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Coercive Sexual Strategies

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Abstract

This study examines the use of coercive sexual strategies by men and the outcomes of these behaviors for women. Using a sample of 541 college undergraduates, data were gathered from men on their use of three types of coercive sexual strategies and from women on their experiences with these same forms of behaviors. For women, there is a positive association between being sexually active, having sexually permissive attitudes, drinking alcohol and being a victim of certain types of sexual coercive strategies. For men, sexually permissive attitudes and attitudes toward rape are found to be significant predictors of their use of verbal coercion. Furthermore, being a fraternity member is associated with the use of verbal coercion and physical force and being a sorority member is associated with being a victim of alcohol/drug coercion and physical force. Reports from both men and women give a more comprehensive interpretation of the specific mechanisms through which different coercive strategies are played out.

The research on sexual coercion and victimization of women on college campuses consistently finds significant associations with alcohol consumption and affiliation with certain fraternity and sorority organizations (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Fromme & Wendel, 1995; Martin & Hummer, 1989). This research suggests that alcohol consumption and affiliation with certain fraternities and sororities are predictive both of the risk of being a victim of sexual coercion and of being the perpetrator of such strategies. However, to date, there has been little systematic investigation of the specific mechanisms through which coercive strategies are played out.

One of the challenges associated with developing a more comprehensive interpretation of these processes are limitations in the type of data that are typically gathered. Studies of victimization often must rely on secondary data with only very crude indicators, or primary data that are based solely on victim reports. It is clear that, to the extent feasible, we can advance our understanding of the processes and predictors of victimization by gathering data from both the perpetrator and the victim (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993; Miethe & Meier, 1994).

In the present study, we take some initial steps toward addressing each of these concerns. We propose a set of hypotheses based on social exchange and victimization theories that predict both the use and outcomes of sexually coercive behaviors by

men and the experiences and outcomes of these behaviors for women. These hypotheses are then tested using multivariate models estimating the simultaneous influence of alcohol consumption, membership in fraternities and sororities, and other characteristics that have been shown to be associated with sexually coercive behaviors.

Alcohol and Sexual Coercion

It is a cultural stereotype in American society that alcohol facilitates sexual arousal and interest (Fromme & Wendel, 1995). Whether we look to television or print media, the use of alcohol is often associated with good times, seductive women, and exciting lifestyles. Studies conducted on the relationship between alcohol consumption and coercive sexual behaviors reveal that participants believe they are more likely to be involved in coercive sexual tactics if they have been consuming alcohol. Men believe that there is a decreased set of risks associated with coercive sex when they are intoxicated. Intoxication may lead to decreased feelings of responsibility or liability, and thus is used as an excuse by some men for engaging in sexually coercive behaviors (Fromme & Wendel, 1995).

Other studies which focus on alcohol consumption consistently find that as alcohol use increases for both men and women, the more likely women are to be sexually victimized on a date (Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAuslan, 1996; Vogel & Himelein, 1995). Abbey et al. (1996) also argue for a situational vulnerability framework where women who date and engage in sexual activity on a regular basis increase their probability of interacting with sexually violent men. This suggests that women who date frequently and drink heavily while out on dates are more likely to be at risk for sexual victimization.

Fraternity and Sorority Organizations and the Culture of Rape

One aspect of the reported association of fraternity or sorority affiliation and sexual coercion may be tied to basic perspectives on the respective roles of men and women. Differences in gender attitudes have been found when comparing fraternity and sorority members and nonmembers. For example, Kalofand Cargill (1991) found that both fraternity and sorority members reported more traditional stereotypical views in personal relationships, such as male dominance and female submissiveness, compared to nonmembers. Supporting such stereotypes creates a "power environment" where men are in charge and women are at risk for victimization.

Boswell and Spade (1996) argue that specific sets of values and beliefs exist in college fraternities that lead to what they have termed a rape culture. They suggest that some fraternities, which they label high-risk houses, provide an environment that is conducive to rape. High-risk fraternity houses can be dangerous places for women where the potential for being sexually victimized is very high (Boswell & Spade, 1996).

Martin and Hummer (1989) in their examination of fraternities found that these organizations are especially concerned with masculinity, willingness to drink alcohol, financial affluence or wealth, and protection of the fraternity which must take precedence over what is legally or ethically correct. Martin and Hummer (1989) noted that alcohol is used as a weapon with fraternity men reporting that alcohol allowed them to gain a sense of mastery over, and sexual pleasure from, reluctant women. The environment that exists in these fraternities serves to endorse the sexual coercion of women by the use of alcohol or physical force. Martin and Hummer (1989) conclude that these fraternities view the sexual coercion of women as a game or a sport played only between men.

There is reason to suspect that sorority women are particularly at risk for sexual victimization. Campus fraternity and sorority organizations typically place expectations on their members to be involved in a variety of social activities with others in the system. Moreover, the combination of social expectations and the fact that there are more fraternity than sorority members on most campuses places considerable pressure on sorority women to limit their dating to fraternity men (Whitbeck & Hoyt, 1994). In addition, research shows that sorority women are much heavier drinkers than dorm or off-campus women (Whitbeck & Hoyt, 1991). Combined, these factors suggest that this group of women are at increased risk for sexual victimization.

A Social Exchange Interpretation

The present study views men's use of sexual coercion from a social exchange perspective. Social exchange theory suggests that individual behavior is determined by the type of profit one expects to receive. Persons will engage in interactions if the perceived rewards are seen as exceeding the perceived costs. Exchanges will continue over time as long as participants continue to profit from their behaviors (Blau, 1964).

The use of coercive sexual strategies by college men can be explained by social exchange theory where the men are much more likely to perceive high rewards (e.g., sexual intercourse, mastery over women, acceptance by other members) and low costs when using such strategies. Some men may feel that the reward of coercive sexual intercourse outweighs any likely cost. Research demonstrates (Fromme & Wendel, 1995; Martin & Hummer, 1989) that many fraternity members report low perceived risks associated with sexual coercion when intoxicated, due to a feeling of not being responsible for their actions, and high rewards for engaging in sexual coercion. Martin and Hummer (1989) have noted that protection of fraternity members takes precedence over everything else, including what is ethically or legally correct. Members can engage in coercive sexual behaviors feeling quite confident that they have the support of the "brothers" to back them up when they claim to be innocent or that the sex was consensual. This type of "protection of members" was demonstrated by the alleged gang rape at Florida State University where fraternity members refused to cooperate with police when they tried to investigate (Martin & Hummer, 1989). This protective and supportive behavior serves to minimize any potential cost associated with these coercive acts.

A Victimization Interpretation

Lifestyle-exposure theory of victimization argues that differences in exposure to dangerous places or vulnerable situations in which the risks for victimization are high, are related to variations in one's individual lifestyle (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978). A recent reevaluation of this theory, however, provides a more comprehensive explanation as to why women are victims of sexual coercive strategies. Finkelhor and Asdigian (1996) argue that lifestyle theory and its use of certain concepts such as target attractiveness has victim-blaming connotations, especially in the case of sexual victimization. They argue further that the personal characteristics of victims should be viewed as features that make them "congruent" with the needs of the offenders.

College women have the characteristic of being female which is congruent with the sexual needs of offenders. Women who belong to prestigious sororities may also have characteristics that are seen as congruent with the needs and motives of certain fraternity men. For example, being a member of a high status sorority may provide

additional motivation for some fraternity members to coerce these women into having sex. Because women in sororities experience pressure to date within the system and to attend parties held by fraternities (Whitbeck & Hoyt, 1994), they are exposed to an environment that puts them at risk simply because they are seen as having features that are congruent with the needs of sexually coercive men.

Hypotheses

Research by Martin and Hummer (1989) further revealed that fraternity men view the sexual coercion of women as a contest or sport played between fraternity men. Following this, we hypothesized that college fraternity men are more likely to engage in sexual coercive strategies compared to nonfraternity men.

Fromme and Wendel (1995) found that college men were more likely to report engaging in coercive behaviors when they had been consuming alcohol. Accordingly, we hypothesized that the greater the amount of alcohol consumption by men, the greater the likelihood of engaging in coercive behaviors.

Attitudes about rape reveal that men are more accepting of sexual abusive behaviors than are women (Freetly & Kane, 1995) and that some men still hold stereotypic attitudes that condone such behaviors (Dull & Giacomassi, 1987). Based on these findings, it was hypothesized that college men who are less rejecting of attitudes toward rape are more likely to engage in coercive behaviors than men who are more rejecting of such attitudes.

Following from the work of Abbey et al. (1996), which found that women are more likely to be victims of sexual assault when both she and the perpetrator have been drinking, it was hypothesized that the greater the amount of alcohol consumption by women, the greater the likelihood of being a victim of coercive behavior. Furthermore, because sorority women are more likely to date than nonsorority women and drink more when out on dates (Whitbeck & Hoyt, 1991), it was hypothesized that sorority women are more at risk for being victims of sexual coercive behaviors compared to nonsorority women.

Research also demonstrates (Abbey et al., 1996) that women who engage in sexual activity on a regular basis are more likely to encounter sexually violent men, resulting in coercive actions. Following this, we hypothesized that the sexual activity of women will be associated with being a victim of sexual coercion.

Based on the work of Whitbeck and Hoyt (1991) which indicates that there is a difference in sexual permissive attitudes toward premarital sex among college women, it was hypothesized that the higher the sexual permissive score of women, the greater the likelihood of being a victim of sexually coercive behaviors.

Finally, it is believed that women who are able to say "no" when they are being coerced by men, are better able to communicate what is acceptable and appropriate. Furthermore, women with high self-esteem tend to be more assertive and less compliant. Following this, it was hypothesized that the higher the self-esteem of college women, the less vulnerable they would be to sexual coercion.

METHOD

Sample

Participants for this study were 541 college students, including 190 men and 351 women, enrolled in an undergraduate family course at a large midwestern university. The majority of respondents were White with an average age between 19 and

20 years. Men tended to be slightly older than women, with men's average age ranging from 21 to 24 years of age whereas for women, the average age was 19 to 20 years. The majority of men and women were in their junior year of college. In terms of living situation, 48% of the respondents lived off campus, 30% lived in dorms, and 22% were fraternity or sorority members.

In the spring of 1994, respondents were asked to complete a survey of attitudes and experiences about dating, sexuality, marriage, and family relationships. Students were informed that their participation was voluntary. Their responses were anonymous. The students did not place their names on the questionnaires and there was no individual monitoring of whether or not a student turned in a completed or blank questionnaire. Furthermore, students were told that if they chose not to participate, it would not affect their course grade. Based on comparing the number of returned questionnaires to the class size, the response rate was over 90%. It was not possible to determine an exact response rate due to the potential that some of the difference between class size and questionnaires completed was likely due to absences from the class. It should also be noted that the men these women are reporting on are not necessarily the same men in the sample and vice versa.

Measurement

For women, sexual coercion was assessed by the following: "During dating, people use many different methods to gain sexual behavior from their date. For the following list of situations, indicate the most intimate sexual outcome of behaviors that occurred with a date, despite your wish not to participate: (1) the other person got me drunk or stoned; (2) the other person threatened to terminate the relationship; (3) the other person threatened to disclose negative information about me; (4) the other person said things to make me feel guilty (i.e., if you really loved me); (5) the other person made false promises (i.e., we'll get engaged); or (6) the other person physically held me down." For men, the question was rephrased to ask about the most intimate sexual outcome with a date "despite her wish not to participate." The sexual coercion items were developed by the third author and graduate students and are based on the work of Christopher (1988).

An exploratory factor analysis on the sexual coercion items revealed three identical factors for both men and women. Based on this analysis, the items were divided into three measures: (1) physical force which included, "the other person physically held me down," (2) verbal coercion which included, "the other person threatened to terminate the relationship," "the other person threatened to disclose negative information about me," "the other person said things to make me feel guilty," "the other person made false promises," and finally, (3) alcohol/drug coercion which included, "the other person got me drunk or stoned." Cronbach's alpha for verbal coercion is .77 and .63 for men and women, respectively.

Respondents were asked to indicate the most extreme behavior that occurred for each of these coercive strategies. These behavior categories were coded as 0 "no exposure," 1 "kissing," 2 "fondling" (breast and genital), and 3 "sexual intercourse/oral sex." The higher the number, the more intense (or severe) the outcome.

Sexual permissiveness was assessed using a two-item Likert scale that asked the respondent to strongly agree, mildly agree, unsure, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree with the following two statements: "I believe that sexual intercourse is acceptable on the first date," and "I believe that sexual intercourse is acceptable for people who are casually dating (dating less than one month)." Items have been reverse coded so that the higher the score, the higher the sexually permissive attitude. Cronbach's alpha is .85 for men and .75 for women.

Sexually active was measured using a categorical question to determine whether or not the respondent had been sexually active. This item was dummy coded into those who did not engage in sex (0) and those who did (1) within the past 6 months.

Attitudes toward rape was assessed using a 10-item scale where men were asked to read 10 short scenarios (e.g., "he spends a lot of money on her," "he is so turned on that he cannot stop,") and "she has led him on" and to indicate for each scenario whether or not it would be acceptable for a man to hold down a woman and physically force her to engage in intercourse. A Likert scale ranging from 1 to 3 was used to score this measure. Items were coded so that the higher the score, the more accepting men are of rape. Cronbach's alpha is .87 for men.

Self-esteem was assessed using Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item scale where respondents were asked to agree or disagree with statements such as: "on the whole, I am satisfied with myself," "I feel I am a person of worth," and "at times, I think I am no good at all." Certain items were reverse coded so that the higher the number, the higher the self-esteem. Cronbach's alpha is .89 for women and .88 for men.

Alcohol was measured with a two-item scale which asked respondents to indicate how often they drank alcohol during a typical month and how often they became intoxicated. The scale was such that the higher the number, the higher the amount of alcohol consumed and the more frequent the intoxication. Cronbach's alpha is .84 for both men and women.

Class was measured by the respondent's year in college (e.g., freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, or other).

Fraternity/sorority is a single item indicator dummy coded into those who are not part of the organization (0) and those who are part of the organization (1). Those in the organization consisted of both fraternity and sorority members who were either pledges, members, and/or members living in off-campus housing.

Procedures

The analysis focuses on characteristics of college men that predict the use of different types of sexual coercive strategies and the characteristics of college women that predict being a victim of such behaviors. Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression was used to run a total of six models, three for each gender. The dependent variables included: physical force, verbal coercion, and alcohol/drug coercion. Year in college is used as a control variable in each of the analyses. Four interaction terms were included in the models in order to test specific hypotheses: fraternity/sorority \times alcohol, fraternity/sorority \times sexual activity, fraternity/sorority \times sexual permissiveness, and fraternity/sorority \times self-esteem.

Results

Table 1 gives the percentages of sexual outcomes for 349 women who were the victims of coercive sexual strategies. The results revealed that approximately 24% of the women in this sample reported engaging in sexual intercourse, despite their wish not to participate, when a date got them drunk or stoned. Genital fondling was reported by 11 % of the women whose date got them drunk or stoned. When the date said things to make the woman feel guilty, almost 6% engaged in genital fondling and 19% in sexual intercourse. When the date made false promises, 12% of women engaged in intercourse, despite their wish not to participate. Finally, 11% of these women reported being physically held down by a date when intercourse occurred, despite their wish not to participate: these women were victims of date rape.

Table 1. Percentage of Sexual Outcomes for Women ($N = 349$)

Coercive behaviors	Not applicable	Kissing	Breast fondling	Genital fondling	Sexual intercourse
The other person got me drunk/stoned	47.3	11.2	6.9	11.2	23.5
The other person threatened to terminate the relationship	85.7	5.4	0.6	0.9	7.4
The other person threatened to disclose negative information about me	95.4	2.3	0.3	0.9	1.1
The other person said things to make me feel guilty (i.e., if you really loved me)	68.0	5.4	2.0	5.7	18.9
The other person made false promises (i.e., we'll get engaged)	83.7	2.0	0.6	1.7	12.0
The other person physically held me down	80.8	2.9	2.0	3.2	11.2

Table 2 shows the percentages for 189 men who indicated the most intimate sexual outcome of behaviors that they initiated with a date, despite her wish not to participate. The results revealed that men's reports of what they say they did are very close to the numbers reported by the women in this study. That is, 23% of the men admitted to getting a date drunk or stoned to engage in sexual intercourse, while 11% used guilt to obtain sex. Seven percent used false promises to obtain sex and approximately 3% of the men admitted to raping their date.

Table 3 shows the correlation matrix for all study variables. The coefficients for women indicate that the use of alcohol was positively related to being in a sorority ($r = .20, p = .00$). This is consistent with the work of Whitbeck and Hoyt (1991) who found that sorority women are more likely to drink compared to those living in dorms or off-campus housing. The use of alcohol was also positively related to being sexually active ($r = .12, p = .03$) and having sexually permissive attitudes ($r = .31, p = .00$). Women who used alcohol were more likely to be verbally coerced ($r = .11, p = .03$) and coerced by the use of alcohol and/or drugs ($r = .38, p = .00$). This finding is also supported by the literature which suggests that women who date frequently and drink heavily while out on dates are more likely to be at risk for sexual victimization (Abbey et al., 1996).

Women with high self-esteem were less likely to be victims of verbal coercion ($r = -.15, p = .01$) which suggests they were more successful in warding off unwanted men than those with low self-esteem. Sexually active and sexually permissive attitudes were both positively related to verbal coercion, alcohol/drug coercion, and physical force. This suggests that women who have sexually permissive attitudes and who have had sex in the past 6 months are more likely to be the victims of such coercive strategies than those without such attitudes or those who have not engaged in sex recently. Finally, verbal coercion was strongly associated with alcohol/drug coercion ($r = .33, p = .00$) and alcohol/drug coercion was strongly correlated with physical force ($r = .22, p = .00$).

The results for men, shown below the diagonal, revealed that fraternity members were more likely to consume alcohol ($r = .23, p = .00$) and were more likely to phys-

Table 2. Percentage of Sexual Outcomes for Men ($N = 189$)

Coercive behaviors	Not applicable	Kissing	Breast fondling	Genital fondling	Sexual intercourse
I got my date drunk/stoned	60.3	6.3	3.7	6.9	22.8
I threatened to terminate the relationship	88.3	2.7	0.5	3.2	5.3
I threatened to disclose negative information about my date	95.2	0.5	0.5	0.5	3.2
I said things to make the other person feel guilty (i.e., if you really loved me)	82.0	1.1	1.6	4.2	11.1
I made false promises (i.e., we'll get engaged)	88.8	2.1	0.5	1.6	6.9
I physically held my date down	95.2	1.6	--	0.5	2.6

ically hold their date down ($r = .17, p = .02$) compared to nonfraternity members. Those who were high on alcohol use were more likely to have been sexually active in the past 6 months ($r = .25, p = .00$), have more sexually permissive attitudes ($r = .25, p = .00$), and were more likely to use alcohol/drug coercion as a means to obtaining sex ($r = .27, p = .00$). Consistent with the literature which finds that men with low self-esteem are more likely to be abusers of women (Peterson & Franzese, 1987), Table 3 also revealed that men with low self-esteem were more likely to be less rejecting of rape ($r = -.16, p = .03$). Furthermore, men who were less rejecting of rape were more likely to use verbal coercion ($r = .32, p = .00$) and physical force ($r = .36, p = .00$) as a means to obtaining sex. Men with sexually permissive attitudes were more likely to use alcohol/drug coercion ($r = .38, p = .00$). Those who had been sexually active in the past 6 months were more likely to use verbal coercion ($r = .14, p = .05$) and alcohol and drugs ($r = .19, p = .01$) as a means of obtaining sex. Finally, the use of verbal coercion was highly correlated with physical force ($r = .58, p = .00$).

OLS regression was used to determine the characteristics of women that predict being a victim of different kinds of coercive sexual strategies. Results are presented in Table 4. For women. Model 1 revealed that sexually active, sexually permissive attitudes, and self-esteem were all significant predictors of verbal coercion. Women who had experienced sexual activity in the past 6 months and who had more sexually permissive attitudes were more likely to be victims of verbal coercion. Furthermore, these results suggest that the higher the woman's self-esteem, the lower the rate of verbal coercion. This suggests that women with high self-esteem may be more successful at warding off unwanted advances than women with low self-esteem. The fraternity/sorority variable was not significant, indicating that there was no difference between sorority and nonsorority women in terms of being at risk for verbal coercion. There were no significant interactions in Model 1.

The results for Model 2 (Table 4) revealed that alcohol, being in a sorority, and being sexually active, were all significant predictors of being a victim of alcohol or drug coercion. Women who were frequent users of alcohol or who were members of sororities were more likely to be victims of this type of coercion. Furthermore, women engaging in sexual activity in the prior 6 months were more likely to be victims of alcohol or drug coercion. Once again, there were no significant interactions in Model 2.

The results for Model 3 (Table 4) indicated that women in sororities were more likely to be at risk for date rape compared to those not in a sorority. The unstandardized beta coefficient for the fraternity/sorority variable (1.08) was inflated due to the

interaction term in the model. The unstandardized beta coefficient was .138 before adding the interaction term. This model also revealed that women who had engaged in sexual activity in the past 6 months were more likely to be at risk for date rape. Finally, the interaction term fraternity/sorority \times self-esteem was negative and statistically significant. This means that although sorority women experienced much higher rates of physical force compared to nonsorority women initially, rates of physical force decreased for sorority women as rates of self-esteem increased. Victimization rates become lowest for sorority women at the high end of the self-esteem scale suggesting that self-esteem buffers women from being victims of physical force.

The results of men's use of sexual coercive strategies are presented in Table 5. For men, Model 1 revealed that being in a fraternity, having sexually permissive attitudes, and being less rejecting of rape, all predicted the use of verbal coercion. The inflated standardized beta coefficient (2.95) for the fraternity/sorority variable was caused by running the model with the interaction term present. Before adding the interaction term to the model, the standardized beta coefficient was .344.

The interaction term fraternity/sorority \times alcohol was negative and statistically significant. This indicates that fraternity men engage in verbal coercion at a much higher rate than nonfraternity men, although the rates for fraternity members decrease as alcohol consumption increases. One possible explanation for the decrease in verbal coercion with increasing alcohol consumption is that highly intoxicated men are unable to articulate or successfully convince their date to succumb to sexual intercourse through strategies such as making the date feel guilty or making false promises. It is possible that women who sense that their date is highly intoxicated are not likely to believe anything their date has to say. The results for nonfraternity men indicated that their use of verbal coercion was not affected by alcohol consumption which may partially be accounted for by the fact that they use this type of coercion at a much lower rate compared to fraternity men.

The results for Model 2 (Table 5) revealed that alcohol consumption and sexually permissive attitudes predicted the use of alcohol and/or drug coercion. Men who had higher rates of alcohol consumption were more likely to use alcohol or drugs as a method of sexual coercion. Furthermore, men with sexually permissive attitudes were also more likely to use this type of coercion as a means to obtaining sex. There were no significant interaction terms for this particular model.

Model 3 (Table 5) examined the use of physical force as a means of obtaining sexual intercourse from women. Both the fraternity/sorority variable and the attitudes toward rape variable were significant predictors. Men who were members of fraternity organizations were more likely to use physical force (i.e., date rape) as a sexual coercive strategy compared to nonfraternity men. This finding is consistent with the literature which demonstrates that many fraternities, through their use of norms and practices, create a culture that is conducive to rape (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Martin & Hummer, 1989). Furthermore, the attitude toward rape variable was also significant in Model 3, indicating that those who were less rejecting of rape were more likely to use physical force as a coercive strategy. Once again, the coefficients for the fraternity/sorority variable were inflated due to the interaction term being present in the model. The unstandardized and standardized beta coefficients prior to adding the interaction term to the model were, respectively, .175 and .210.

The interaction term fraternity/sorority \times alcohol was negative and statistically significant in Model 3 indicating that while fraternity men used much more physical force compared to nonfraternity men, the rates for fraternity members decreased as rates of alcohol consumption increased. Perhaps a threshold effect is present where up to a certain

Table 5. Men's Use of Coercive Sexual Strategies

Independent variables	Model 1 Verbal coercion			Model 2 Alcohol/drug coercion			Model 3 Physical force		
	B	β	p	B	β	p	B	β	p
Alcohol	-.028	-.034	.746	.220	.135	.004	-.088	-.022	.291
Class	-.002	-.004	.981	-.056	-.067	.412	-.037	-.018	.583
Fraternity/sorority	.512	2.950	.030	-.068	-.197	.339	.698	.838	.002
Self-esteem	-.079	-.028	.264	.039	.007	.566	-.013	-.001	.843
Sexually active	.070	.400	.343	.045	.133	.531	.071	.085	.323
Sexually permissive attitudes	.187	.189	.012	.318	.163	.000	.096	.020	.178
Attitudes toward rape	.282	.542	.000	.096	.094	.170	.330	.133	.000
Fraternity/sorority \times alcohol	-.495	-.443	.043				-.574	-.106	.016
Constant	.810			-.805			.048		
Adjusted R ²	.180	.202		.223					

point (i.e., moderate alcohol consumption), men will use physical force as a means to obtaining sex but once they reach or exceed that point (i.e., the point of intoxication) the use of physical force declines because intoxicated men experience a decline in motor skills and coordination. Although fraternity men may start out with the plan to get women drunk (Martin & Hummer, 1989), they may have too much to drink and their plans to use physical force may be foiled when they become too drunk. Finally, nonfraternity men used much lower rates of physical force compared to fraternity men. Alcohol consumption appeared to have little affect on nonfraternity men's use of physical force which may be accounted for by the fact that their initial levels of physical force are negligible.

Discussion and Conclusion

Consistent with others (Martin & Hummer, 1989), the results of this study indicate that alcohol consumption and affiliation with certain fraternities and sororities are predictive both of the risk of being a victim of certain types of sexual coercion and of being the perpetrator of such strategies. The percentages of sexual outcomes reported by men give credence to the percentages given by women. That is, almost one quarter of men (23%) admit to getting a date drunk or stoned to engage in sexual intercourse whereas the corresponding rate given by women is 24%. These results indicate that men and women are essentially telling the same stories when it comes to dating practices. These high percentages of coercive behaviors indicate that women are at risk of being victims of sexual coercion.

Overall our findings reveal that sorority women are at greater risk for being victims of physical force and alcohol/drug coercion compared to nonsorority women. The increased exposure of these women to high-risk environments and alcohol use appear to contribute to sexually coercive outcomes. Verbal coercion, however, was not associated with being a sorority member. This form of coercion was more predictive of risk for low self-esteem women, regardless of their residence.

Consistent with the work of Abbey et al. (1996) and the hypotheses, women in this study who have sexually permissive attitudes and have been sexually active in the prior 6 months are more likely to be at risk for certain types of sexual coercive strategies compared to those who do not have such attitudes and who have not recently been sexually active. It is possible that women engaging in sexual interaction are at risk of ending up with men who will use coercive strategies to obtain sex. This interpretation is congruent with a situational vulnerability framework where the probability of interacting with sexually violent men increases for women who frequently engage in sexual activity (Abbey et al., 1996).

As hypothesized, alcohol consumption was found to be an important predictor of whether a woman was a victim of alcohol and/or drug coercion. The cultural stereotype in American society that associates the use of alcohol with exciting lifestyles puts women at serious risk for victimization. Women attending parties, where the consumption of alcohol is facilitated and encouraged, are at increased risk of becoming victims of alcohol coercion. This finding extends previous work on alcohol-linked coercion (Abbey et al., 1996; Vogel & Himelein, 1995) by demonstrating both deliberate use of this coercive strategy by men and parallel reports of victimization by women. Even women who do not consume alcohol at parties are not immune because the use of drug coercion is becoming increasingly popular. Regardless of whether alcohol or drugs are used, the cultural stereotype of associating alcohol with parties and good times puts women at risk for this type of coercive strategy.

According to a reevaluation of the lifestyle-exposure theory (Finkelhor & Asdigian, 1996), women are at risk of being victims of sexual coercive strategies simply be-

cause of their gender. The characteristic of being female is congruent with the needs of men who engage in sexual coercive strategies. In the specific context of this study, another characteristic of women that may be seen as congruent with men's use of coercive strategies is belonging to a high-status sorority. Members of fraternity and sorority organizations on campuses perceive a status hierarchy in the system and have a high degree of consensus as to which houses are high or low status (Whitbeck & Hoyt, 1994). Some college men view it as a challenge to have sexual intercourse with women from higher-status sororities who are characterized as "prim and proper" (Martin & Hummer, 1989). Finally, women who are sexually inexperienced may also be at increased risk. Being a virgin is viewed as a feature that makes a woman congruent with the needs or desires of sexually coercive men. Consistent with Finkelhor and Asdigian's (1996) revised theoretical framework, it is not the behaviors of women that directly increase risk for sexual victimization. Rather, it is the congruence of their statuses (e.g., women, high-status sorority member, virgin) with the needs of the potential offenders that places them at risk.

The results for men support the hypothesis that fraternity members are more likely to be perpetrators of verbal coercion and physical force compared to nonmembers. One obvious explanation is the type of environment that exists within certain fraternities. Kalof and Cargill (1991) found that fraternities hold traditional stereotypical views in personal relationships such as male dominance and female submissiveness, leading to a "power environment" with men in charge and women at risk. Other examples of fraternity lifestyles that put women at risk are the recruiting practices of some fraternities such as a man's willingness to drink alcohol and his ability to relate well to women (Martin & Hummer, 1989). Overall, certain fraternities provide an environment that is unsafe for women due to norms and practices which are conducive to sexually coercive behaviors. Consistent with our hypothesis, men's use of coercion is tied to their attitudes toward rape. That is, men who are less rejecting of rape are more likely to report having used verbal coercion and physical force as a means to obtaining sex. If these coercive strategies are viewed as acceptable, then it is likely that these men will resort to such strategies as a means to obtaining sex.

Finally, the results show that alcohol consumption is associated with men's use of alcohol and/or drug coercion. As hypothesized, the higher the alcohol consumption, the more likely the man is to be a perpetrator of this type of coercive strategy. It is possible that men who drink and get women drunk can feel safe, thinking that the woman will have a difficult time refusing and probably will not remember the incident the next day. This finding is consistent with Fromme and Wendel (1995) who found that college students believe they are more likely to be involved in coercive sexual tactics if they have been consuming alcohol.

Each of these findings on men's behaviors is supportive of a social exchange interpretation. From this perspective, the use of coercive strategies by men results in high rewards (e.g., obtaining sex, mastery over women), which outweigh the costs of getting caught or having a date accuse them of rape.

A note of caution is in order concerning the interpretation of these results. The first limitation is that, in a class survey, some respondents may have felt the need to give socially desirable responses even though the questionnaire was anonymous. However, this could mean that the behaviors of men and the experiences of women could be higher than those reported here. Another limitation is that the majority of the sample are White which does not allow for possible ethnic differences to emerge, a finding that has been supported in the literature (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). A third limitation is that due to the nature of this sample (i.e., college students), results cannot be generalized to the overall population. However, because certain fraternities

have environments that are conducive to rape (Boswell & Spade, 1996), it is important to study college campuses to better understand the behaviors for which women are at risk. Finally, two of the dependent variables, alcohol/drug coercion and physical coercion, are single-item indicators.

In summary, by gathering data from both the perpetrator and the victim, we were able to show a more comprehensive representation of the process underlying different types of sexually coercive behaviors. These data indicate that men and women give very similar accounts in terms of men's use of coercive sexual strategies and the outcomes that women experience as a result of such strategies.

Future research needs to look at other factors that contribute to men's use of coercive strategies in addition to other types of behaviors that are used. Also, more work needs to be done on the characteristics of women that can safeguard them from being victims of such strategies. Our research found self-esteem to be an important characteristic for safeguarding women from verbal coercion. One way to develop a more comprehensive interpretation of the use of coercive strategies by men and the outcomes of such behaviors for women is to gather data from both the perpetrator and the victim, as we have done here. Only through systematic investigation will we be able to understand the specific mechanisms through which coercive strategies are played out.

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