., Doren, D.M., Hauck, W.E., Zettle, R.D. (1978). The impact of fraternity or sorority membership on values and attitudes. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 19*, 445-449.
- Wilder, D.H., Hoyt, A.E., Surbeck, B.S., Wilder, J.C., & Careny, P.I. (1986). Greek affiliation and attitude change in college students. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 27*, 510-527.
- Williams, J.E., & Holmes, K.A. (1981). *The second assault: Rape and public attitudes*. Westport, CT: Greenwood
- Wilson, K., Faison, R., & Britton, G.M. (1983). Cultural aspects of male sex aggression. *Deviant Behavior, 4*, 241-255.
- Wilson, C., Goodwin, S., & Beck, K. (2002). Rape attitude and behavior and relationship to moral development. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 9*, 85-95.
- Windle, M. (1994). Substance use, risky behaviors, and victimization among a U.S. national adolescent sample. *Addiction, 89*, 175-182.
- Winfrey, L.T., & Bernat, F.P. (1998). Social learning, self-control, and substance abuse by eighth grade students: A tale of two cities. *Journal of Drug Issues, 28*, 539-558.
- Wittebrood, K., & Nieuwbeerta, K. (2000). Criminal victimization during one's lifecourse: The effects of previous victimization and patterns of routine activities. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 37*, 91-122.

- Whaley, R.B., & Messner, S.F. (2002). Gender equality and gendered homicides. *Homicide Studies, 6*, 188-210.
- Whatley, M.A. (2005). The effect of participant sex, victim dress, and traditional attitudes on causal judgments for marital rape victims. *Journal of Family Violence, 20*, 191-200.
- Wolfgang, M. (1958). *Patterns of criminal homicide*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.
- Wood, P.B., Pfefferbaum, B., & Arneklev, B.J. (1993). Risk-taking and self-control: Social psychological correlates of delinquency. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 16*, 111-130.
- Wooldridge, J.D., Cullen, F.T., & Latessa, E.J. (1992). Victimization in the workplace: A test of routine activities theory. *Justice Quarterly, 9*, 325-335.
- Wright, S. (1921). Correlation and causation. *Journal of Agricultural Research, 20*, 557-585.
- Wyatt, G.E., Guthrie, D., & Notgrass, C.M. (1992). Differential effects of women's child sexual abuse and subsequent sexual revictimization. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 60*, 167-173.
- Wyatt, G.A., Newcomb, M.D., & Riederle, M.H. (1993). *Sexual abuse and consensual sex: Women's developmental patterns and outcomes*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Yegidis, B.L. (1986). Date rape and other forced sexual encounters among college students. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy, 12*, 51-54.
- Yodanis, C.L. (2004). Gender inequality, violence against women, and fear: A cross national test of the feminist theory of violence against women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19*, 655-675.
- Zillmann, D., & Bryant, J. (1982). Pornography, sexual callousness, and the trivialization of rape. *Journal of Communication, 32*, 10-21.

Zillmann, D., & Weaver, J.B. (1989). Pornography and men's sexual callousness toward women.

In D. Zillmann & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Pornography: Research advances and policy considerations* (pp 95-125). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Appendix A. Sexual Experiences Survey (SES).

1. Have you ever had sexual intercourse when you both wanted to?
2. Have you ever had a man misinterpret the level of sexual intimacy you desired?
3. Have you ever been in a situation where a man became so sexually aroused that you felt it was useless to stop him even though you did not want to have sexual intercourse?
4. Have you ever had sexual intercourse with a man even though you didn't really want to because he threatened to end your relationship?
5. Have you ever had sexual intercourse with a man when you didn't really want to because you felt pressured by his continual arguments?
6. Have you ever found out that a man had obtained sexual intercourse with you by saying things he didn't really mean?
7. Have you ever found out that a man had obtained sexual intercourse with you by getting you drunk or high?
8. Have you ever been in a situation where a man tried to get sexual intercourse with you when you didn't want to by threatening to use physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) if you didn't cooperate, but for various reasons, sexual intercourse did not occur?
9. Have you ever been in a situation where a man used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) to try to get you to have sexual intercourse with him when you didn't want to, but for various reasons, sexual intercourse did not occur?
10. Have you ever had sexual intercourse with a man when you didn't want to because he threatened to use physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) if you didn't cooperate?
11. Have you ever had sexual intercourse with a man when you didn't want to because he used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.)?
12. Have you ever been in a situation where a man obtained sexual acts with you such as anal or oral intercourse when you didn't want to by using threats or physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.)?
13. Have you ever been raped?

Appendix B. Danger Cue Recognition Scenario.

Instructions: On the following page, you will be presented with a scenario. Please respond to the scenario as if you are participating in each activity as it is described. Indicate when you would feel uncomfortable in any given situation by circling the number preceding that event. Indicate when you would leave the situation by placing an X over the number preceding that event:

1. You and four of your friends walk to a fraternity house where there is a party.
 2. You recognize a lot of people at the party. Everyone is having a good time and people begin to dance as the music gets louder. You begin dancing with your girlfriends.
 3. One of the party hosts comes over to you and your girlfriends to offer you some alcohol. The five of you accept the drinks and continue dancing.
 4. You notice a guy you know, Ted, approaching you. You and Ted are both in the same algebra class, and you've studied together on several occasions.
 5. Ted comes up to you and your friends and begins dancing with you. You are flattered by Ted's attention, as he is a really good looking and popular fraternity brother.
 6. In a joking voice, Ted says, "You look great tonight!"
 7. Ted puts his hands on your shoulders, and then starts to lean in towards you as he dances.
 8. You jokingly tell him to "back off" and Ted calls you a "flirt."
 9. As he puts his arms around you, Ted says, "Man you look sexy tonight in that outfit."
 10. As you continue dancing, one of your friends gets sick and the others decide to walk her home.
 11. You are having a good time and don't want to leave yet. They agree to call you a little later.
 12. As the party begins to die down, Ted invites you to go get something to eat. He offers to drive you in his car.
 13. You walk with Ted to his car and get in. You drive to Jack-in-the-Box.
 14. While you are eating, he suggests that you go with him back to his house. He wants to show you his new saltwater fish tank and wants to listen to some music.
 15. You aren't ready for the night to end. You agree to go back to his place.
 16. He pulls into the driveway and you walk into his house.
 17. You walk up to his room and he shows you the tank. He puts on some slow music.
 18. Ted says again, "I'm so attracted to you. You are so beautiful. Would you ever be interested in a guy like me?"
 19. He turns to you and begins kissing you on the lips. Then he puts his tongue in your mouth.
 20. Even though you push him away, Ted kisses you again, this time more passionately, and reaches for your breast. He says, "I know you have a secret crush on me, otherwise you wouldn't have come here."
 21. Ted begins to un-tuck your shirt and reach for your bra.
 22. You try to block his hands, but he grabs both of your hands and holds them down.
 23. He pushes you down on your back, continuing to kiss you passionately and somewhat forcefully.
 24. As he continues to pin your arms down, he begins to unbutton your pants.
 25. He yanks down your pants and underwear. He unzips his jeans.
 26. You try to push him off, but he has sexual intercourse with you.
-